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HISTORY OF SPAIN

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HISTORY OF SPAIN

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE DEATH OF FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC

BY

ULICK RALPH BURKE, M.A.

SECOND EDITION

EDITED, WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTION,

BY

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ETC., ETC., ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES

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To

GEORGE SALMON

Provost of Trinity College, Dublin

these volumes are,

by special permission,

very respectfully dedicated.

INTRODUCTION.

The great difficulty that besets even the most modest compiler of anything like a comprehensive History of Spain, is the difficulty of concentration of interest. The regions to be traversed are so immense and so boundless, the byways are so numerous and so inviting, that it is often hard to know which is the great central track that must be taken, if the end is ever to be reached.

The development and decline of the Roman Empire, the overrunning of Europe by the Northern Barbarians, the origin of the political power of the Christian Church, the rise and fall of Mohammedanism in Western Europe, the discovery and colonisation of America; these are five of the most interesting and most important of the phases of human progress during the last two thousand years; and with each one of these the History of Spain and of the Spaniards is indissolubly connected.

The origin and language of the Basques, and their identification with the early Iberians, the wandering civilisation of the early Celts, the commerce and industry of Tyre and Sidon, the rise and fall of Carthage, though they are to some extent outside the History of Spain, assuredly each and all claim some share of our attention. The lives of Hannibal and of Scipio, of Pompey and of Cæsar, are all largely Spanish; and each one of them is a study in itself. For hard upon seven hundred years the fortunes of Spain are so intimately connected with the greatness and the decline of the Roman Republic and of the Roman Empire, a subject of the utmost complexity of interest and of detail, that it is impossible to avoid being drawn into that most fascinating of labyrinths; and a hundred years before the Imperial troops had left the Province, we are suddenly confronted by a new and strange

civilisation, on the arrival of the Goths with their German institutions, their Adrian Faith, their Northern laws, their hopes of regenerating the old world—their disappointment, their demoralisation and their decay. When at length, after three hundred years of tolerably straightforward progress—though the country, it must be admitted, is for the most part an unexplored wilderness—something like unity seems at length to be reached, the scene suddenly changes with the rapidity of a theatrical transformation, and we are carried away in a moment to farthest Araby, to wander hopelessly overwhelmed by the vast range of new interests, with a new race, a new civilisation, a new religion, and the most tremendous power that has arisen in the world during the last nineteen hundred years.

The spread of Mohammedanism, whether considered as a religious or a political phenomenon, is as yet but very imperfectly understood. The East has been contented to accept, and the West has not cared to study it. The History of Islam has yet to be written. To ascertain and set down the true story of the conquest and civilisation of the Peninsula by the Arab, many years and many volumes would be necessary; but in a *Short History of the Spanish People*—I have not ventured to adopt the well-known words on my title page—the amount of space that may be devoted to the rise and progress, and to the decline and fall, of the Empire of the Moslem in Spain, must necessarily be small.

The intrigues and the rebellions of the Alfonsos and the Sanchos are in themselves, perhaps, of no greater interest than the intrigues and the rebellions of the Yusufs and the Mohammeds against whom they contended. But out of the freebooters of Aragon and Navarre, out of the cut-throats of Leon and Castile was evolved that great nation, before whose arms the last Moslem was driven out of United Spain. The Mohammeds and the Yusufs came and went. We may admire their valour; we may respect their civilisation; we mourn over their destruction. But they are gone. And their history is in no wise the history of the Spanish people.

To give a connected and intelligible account of the rise and progress of the various Christian kingdoms of the Peninsula is a task of far greater difficulty than the treatment, be

it brief or be it full, of the splendour and the decay of the Moslem. A well-known writer has sought to evade the difficulty by writing, under the name of a History of Spain, seven histories of the various States that rose and fell in the Peninsula from the eighth to the sixteenth century; so that the reader who has in the first volume arrived at the year 1631, finds himself on opening vol. ii. relegated to 718; and having reached 1516 by the end of this second volume, he is confounded at finding himself beginning in vol. iii. with the history of 885. A system of alternate chapters—with such dissertations and digressions as appeared necessary—as far as possible in chronological order, will probably be found at once more convenient and more artistic in its plan.

With regard to the actual scheme of the work, however carried out, my object has been to present Spanish history, as I believe it never to have been presented before in moderate limits, as one continuous whole; to tell the story of the growth and development of a great nation; and I have sought to show how Trajan and Hadrian, how Martial and Theodosius the Great, how Quintilian and Prudentius, how St. Vincent and the uncanonised Hosius of Cordova were all as truly Spanish heroes as the Cid or Berengaria; that Averroës, for all that he believed in Mohammed, was no less an Andalusian than Seneca; that St. Leander and St. Dominic, St. Isidore and St. Raymond Lull were all the fellow countrymen of Ximenez, and that Viriatus was but the forerunner of the *Great Captain.*

I would moreover, had I not been dissuaded therefrom by those whose opinion is of far more value than my own, have entitled my work a history of *The Making of Spain*, or *The Making of the Spanish People.* The limit of a sketch so conceived, would naturally be the accomplishment of the great national work of construction or of evolution; but if it was the conquest of Navarre that put the finishing touch to the making of Spain, it was the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, within a year or two of this crowning act of policy, that left the United Spanish People for the first time in history, to be governed by a single sovereign.

That the legitimate Queen of Spain was judged incapable of wielding the sceptre; that her more magnificent and more

fortunate son preferred a German Diadem to the Crown even of United Spain; that he kept his mother a prisoner, and made her kingdom a province of his Empire; these things belong rather to the marring than to the making of Spain.

With regard to the actual execution of the work, the spelling of the *Proper Names* of places, has been to me a constant difficulty. I set out upon my work with the intention of writing a book in the best English that I could command, and of using as few foreign words as was possible without obscurity. After many diversions and excursions, and much hesitation and consideration, I am of opinion that this principle was, and is, the right one; and I have endeavoured to conform to it faithfully and reasonably in my completed work.

I was pleased at one time with the idea, which at least as far as I am concerned was original, of writing the names of *Places* as they were known to those who from time to time inhabited them. The Celtiberian *Salduba* became Cæsarea Augusta under the Romans and Sarakostah under the Arabs, to develop into Zaragoza in the language of modern Spain. The method, as it suggested itself to me, was picturesque, but after many endeavours to carry it out, it proved too subtle for practical use. To write of *Aquæ sextæ* on page 200 and of Aix on page 350 would have marked the transition from the Roman to the French supremacy; but it might possibly have puzzled an unlearned reader, who did me the honour to take up my book, with the very laudable design of informing himself upon the history of Spain. The change from *Hispalis* to *Seville* again might have been too abrupt to be appreciated; while between my last reference to the river *Anas* and my first notice of the *Guadiana* it would have been necessary to speak of the *Wady 'al 'Ana*, which would have caused still further confusion—to say nothing of the fact that in the case of all the Arabic names of places from A.D. 711 at least as far down as A.D. 1252 there would have been the further immense difficulty of transliteration.

Whenever, therefore, the name of any place outside the limits of our own country has an equivalent in our own language, I have invariably spoken of it by that name; and have thus written Corunna, Gallicia and Carthagena instead of *La Coruña*, *Galicia* and *Cartagena;* but when the place, as most

generally happens, has no regular English name or equivalent, I have spoken of it as the natives of the country in which it is situate are accustomed to write the word at the present day, or in the case of Moorish or Arab names of places in the Peninsula, transliterated as far as possible according to the fashion of the best authorities, not of England, but of Spain.

The treatment of proper names of persons has presented fewer difficulties. But with Romans and Goths, with Basques and Arabs, with Catalans and Castilians, with Navarrese and Neapolitans and Sicilians to speak of in English sentences, the task has been by no means easy. With some few exceptions I have, whenever it was possible, spoken of the royal personages of all countries by their Christian names and titles as usually spelt in English. I have preferred Philip the Fair to *Philippe le Bel*, Peter the Cruel to *Pedro el Cruel*, Clovis to *Hchlodwig*, Isabella to *Isabel*, Ferdinand to *Fernando*, and, after much hesitation, Berengaria to *Berenguela* of Castile, and James to *Jayme* of Aragon; though I regret the loss of local colour in speaking of the king who is so well known as *Don Jayme*, by the less distinctive English word James.[1]

In the case of the Catalan *Ramon Berenguer*, I have considered the double name as a distinctly and distinctively foreign appellation, not to be translated by the English Raymond, which I am able to use for the Raymonds of Burgundy and of Provence. Peter stands upon quite a different footing. *Pedro* is a purely Castilian equivalent of the Aragonese *Pére*, and Peter is quite as good a word as either, and a fair translation of both.

I fear that the Frenchified Latinity of *Charlemagne* may be displeasing to certain critics. But Charlemagne, as the name of a personage, appears to me to be just as good English as Charles, and much better than Karl; and I do not choose to rob the Frank Emperor of the picturesque and distinctive name by which he has been known in history for a thousand years, either by the use of strange words in an English sentence, or by adding to the overgrown

[1] The English James indeed stands for at least three distinct Christian names in the Peninsula, *Diego*, *Iago*, as *Santiago*, and the Catalan or Provencal *Jacme* or *Jaume*.

list of those sovereigns who are commonly called "The Great".[1]

In the case of private individuals, I have written their names as they would be written by the historians of their own country, save in the case of those rare and distinguished personages who have received, as it were, letters of naturalisation in the English language. To speak of Don John of Austria as *Don Juan* would be a species of impertinence; and while *Cisneros* may be good Spanish, it is the fame of *Ximenez* that has crossed both the Pyrenees and the Atlantic. But in all cases, in the interpretation of my own rules and systems, I have sought to avoid anything that savoured of pedantry.

With regard to notes, although I endeavoured from the first to cite only such passages from authorities, ancient and modern, as might really illustrate the text, the number and length of the extracts and quotations was severely criticised by more than one reader of my MS., which has been, in consequence, subjected to severe, but, I hope, not unskilful prunings.

C'est le défaut des érudits, says Prosper Mérimée, *de se passionner pour les recherches de détail. Parcequ'elles ont été longues et souvent pénibles, ils s'imaginent que le lecteur va les recommencer avec eux. Il faut quelquefois avoir le courage de garder pour soi la fatigue, et de ne présenter au public que les résultats obtenus.*[2]

If I have not ventured to go as far as the brilliant Frenchman in my demands upon the confidence of my readers, I have rarely cited any authorities in the original, more especially in the case of Spanish works, save for some special object or reason, which may, I trust, be in each case judged sufficient. The same may be said with regard to simple references, which have been most freely employed in cases where the facts stated in the text are new, startling or doubtful. A mere record of the various books that I have read or consulted in connection with Spanish history, during the four

[1] Le surnom de Grand, *Magnus*, qui a été donné à Charles d'un commun consentement par la postérité, et qui est devenu en quelque sorte une partie de son nom propre, ne semble pas lui avoir été attribué pendant sa vie, ou du moins n'étoit point alors régulièrement joint à son nom. Mabillonius veter. Analecta, t. ii., 420, Sismondi, *Hist. des François*, ii., 314.

[2] *Mélanges historiques* (1876), p. 242.

happy years of varied research that have been specially devoted to the preparation of these two volumes, would fill many vain and useless pages.

In the preparation of my *Index*, which, in a work covering such a great extent of ground—over seventeen hundred years—must necessarily be somewhat lengthy, I have been guided solely by my experience of what I found most useful in my own study. I have, I trust, indexed most, if not all, of the *names* that occur in the text, and most of the *events;* I have avoided, as far as possible, sub-headings and narrative of any description, save where absolutely necessary, preferring to make use of the space at my disposal to give a greater number of direct references than would otherwise have been possible.

I had intended at one time to print the names of places in a separate Index, and had actually prepared the MS. I designed also to add an Index of authorities, and such an Index was partly compiled; but upon fuller consideration I have entirely abandoned the latter, as being somewhat more pretentious than useful; and have included all names of places in the *General Index*, as being on the whole, more convenient for reference.

For her great and ever-willing assistance in the preparation of these various published and unpublished Indexes, I have to thank my friend, *Miss Reinhart*, though the ultimate responsibility for their accuracy is, and must be, entirely my own.

The following general authorities have been so frequently cited by me in the course of the work, that in order to avoid much vain repetition, I have usually referred to them in the abbreviated form that is set down below:—

MARIANA—*Historia general de España*, Juan de Mariana, 9 vols. (Valencia, 1783-96.)

MASDEU—*Historia de Critica de España*, Juan Francisco de Masdeu, 20 vols. (Madrid, 1783-1805.)

LAFUENTE—*Historia general de España*, Modesto Lafuente, 26 vols. (Madrid, 1850-62.)

GAYANGOS—*History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, from the Arabic, etc., etc., Pascual de Ganyangos, 2 vols. (1840.)

FORD—*Murray's Handbook for Spain.* The date of publication is added to every reference. The earlier editions

are historically the most valuable, as well as the most racy. The first edition was suppressed—as somewhat too racy?—immediately on publication, in 1845. Of this only five copies now exist, one of which is in the British Museum Library.

Of the *Second Edition*, for all practical purposes the *first* published, also in 1845, two thousand copies are said to have been sold in a few months; a second edition was published in 1847, the last in 1892.

DUNHAM—*Lardner's Cabinet of History, etc., etc., Spain and Portugal*, by Samuel Astley Dunham, 5 vols. (1832.)

DOZY, HISTOIRE—*Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, by Reinhart Pieter Dozy, 4 vols. (Leyden, 1861.)

DOZY, RECHERCHES — *Recherches sur l'histoire politique et littéraire de l'Espagne*, 2 vols. (Leyden, 1881.)

ESP. SAGRAD.—*España Sagrada, etc., etc.* (1754-1879), by F. H. Florez, continued by D. Vicente de Lafente. Volume 51 was published in 1879.

CALENDAR, etc.—*Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers*, relating to the negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the *Archives at Simancas* and elsewhere. Edited by G. A. Bergenroth. Vol. i. (1485-1509), London, 1862; vol. ii. (1509-1525) was published in 1866, and a third volume, *supplementary* to vols. i. and ii., in 1868.

DOCUMENTOS INEDITOS—*Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos para la Historia de España*. Tom. i. (1842), is by Don Martin Fernandez Navarrete, Don Miguel Salvá, and Don Pedro Sainz de Barander. The last that I have had the opportunity of consulting is that published in 1893 by the Marques de la Fuensanta del Valle.

Among other books that I have constantly cited, representing as it were the two poles of religious or ecclesiastical thought and criticism, are the *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, por Don Marcelino Menendez Pelayo, three vols. (Madrid, 1880); and Mr. Henry Charles Lea's *History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, three vols. (London, 1888), a perfect storehouse of knowledge, and a monument of painstaking and intelligent research.

Of all the kind friends who have in various ways assisted and encouraged me in the course of my work, it would be impossible to speak. Yet must I set down a word of the gratitude that I feel to *Mr. Cecil Bendall*—but for whom the work might never have been written; and *Mr. John Bury*—but for whom it might never have been published, for their constant and practical help, counsel and criticism; to *Mr. John Ormsby*, for many valuable suggestions, conveyed in most delightful letters; and to *Don Juan Riaño*, for suggestions no less valuable, and conveyed by word of mouth during my last visit to Madrid, where the genial hospitality of *Sir Henry Drummond* and *Lady Wolff* has added to the many agreeable recollections that I treasure of that much abused but to me ever sympathetic city. Among the many friends whom I have to thank for help in the preparation of my chapter on Spanish Music—a chapter which, I am not ashamed to confess, I have re-written four times—I cannot pass over the name of *Dr. Culwick*; and in the final revision of the pages dealing with Architecture as well as Music, and of other chapters in my second volume, I have been greatly and most kindly assisted by *Dr. Mahaffy*. To the librarians and *bookmen*, great and small, in *Bloomsbury*, in *St. James's Square*, in *Kildare Street*, in *Trinity College, Dublin*, and in other public and private libraries at home and abroad, I am under a substantial debt of gratitude, of which so general an acknowledgment is very far from being an adequate requital.

I have, finally, to acknowledge with much gratitude, and not, I confess, without some pride, the liberality of the Board of Trinity College in making a pecuniary grant to me in aid of the expenses of publication, a compliment whose value is enhanced by the manner in which the offer was conveyed to me, and the unconditional nature of the gift.

Christmas Eve, 1894.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

The history of Spain, better than that of any other European country, enables the philosophical historian to trace the concatenation of causes and effects in the life of a nation, and thus not only to demonstrate the scientific basis of his own teaching, but also to draw the deductions and conclusions failing which the study of history would be useless as an aid to wisdom. This peculiarity, and the geographical and ethnological reasons to which it may be mainly attributed, add infinitely to the fascination of Spanish history as a study, and to its usefulness as an introduction to the systematic teaching of the history of other countries whose national phenomena are more complicated and less obviously connected with anterior facts.

Situated at the most westerly point of the European continent, and farthest from the centres of ancient civilisation in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Iberian Peninsula received from succeeding civilisations the last waves successively sent forth during their periods of energetic development and expansion: so that each succeeding culture reached Spain at its highest stage of vigour, and ran through its course of maturity, decline and extinction on Spanish soil. The history of the country consequently presents a concentrated view of the war of diverse systems which during the Middle Ages decided the fate of the civilised world. Thus, in historically recorded times, at least four great types of progress have made Iberia their last bulwark in Europe against the advancing tide of new dispensations which were to overwhelm them. Carthaginian, Roman, Visigothic and Arab culture, one after the other, flourished, lingered and expired in Spain; but each system left behind it traditions and memories of its own, by which some continuity of progress was

preserved: and, in one case, the last remaining spark of ancient learning was kept alive in the almost universal gloom to rekindle the great illumination which was afterwards to flood the world with light.

It may be asked why the history of Spain, recording as it does so many separate invasions and dominations, and dealing with so vast and momentous a subject as the series of struggles which decided whether the Aryan or the Semite was to bear sway in western Europe, should present greater simplicity of phenomena than the history of other nations whose political institutions have been more continuous, and whose vicissitudes have been of less universal importance. At first sight it may appear that the constant internal wars, and the bewildering alternate aggregation and disintegration of the petty kingdoms of the Peninsula, often ruled by contemporaneous sovereigns of similar names, would make the study of Spanish history more than ordinarily confusing and fruitless. An explanation why the contrary is the case must be sought to a large extent in the physical conformation of the country, and the effect it has had upon the ethnology of the inhabitants. A consideration of these points will enable us to evolve from the chaos something approaching a rule; and by the aid of it, we may see that national movements have been controlled much more by influences of locality and race than by the personal characters of the crowd of Alfonsos, Ferdinands and Sanchos who loom so large upon the written page.

A glance at the map of the Peninsula will prove its almost complete isolation; surrounded as it is on three sides by the sea, and on the north by the great range of the Pyrenees, across which only a few difficult passes were practicable, with the exception of the road on the extreme east. But what influenced the making of the Spanish nation much more than its isolation was the fact that it is divided by mountain ranges into a certain number of well-defined separate regions with widely-divergent conditions of climate, aspect and natural productions. The region between the Cantabrian Mountains and the sea, forming the whole of the north coast on the Atlantic, is cut off completely from the rest of the country by almost impassable peaks. A land of

frequent rain, of giant oaks and of rich pasture on the lower slopes and valleys, it has not a single feature in common with the bleak, arid table-land of the centre or with the sub-tropical south-east. As a main division there runs from the Cantabrian Mountains to the extreme south of Spain an almost continuous range, dividing the valleys of the Duero and the Tagus from that of the Ebro: and from this range there branch three others from east to west, dividing respectively the basins of the Duero and the Tagus, the Tagus and the Guadiana, and that of the Guadiana from the Guadalquivir. The great Sierra Morena isolates the south from Castile: the mountains of Toledo shut in the central table-land on the south, as the Guadarramas enclose it on the north; and all round the coast high ranges divide the interior from the littoral. From these various ranges there run transverse spurs and buttresses innumerable; and the whole of Spain, with the exception of the inhospitable central plateau, and portions of La Mancha, is scored into isolated valleys and plains dominated by ever-visible mountains. Such a country as this would necessarily render the process of racial amalgamation and national unification slow and difficult; and would develop strong individuality, local jealousy, and consequently a warlike spirit in the races that inhabited it: would, in fact, make Spaniards what they are; intensely local in their attachments; proud and pugnacious, with a horror of being merged, either personally or collectively; good soldiers in small bodies and indifferent soldiers in large bodies, and, finally, better citizens than patriots.

But the deep divisions into which the soil of Spain is divided have done more than set this general impress upon the various races which inhabit the Peninsula, and thus enable us frequently to distinguish the mainsprings of national action; they have kept the races themselves apart through the ages, and the character and influence of the several waves of invasion which have flooded the country can be to a great extent appreciated by the yet distinct, or only partially amalgamated, elements, of which the population of the different regions consist. A study, for instance, of the characters of the Gallego and the Asturian reveals the history of their provinces better than pages of description would do. The

minds and persons of the inhabitants clearly prove that Moorish or Arab blood forms a small part of their composition, and though they speak a Latin tongue more closely approaching the ancient speech of Rome than does the Castilian, yet little of the Latin is in their race. The somewhat dreamy poetic Celt, with his vivid imagination and love of home and family, is in the Gallego tempered by a large admixture of a strong Germanic stock, which makes him laborious, patient and enduring; an almost exact counterpart of the Irishman in those parts of Ireland where the English and Celtic populations have blended. Compare, again, this Gallego or Asturian with the Valencian, and it will be seen that in the latter both the Celtic and Germanic elements are comparatively insignificant, and are swamped by the Semitic. The Valencian also speaks a dialect of Latin resembling that of his racial cousin the Provençal. He is above all a keen chafferer, vehement of gesture, superstitious, false and a fatalist; a man whose Christianity is to a large extent an adaptation of the paganism of his forbears: fond of luxury and bright colours, he is obviously the direct descendant of Phœnecians, Carthaginians, Greeks and Arabs; and the influence of his descent may be traced in every action of his life. To the north of him, his neighbour the Catalan, speaking the same dialect, is yet of another racial composition. His character and conduct prove at once that he possesses a much greater Germanic and Latin, and less of the Moorish element than his brother of Valencia. Hardworking, independent, turbulent and grasping, the Catalan character explains not only to what extent and by whom the province has been dominated, but also the action of the inhabitants from the dawn of history to the present day. Of the pleasure-loving passionate Latin and Berber of Andalusia, of the grave, haughty and magnanimous Celtiberian - Latin of Castile, of the pure-blooded Basque of Biscay and Navarre, a similar story may be told.

Thus it happens that the history of each of the natural regions into which Spain is divided may be epitomised in its ethnology and geography to a greater extent than is the case in any other of the nations of Europe which have exercised a moving influence in the progress of mankind. The lack of

unity so conspicuous amongst the Spaniards of to-day has existed throughout history, save only on those few occasions when some powerful personality or some great cause arousing a general sentiment has temporarily knit them together into national unity. On each of the occasions that the country has been overrun and dominated it has had to be conquered piecemeal, town by town, valley by valley. The inhabitants, so long as they were fighting for their own homes, fought like lions, but with little cohesion; and the task of overrunning the country, although in some cases a long one, has never been relatively difficult. The difficulty, as will be seen in the present history, has always been to impose upon the various peoples a uniform law which should constitute them a united nation. The Carthaginians never entirely succeeded in doing it, although the greatest of them —Hamilcar, Hasdrubal and Hannibal—made Spain rather than Africa their base for the bold attempt at the conquest of Rome and the world; and to them it was of vital importance that Iberia should be solid at their backs. Warriors, they could, and did, draw in plenty from the peoples whom their arms had subdued; for so long as their organisation was local, and neighbours and fellow-townsmen were not separated, the Celtiberians would fight anybody, anywhere. But united action against a common foe, or even willing submission to a common law, was foreign to their nature. In the Punic armies under Hannibal the Carthaginian that besieged the heroic Iberian city of Saguntum, there were as many Celtiberians as Africans, and in the hosts that the same great commander led on his wondrous march across the Alps to the very gates of Rome 25,000 soldiers out of his 100,000 were men of Spanish birth. And yet Scipio the Roman found no difficulty in raising as many more Celtiberians to fight on the other side. Thus, for ever divided amongst themselves, the Celtiberians were easily made use of by the conquering peoples to overcome their own countrymen. Now and again in the course of history a great leader of men like Sertorius might temporarily weld together these warring tribes into a solid people, but the moment the overpowering personality disappeared the elements became again disintegrated.

The seed of Roman civilisation and, above all, of

Roman pride, fell upon fertile ground in the Peninsula. When, after well nigh 200 years of gradual conquest, the farthest point of Iberia was crowned by the Roman eagle, and Cæsar with a hand of iron imposed the *lex Romana* on the wild Celtic tribes of Brigantium, already the settled districts of the south and east were rejoicing in the prosperity and security that Roman splendour and the rule of law brought in their train. Ever ready for fighting, so long as friends and neighbours were not separated, the Celtiberian legionaries under the masterful military organisation of Rome were not only for ever face to face in their own land with the might of the metropolis, but were carried to the uttermost ends of the Empire to fight its battles abroad. From Rome, from Britain, from Gaul, from the Danube, such of the few Spanish legionaries as came back to their native valleys were full of pride for the glory of the Republic or the Empire, whose eagles they had borne triumphant over subject peoples, and whose law they had enforced in lands where no law was ever known before. They had never been Spaniards, for to them Spain meant nothing, and their own valleys or villages everything; but they were Romans now, for the power of the Imperial city, reaching, as they saw, to the ends of the earth, was to them a real tangible glory of which they were proud to claim their share.

And so for 400 years bound together by Roman bureaucracy Spain approached nearer to being a united nation than ever she had been before; but whilst there was a powerful link that bound all Spaniards to Rome, there was but a slight bond which united them with each other. Trajan, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius ruled the world from the throne of the Cæsars, and they were Spaniards; Seneca, Lucan, Martial and Quintillian, and a host of other writers who added lustre to Imperial Rome, proved that the keen Celtiberian wit grafted well on to the Latin culture of an earlier time. All over Spain, says St. Augustine, rose the *odiosa cantio* of native children learning Latin, and the literary exquisites of Rome itself, to their horror, found that Spanish provincialisms and the "strange, thick" pronunciation of the Iberians were corrupting the daily talk of the Roman citizens. But the Spanish nation had no existence apart from the metropolis;

and when the Empire crumbled her satellite crumbled too, and became an easy prey to the barbarians. No united resistance was offered, and from valley to valley the savages swept on their devastating way. The corruption of Rome had eaten into the very heart of her great dependency. The degenerate Spaniards had become such good Roman citizens as to be unable or unwilling to protect their own homes, for country, in the broad sense of the word, they had none, and the only unity they knew was Roman officialism.

The social impress that the Romans left upon the people has never been obliterated or greatly diminished. Their speech and literature are Latin; from Rome they took their religion, fervently as was their nature to do, leaning ever to the imaginative and picturesque phases of it. Goths and Moors successively dominated them, and introduced new racial elements into their composition; but, withal, the Latin form of civilisation was most in accordance with the Celtiberian nature, and its features have only been furrowed, not altered, by subsequent dispensations.

One of the principal reasons which rendered the Roman form of government sympathetic to the Celtiberian peoples after the conquest was complete, was the fact that the municipality was the unit of control and taxation, and the city or town continued to be, as it had been in earlier times, the real fatherland of the people, the Roman provincial organisation being simply superposed upon it. Very far from destroying this, the Gothic kings still further strengthened the municipal form of government; and although in all departments of life they made local administration and representative institutions more vigorous than under the decadent empire, the Goths ended by, to a great extent, merging their own traditions into those of the people they had conquered. The laws of Spain, after many attempts at unification, were based finally more on the Roman than the Gothic code; Latin in the last years of the Gothic domination became the universal language; and the Arian form of belief professed by the Goths fell before the more poetic and mystical Latin form of Christianity. During the long era of reconquest from the Moors the same characteristics are displayed. The Moslem invaders themselves, temporarily united by a great

ruler, were welded together under the Cordovan Caliphate; but, true to the geographical features of the country, they broke up into petty kingdoms immediately after the Caliphate fell; and similarly the Christians, with every need for united action to wrest the country from the Moslem, were eternally at issue amongst themselves for centuries, in face of the foreign foe who had possessed themselves of the land. We are compelled to suppose that they must have seen the advantage they would have gained by combined national movement, and to acknowledge that they were impelled to discord and division by the overpowering reasons that have been set forth. It frequently happened that there was, in the later years of the struggle, more consanguinity and racial sympathy between Moors and their Christian neighbours than between the latter and other Spaniards of their own faith. Seen by this light, the long and complicated nature of the reconquest becomes easily explainable, and the personal characters of the Alfonsos and Ferdinands appear to be of less importance in controlling events than at first sight appears.

The strong regional feeling, which, as has been pointed out, is the principal factor of Spanish history, explains also the enormous influence exerted on the world by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella. With a jealous or antagonistic Aragon, Isabella, Queen of Castile alone, might have been unable in her time to conquer the kingdom of Granada; certain it is that without the added strength of Castile to that of his own poor realm, Ferdinand would have been powerless to embark on a far-reaching foreign policy and aggression abroad solely with the object of promoting the traditional ambitions of the House of Aragon—an object in which the larger and richer kingdom of Castile had no share. It was for Aragon, and not for Castile, that Ferdinand drew Spain into antagonism with France, which lasted for full 400 years. It was for Aragonese ends, and not for Castilian, that he brought upon the land the catastrophe which ruined her, by mating his daughter with the son of the Emperor, and the heir of Burgundy; and for the same ends alone, in order to weaken France, did the Aragonese secure for his other daughter the hand of a Tudor, and so indirectly bring about the English Reformation. And whilst her

husband was thus using the strength of her kingdom for his own regional interests, Isabella herself was enabled, thanks to his administrative ability and moral support, to extend, as otherwise she could not have done, the interests of Castile by the expulsion of the Moors and the conquest of America. Similarly, the religious bigotry and persecution, which afterwards became so tremendous a political instrument, and is usually assumed to be characteristic of the Spanish nation, was a policy deliberately adopted by Isabel, Ferdinand and Jimenez to provide the national cohesion necessary to them. The isolation of races and deeply-rooted regional jealousy had always made Spaniards intolerant of foreigners, in which term they would include the men who lived on the other side of their own mountains, and although at first there was no especial religious feeling in it, their antagonism to their neighbours afforded a fertile soil in which clever statesmen, persecuting priests and covetous ignorance might sow the evil seed which brought forth the horrors of the Inquisition. The policy strangled Spain, but it gave her the unity which made her temporarily great.

In countries where the physical features of the land allowed a more complete fusion of the races, and greater rapidity of development, most of the elementary factors in the national history were evolved in times so remote that no written records aid the student to unravel the story; but, as we have seen, it is otherwise in Spain, where, owing to the slowness and lateness of events, the conclusions of the ethnologist and the philologist can be checked by Greek, Roman, Jewish and Arab, as well as early Christian writers, and afford to the reader an opportunity for basing his knowledge of history in general on a solidly scientific foundation.

It was fitting that the early history of a nation possessing this advantage should be written with all the resources of modern scholarship and widely extended research, and on its first appearance Mr. Ulick Burke's learned work was deservedly greeted as unquestionably the best history of early Spain that had appeared in the English language. Unfortunately, before the first edition could be revised, the gifted author died, and it has fallen to me, however unworthy I may be of the task, to make such alterations and corrections as the author

himself would have made had he been spared. Regarding, as I do, an author's style as a revelation of his personality, I have refrained from altering the form in which ideas are conveyed, except in a few cases where the meaning appeared obscure. Where obvious errors of statement have crept into the text, and I have been able to detect them, they have been corrected; and in a large number of instances where the information seemed to need qualification, explanation or supplement, I have ventured to append an additional footnote signed with an initial H., in order that the opinions of the author may still stand as he wrote them. There is much in the arrangement of the book which perhaps might have been reformed, but on mature consideration I have decided that this could hardly be done without recasting and to some extent rewriting it; which, in the case of a work which I hope may be regarded as a classic, I hold that an editor is not justified in attempting. My alterations therefore in this respect have been confined to transferring the chapters on the Bull Fight, Architecture, the Monetary System, and Music, to the end of the text; in order to restore to the narrative a closer chronological continuity than it possessed. In its new form I can only hope that Mr. Ulick Burke's erudite and attractive work will be adjudged at least not to have suffered at my hands, and that the hearty and deserved welcome extended by scholars to the first edition will be even exceeded by that accorded to the second.

MARTIN A. S. HUME.

London, *November*, 1899.

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HISTORY OF SPAIN.

CHAPTER I.

THE CELTIBERIANS.

I.—*Pre-historic Times.*

The earliest inhabitants of the Spanish Peninsula of whom we have any knowledge, whether from history or from tradition, are the Celts and the Iberians.[1] Of the origin of the Celts, intimately connected as they are with ourselves or our ancestors in Britain, we know but very little. Of the Iberians and of their origin, we know practically nothing at all. Established in the Peninsula previous to the Celtic immigration, they are found at the earliest dawn of Spanish history occupying a considerable part of that romantic country to which they have given the name of Iberia. Their earliest settlements are said to have been on the eastern and southern coasts of the Peninsula; but they have ever been specially identified with those more interesting districts among the mountains in north-western Spain, of which the inhabitants have been known at various times as Iberians, Cantabrians and Basques.[2] When they arrived, how they travelled, whom they dispossessed, even tradition does not presume to say; though tradition, in the pages of many Spanish historiographers, tells of the exploits on Spanish soil of Hercules,[3] Bacchus, Osiris, Atlas, Nebuchad-

[1] The Iberians are said by many Spanish writers to have been immigrants into Spain from Asia Minor, or the Eastern Mediterranean. But that the Iberians of Spain are the children of the Iberians of the Caucasus is at best an historic fancy, unsupported by anything that can be called evidence.

[2] See Appendix I. The Basques.

[3] Hercules, the Phœnician Melkarth, is in a special manner identified with the southern coasts of Spain. He is still considered the founder, and in some sense the *patron* of Cadiz; his effigy, grappling with two lions, is borne upon the city arms: and his *pillars*, with the proud motto, *Plus Ultra*, are displayed upon the celebrated Spanish dollar, and are said to have suggested the well known sign $. See Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvi., 5. Erythea, the scene of the legendary labour of the recovery of the oxen of Geryon, is usually taken to signify Spain.

nezzar, and even of the patriarch Noah. Tubal, indeed, son of Japhet, is said by some of these Spanish enthusiasts,[1] upon the uncertain authority of Josephus, to have been the father of the Iberians. And Setubalia, which, according to Masdeu,[2] was one of the ancient names of Spain, is derived by him from that of the Patriarch. The same word, whatever be its origin, no doubt survives in the town of Setubal[3] in modern Portugal.

Coming it may be from the East, the Iberians would naturally have established their first colonies on the eastern coasts of Spain; and they may have occupied Catalonia and Aragon, and given their names to the great river Ebro,[4] before they arrived at the westermost limit of their wanderings, on the shores of the wide Atlantic, and made their home amid the mountains in which, alone among the peoples and nations of Europe, they have maintained the freedom and the purity of their race for three thousand years. For in Spain the Iberian blood has constantly prevailed over that of the Celts and Phœnicians, the Carthaginians and Romans, the Goths and the Moors, by whom the country has been successively occupied, from Carthagena to Finisterre, and it still flows in its greatest purity in the veins of the ever hardy mountaineers of modern Cantabria.[5]

[1] Josephus, *Hist. Jud.*, i., 6, and *Ant. Jud.*, lib. xi., cap. 12, quoting the *Indica* of Megasthenes. *Cf.* Genesis x., 2-5. The most ingenious of all the Spanish historians is a certain Señor Ferreras, who, unable to satisfy himself as to time and manner of the early peopling of Spain, suggests (tom. i., c. 1), that the first inhabitants may have come by air, or dropped down from heaven!

[2] Lafuente, i., 290-293. Mariana, lib. i. Masdeu, ii., 66 and 251. Strabo, i., 2, 27. Wentworth Webster, *Spain*, pp. 70-75.

[3] This *Setubal* has been conventionally Anglicised into *St. Ubes*. I do not know if any more sacred origin has been discovered for this etymological saint!

[4] The etymology of *Ebro* is very uncertain. Romey and the French writers generally would assign to it a Celtic origin, as *Aber* = a confluence of rivers; a root to be found in such English names as Aberdeen, Aberdovey, etc. Others would derive it from the Basque *Ibaia* = running water. It would seem in any case to be connected with *Iberia*. The word Ιβηρ, for the river, and Ιβηρες, for the Spaniards generally, are met with at least as early as the Periplus of Scylax, compiled probably about B.C. 350; or according to Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.*, lib. iv., c. 2, as early as B.C. 520. See the editions of this early geographer by Gronovius (1700), pp. 3 and 179, and that of the Marquis Fortia d'Urban (Paris, 1845), p. 321. *Cf.* Æ. Hübner, *Monumenta Linguæ Ibericæ* (1893); Prolog., lxxv., and p. 220, and Romey, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. i., cap. i., and tom. ii., Appendix I.

[5] This, so far as it infers that the modern Basques are identical with the ancient Iberians, is at least open to considerable question. It is true that place-names with Basque roots are to be found all over Spain; but the assumption that therefore the Iberians spoke Basque does not at all follow, as the names had been given in all probability by the Basque-speaking primitive inhabitants before the Iberians, perhaps a people speaking a Sanscrit tongue, arrived in the country. So far from the Iberians withstanding the Celts, it is more probable that in Cartha-

But if our knowledge of the works and ways of the ancient *Iberians* is so very imperfect, our information as to the *Celts* is scarcely more satisfactory, except of course as regards the language. The Celtic immigrants probably entered Spain from Gaul along the shores of the bay of Biscay, and finding no lodgment in the Basque provinces, already occupied, it may be, by the Iberians, they extended themselves over the plains of northern Spain, and occupied the wilder south-west country, afterwards known as Lusitania.[1] That Lusitania was peopled by Celts at the earliest times of which we have any historic or even traditional knowledge, is at least tolerably certain.[2] How they reached that ancient far west of Europe is more than uncertain; it is impossible to ascertain. The fact is, that with the exception of one or two words in Herodotus and Scylax, and an incorrect and doubtful description of part of the east and south coasts by Eratosthenes, we know nothing certain of Spain nor of the tribes that inhabited it, until after the fall of Saguntum.

From this time, thanks to Livy and Appian, to Polybius and Florus and other Roman historians, we have some slight

ginian times the mass of the population of Central Spain consisted of a fusion of the two peoples, speaking some form of Sanscrit, more or less closely allied to what we know as Celtic; the original Basque-speaking inhabitants being forced up into the northern mountains where they still remain, and have in course of time engrafted upon their ancient tongue many words—though little or none of the form—of the language of those who had displaced them. It is the opinion of many philologists that the children who were, as St. Augustine tells us, so eager to learn Latin and to forget their mother tongue, did not speak Basque but some Sanscrit form allied to Celtic.—H.

[1] "The heights in the north of Spain whence the Tagus, Durius, and Minius flow towards the sea, and whence on the other side smaller rivers carry their waters towards the Ebro, were inhabited by Celts who were also called Celtiberians; other Celts bearing the name of *Celtici* dwelt in Algarbia and the Portuguese-Estremadura; and others again inhabited the Province of Entre Douro e Minho in the north of Portugal. These three Celtic nations were quite isolated in Spain. The Celtiberians were not pure Celts, but, as even their name indicates, a mixture of Celts and Iberians; but the Celts in Portugal are expressly stated to have been pure Celts."—Niebuhr, *Lectures on Ancient and Modern Geography and Ethnography*, ii., 280, 281.

[2] Masdeu, following other Spanish historians, devotes an entire chapter or book (lib. iii.), of sixty pages, to proving or asserting that the Spanish Celts are more ancient than those of France, and that Celtic Gaul was colonised from Celtic Spain as late as the third century before Christ. This author derives the Celts from Tubal, and the Iberians from his nephew Tarsis; and asserts that these Iberians, migrating northwards in the fourteenth century before Christ, overran France, descended into Italy, and thus founded the Roman Empire. *Cf.* Masdeu, ii., 126. Martial, himself a Spaniard, boasts of his descent "ex Iberis et Celtis genitus"—lib. x., ep. 65. *Cf.* iv., 55. See also Depping, *Hist. d'Espagne*, i., pp. 21-45; and Debrosses, *Hist. Romaine*, ii., 134.

knowledge of the south and south-eastern districts; and as the Roman conquests were extended, we hear something of the tribes and districts of the interior. But we are told that as late as the time of Cato the Censor the greater number of the independent tribes who inhabited the north and west of the Peninsula were as yet scarcely known to the Romans, even by name. And although after the fall of Numantia the Central Provinces as well as Southern and Eastern Spain had become more or less rapidly Romanised,[1] we have no detailed information of the tribes and tribal divisions of the Peninsula until the time of Strabo, whose Geography was written in all probability within twenty years after the commencement of the Christian era.[2] By this time, as he tells us, the Southern Provincials had not only been converted to Roman manners, and adopted the Roman dress, but they had entirely forgotten their own language or languages, Iberian, Celtiberian, Phœnician, or Carthaginian.[3]

Yet Niebuhr, in the absence of direct authority, ingeniously conjectures that after centuries of warfare, in which the Celts may have been more successful in the south and the Iberians in the north of the Peninsula, the two races, meeting in the great central plain on more or less equal terms, may have entered into that traditional agreement to share the country between them, which would be at once the earliest example of a political convention in ancient Europe and the origin of the Spanish people.[4] And however imperfectly the high contracting parties may have carried out the provisions of the treaty, their alliance and friendly intercourse gave birth to a nation of mixed

[1] The wars in Spain of Sertorius and of Cæsar were, in a great measure, Roman civil wars; nor did they change to any considerable extent the nature of the Imperial dominion in Spain from the fall of Numantia, B.C. 133, to the final conquest or pacification of the Asturias in A.D. 19.

[2] Books i. to iv. were published about that time.

[3] Strabo, iii., 2, 15.

[4] See Diodorus Siculus, v., 33, 1; Lucan, *Hieron;* and W. von Humboldt, translation by Marrast, sub tit. *Recherches sur les habitants primitifs de l'Espagne* (1766), pp. 120, 125. See Strabo, iii., 3, 4 and 5; Arnold's *Hist. of Rome*, iii., 396; and John Ormsby, in *Cornhill Magazine*, 1870, p. 425. The words of Niebuhr to which I refer are as follows: "As one part of England was occupied by Germans so completely as to destroy every trace of the ancient inhabitants, while in other places the Britons lived among the Germans and became mixed with them, so in Spain the Iberians expelled the ancient Celtic population wherever the nature of the country did not protect it; but the Celts maintained themselves in the mountains between the Tagus and the Iberus, and the Iberians only subdued them and then settled among them. Thus in the course of time the two nations became amalgamated" (Niebuhr, *Lectures*, ii., 281).

See also *Memorias de la Real Academia de Historia*, tom. iii., pp. 1-244, and tom. iv., pp. 1-75.

race, split up unhappily in course of time into numerous rival tribes, but all known to the early Roman historians under the general name of Celtiberians.

Thus, if the Spaniard was a Celt, he was a Celt with a difference, and in his distinguishing characteristics he was always essentially Iberian. He was a man of great and powerful individuality,[1] hardy and determined, sober and frugal, chivalrous but vindictive, restless but stubborn, careless of life,[2] ever reckless of danger. He was, moreover, factious and unmanageable; hardly to be led, never to be driven; a faithful friend, a fearless foe, an impatient ally. But, above and beyond all these characteristics, the Celtiberian had something peculiar to himself, like that subtle essence, baffling analysis and defying imitation, which makes the vintage of the Gironde so entirely different from the red wine of precisely similar chemical elements that is made on the banks of the Rhone or the Danube. For two thousand years the Spaniard has perpetuated this noble individuality, and has stood alone among European nations in the constancy of his Peninsular originality; most conspicuous in the days of his greatness, when the sun never set on his empire, and his soldiers were the terror of Europe; but distinguishable even in the days of his abasement, when his factions were organised by favourites and his faithfulness was played upon by priests. His vices are still partly Latin and partly Gothic, yet their fashion is distinctly Peninsular; and if some of his greatness no doubt is Roman, his virtues are all his own.

Of the religion of these early forebears of the Spanish people we know absolutely nothing.[3] The education of their youth

[1] Cantaber, ante omnis hiemisque, æstusque, famisque
Invictus: Silius Italicus, iii., 326.

[2] Neque adhuc hominum memoria repertus est quisquam, qui, eo interfecto, cujus se amicitiæ devovissent, mori recusaret: Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, iii., 22.

Prodiga gens animæ et properare facillima mortem:
Silius Italicus, i., 226. See Livy, lib. xviii., and xxxiv., 17. As to their contempt for pain and torture, and the singing and jesting of Celtiberian prisoners, even when nailed upon the cross by the Romans, who would have cowed them, see Strabo, iii., 4.

[3] We may be pretty sure that the ancient Celtiberians were religious. Lafuente speaks of human sacrifices, though the authorities he quotes seem hardly to justify an assertion which is in all probability entirely correct. See also Depping, i., pp. 34-37, quoting St. Augustine, *apud* Vives.

The god of the Celtiberians was known as "Elman, or the god of blood," a fit forerunner of the evil genius of the mediæval religion in Spain.—See *Memorias de la Real Acad. de Hist.*, vol. iii., 157-8. Masdeu, after giving a long list of the *Divinidades que suelan creerse propias de la nacion Española*, comes to the conclusion that *all* were of either Phœnician or Carthaginian or Greek or Roman origin, vii., 356-359. *Cf.* Strabo, iii., 14, 16.

consisted chiefly in military and gymnastic exercises, in feats of arms, in displays of boldness and endurance. The Celtiberians, we are told, from their earliest childhood were brave and hardy, contemptuous of pain and danger, and inspired from their very infancy with an almost passionate love of personal independence. The women not only educated the younger children and cultivated the land,[1] but took their places in times of special danger by the side of their husbands or their fathers in battle array.

The occupations of the men appear to have been exclusively those that were connected with war. The military arts were cultivated by them with conspicuous success; and we find that, apart from their reckless bravery, they were more skilful both as strategists and tacticians than any of the other *Barbarians* with which the Romans were at any time engaged in arms.[2] Nor were they less successful in the manufacture than in the use of their weapons.[3] So admirable was the temper of their steel that no Roman shield nor helmet could resist their stroke; and the short Spanish sword of Bilbilis, forerunner of the celebrated blade of Toledo, was introduced by the admiring Romans into the armies of the Republic as early as the days of Hannibal.[4]

[1] A characteristic example of early maternal discipline is recorded by Florus, iii., 8, Cibum puer a matre non accipit nisi quem, ipsa monstrante, percusserit.

[2] See F. Hoefer, *Diodore de Sicile*, vol. ii., pp. 33, 34 (notes). Sword and lance were used with equal dexterity by cavalry and infantry. Of the Celtiberian slings, of their short and long lances, as well as of their defensive arms, the shield and the helmet, see Diod. Sic., lib. v., cap. 33, last lines, and Livy, lib. xxii., 46; Aul. Gell., xv., 30. Polybius describes a peculiar practice among the Celtiberians. When the cavalry saw that the infantry was hard pressed, they would quit their horses and leave them standing in their place while they helped the infantry. We must presume that this was done on occasions when the mounted men for some reason could be of no use as cavalry. These early *dragoons* had small pegs, πασσαλισκους, fastened to the end of their reins, and they used to fix these pegs in the ground, their horses being trained to stand by them till the riders returned and took them up, Polybius, *Fragment*, iii., 3 in ed. Casaubon (1763), vol. iv., p. 283; *cf.* Diod. Sicul., v., 35, *ad hoc.*

[3] The celebrated *gladius hispanensis.* See Livy, vii., 10, and xxii., 46; Polybius, iii., 24; Diod. Sicul., v., 33. It is curious enough that while the Roman soldiers wore their swords suspended at the right side, the ancient Celtiberians wore theirs on the left, as is now the case throughout the world. The authorities for both these statements will be found collected by Masdeu, vii., 119, 120. The *Pilum* or heavy spear of the Roman Legionary is said to have been also adopted from the Iberians. It is no doubt the *Sparus* of Livy, xxxiv., 15.

This spear is to be seen in the hands of the horsemen in many of the old Ibero-Roman coins. See Ford (1845), i., 177.

[4] *Bilbilis*, a Celtiberian word of uncertain meaning, was a town on the river Salo, whose water gave an unrivalled temper to the steel. The modern town of

Of the Celtiberian literature, if literature they possessed, not a fragment has come down to us. Their very language is lost.[1] And of their way of life, when not actually ranged in battle, we have neither record nor tradition.[2]

The Celtiberians had no Gildas. All that we know of them —and it is little enough—is told by those who waged cruel war against them, and the tale of the enemy is one of valour and of generosity, of restless vigour and of almost heroic endurance.

II.—*Saguntum.*

If the Celts and the Iberians were the first settlers, they were not long permitted to be the sole occupants of the

Calatayud is built, not on, but near the site of Bilbilis, which was dilapidated by Ayúb, the nephew of Musa, the conqueror, to supply the materials for the Moslem Fort, *Kila 't Ayúb*. Bambola, about two miles to the east of Calatayud, is supposed to occupy the site of Bilbilis. See Pliny, *N.H.*, xxxiv., 14, 41. Justin, xliv., 2, 3; and Martial—the greatest of the sons of Bilbilis—i., 50, 3, 12; iv., 55, 11-15; x., 20, 103, 104; xii., 18, 9. *Cf.* Ukert, *Geog.* ii. (1), 460.

[1] The Cantabrians at least are said to have originally written from right to left, after the manner of the Semitic nations, and to have given up this ancient system, called by them *agercaya*, for the Roman alphabet, not long before the Christian era. Baudrimont, *Hist. des Basques*, p. 175.

[2] The beauty of the Celtiberian coins is spoken of with admiration by Lafuente. The earliest existing Spanish coins are those of the Greek cities of the N.E. coast, notably of Emporiae (Ampurias) and Rhode (Rosas), eminently Greek in design, and bearing Greek, or more rarely Iberian inscriptions. See Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 1; Heiss, *Description générale des monnaies antiques de l'Espagne*, 1870; Zobel de Zangroniz, *Estudio Historico de la Moneda Antigua Española*, and various special works by D. Celestino Pujol y Camps, printed within the last few years at Seville. In the more distinctively Iberian coins of the central provinces, Roman or Greek influences are also seen. The horse, whether natural, winged, or man-headed, is one of the most frequent designs. The following list of the devices on coins found in Spain with Iberian inscriptions may be interesting: Man's Head, Female Head, Horse (of common occurence), Escallop Shell (Pecten), Moon, Star (usually of eight points), Eagle, Dolphin, Prow of a Ship, Stern or Helm of a Ship, Horseman (by far the most frequently found), Lion, Wolf or Dog, Crossed Fishes, Bull, Caduceus, Bay Tree. The coins of Carthaginian cities are said to have borne, as a rule, a rude representation of a pair of Tunny Fish. Some of these, according to Señor Zobel de Zangroniz, may be as old as B.C. 350; but the oldest coins in the British Museum collection are supposed to be rather later than earlier than B.C. 268.

One of the oldest that I have seen is a copper piece with the words "OBULCO" on the reverse, and an Iberian inscription on the obverse. This coin is not later than 133, and may be as old as B.C. 268. The most recent authority on Spanish coinage is D. Alvaro Campaner y Fuertes, *Indicador numismatico*, 1 vol., 1891.

Upon the earliest periods, in addition to the works already referred to, I have consulted Saulcy, *Essai de Classification des monnaies autonomes d'Espagne*, 1840; P. A. Boudard, *Etude sur l'alphabet ibérien, et quelques monnaies autonomes d'Espagne* (1852); also his *Numismatique ibérienne;* Joseph Gaillard, *Description des monnaies espagnoles*, Madrid, 1852; Antonio Delgado, *Nuevo Método de Clasificacion, etc.* (Seville, 1871).

Peninsula. The Phœnicians of Tyre, sailing westward in search of gain, founded, according to tradition, some eleven hundred and thirty years before Christ, the city of Gades or Gadeira[1] on the site of the modern Cadiz. A hundred and fifty years later we hear of another Phœnician settlement[2] at the mouth of the Baetis or Guadalquivir, the city of Tartessus or Tarshish, no less celebrated in the days of the Phœnician supremacy than Gadeira itself. But the glories of Tarshish had departed almost before the dawn of serious history. Its site is now uncertain; and its very existence has of late been called in question.[3]

In course of time, the Phœnicians established themselves along the whole of the south coast of the Peninsula, deriving immense riches from the skilful working of those famous mines which made Spain, as Gibbon has aptly said, the Peru and Mexico of the ancient world; and they founded, in addition to Cadiz and Tartessus, the cities of Malaga,[4] Seville,[5] Cordova,[6] and probably Medina Sidonia, named after their own beloved

[1] Gadeira, perhaps derived from *Gadir*, in Hebrew and Phœnician—a fence, *i.e.*, a fenced city. See Niebuhr, *Lectures*, ii., 287-8. For other possible and still less likely derivations, see Depping, *Hist. d'Espagne*, i., 43-45, and Heeren, *Politique et Commerce des Peuples de l'Antiquité*, tom. iv., Appendix; and Romey, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. i., p. 68.

[2] See Herodotus, i., 163, and Rawlinson's *Phœnicia*, ed. 1889, pp. 125 and 418.

[3] If it is the Tarshish of Scripture (1 Kings x. 22), its prosperity and importance must have been even anterior to the time of Solomon—say B.C. 1000—whose navy of Tarshish, distinct from the navy that brought gold from Ophir, brought him once in every three years gold and silver, ivory and apes and peacocks. See Rawlinson's *Phœnicia* (1889), pp. 125 and 431; Stanley's *Jewish Church*, pp. 182-187. Marina—quoted by Depping, i., 41—is of opinion that Tarshish is but a general name for the sea. But this is clearly untenable. See other authorities quoted Depping, in *loc. cit.*, as well as the *Discurso historico-critico sobre la primera venida de los Judios en España*, by Fr. Martinez Marina, published in the third volume of the *Memorias de la Acad. Real de Hist.*, pp. 317-469, and a long note in Masdeu, vol. iii., pp. 273-285. *Cf.* Ezekiel xxvii. 12, Psalm lxxi., and Isaiah xxiii. 10, where Tyre is addressed by the poet as the Daughter of Tarshish. Dr. Arnold is clearly of opinion that Tyrian Tartessus was the Tarshish of Scripture (*Hist. of Rome*, iii., 323).

[4] Malaga: Lat., Malaca; Hebrew and Phœnician, *Malac-carth* = a royal city. *Cf.* Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, ii., 287-8.

[5] Seville: Phœnician, *Sephela* or *Spela* = a plain. This became in Greek Ἰσπολα; in Latin, Hispalis; in Arabic, Ishbiliah; whence the modern Seville.

[6] Cordova—Latin, *Corduba*—is said by Depping, *op. cit.*, i., 53, on very doubtful authority, to be derived from Corteba = an oil mill. The Phœnician Karth uba = rich city, as given by El Edris, is far more likely. Yet Niebuhr, in *loc. cit.*, considers that Cordova is in its origin certainly a Roman colony, and had no existence before A.U.C. 640, when it was founded by Marcellus, much as Italica was founded by Scipio. See *Descripcion de España de Xerif al Edris, traduccion de J. A. Conde*, Madrid, 1799.

Sidon in their home in the eastern Mediterranean.[1] And thus if the most flourishing of all the Phœnician settlements on the shores of the western sea was in the north of Africa, the riches that made the Tyrians the first merchant princes of the world were dug out of the soil of Iberia. And at the present day, two thousand years after the annihilation of Carthage,[2] the mines of Almaden and the Rio Tinto are still among the richest, as they are the most ancient, of all the possessions of Spain.

After the Phœnicians came the Greeks; and of these it was the Phocians, says Herodotus, "who first performed long voyages, and who made the Hellenes acquainted with Iberia and the city of Tartessus"; and it was the Rhodians,[3] wafted westwards across the great sea, who settled themselves, some eight centuries before Christ, on the coast in the extreme north-east of Spain,[4] and gave to their colony the name of Rhodas and Rosas, while they established their *Emporium* hard by, on the side of the modern Ampurias.

Farther down the coast, between Valencia and Alicante, there was another Greek colony, where the new-comers set up a magnificent temple dedicated to the goddess Diana, after whom the town was named Dianium, surviving in the modern

[1] Tarraco, the modern Tarragona, is said by different authors to have been founded by Iberians, Celtiberians and Phœnicians. It was, at least, as far back as the time of Eratosthenes (circ. B.C., 300-250), an old and flourishing city.

[2] The quicksilver of Almaden or Sisapo was known to the early Greeks, and highly prized by the Romans, Strabo, iii., 2, 8; Plmy, xxxiii., cap. 7; Arnold, *Hist. of Rome*, iii., 328. As to silver, see Strabo, iii., 2, 3, 8, 10. As to the vermilion (Cinabrio) found at Almaden, see Masdeu, vii., 72-3, 151. Posidonius wrote a treatise on the mines of Spain which has perished; but Strabo and Diodorus Siculus have both cited extracts from his work, speaking of the wonderful mineral riches of the country. And Phylarchus, *Athen.*, ii., 44 b., speaks of the Iberians as the richest of men, πλουσιωτάτους ἀνθρώπων. See Depping, i., 10-14. And see also Vives' edition of St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, Fol. Paris, 1585, lib. viii., cap. 9, note, where the condition of the Spaniards, after the riches of their country had attracted merchants and settlers from all parts of the world, is contrasted with that of the inhabitants in earlier times. The description is most flattering, and may be referred to by those who are curious in such matters; but it seems to rest on no good authority, for St. Augustine's eulogy of the early Spaniards is confined to the inclusion of the *Hispani* among those early nations who were *Sapientes vel Philosophi*. I have been at some pains to find the passage; the references to it having been erroneously given in every work that I have consulted.

[3] Herod, i., c. 163; Strabo, iii., 1, 4. These Rhodians are said to have also occupied the Gymnesiæ or Balearic Islands about the same time. As to the treaty between these Greek colonists and the Indigetes already established at the foot of the Pyrenees, see Livy, xxxiv.

[4] See D. José Pella y Forgas, *Historia de Ampurdan* (Barcelona, 1883), with its excellent map of all this part of the country.

name of the existing town of Denia; while some adventurers from the island of Zante, or possibly from the Tyrrheno-Pelasgic city of Ardea, founded on the site of the modern Murviedro the more famous city of Saguntum.[1]

But all these settlers were merchants rather than soldiers.[2] For long years they would seem to have made no attempt to extend their possessions into the interior of the country; and the first departure from their peaceful policy was the signal for a change of masters. About four hundred and eighty years before Christ, some eager spirits at Gadeira undertook an expedition into Southern Celtiberia, seeking no doubt new mines rather than new dominions. But the bold tribesmen of the central provinces—defending their territory with unexpected vigour, replied to the aggression of the foreigners by a counter invasion, and by the destruction of many of their settlements on the coast. Gadeira itself was threatened with assault; and the Phœnicians, greatly alarmed, applied for assistance to their brothers or cousins across the narrow sea at Carthage. Such requests are ever dangerous, and such succour has ever been of evil omen in Spain. The Carthaginians accepted the invitation, landed in force, beat off the Iberians; and then, turning their arms against those who had invited them into the country, they took possession of the city which they had relieved, and extended their operations with such vigour and such success, that in a few years there was left to the Phœnicians no foothold in the entire Peninsula of Spain.

[1] See Livy, xxi., 7. Saguntum—but eighteen English miles to the north of Valencia along the coast—has developed into Murviedro, by the change of name from that of the heroic city, not once, but often destroyed, to that of its *old walls* —*Muri veteres: Muros viejos* = Murviedro. But within the last few years a patriotic attempt has been made to restore the ancient name, and the town is officially known as Sagunto. It was here, on the last day of the year 1874, that Martinez Campos put an end to the Republic under Serrano, by proclaiming Alfonso XII. King of Spain.

[2] The distinct influence exercised over the country by the Greek and Phœnician colonists respectively must not be lost sight of. The Phœnicians were attracted to the land simply by a commercial love of gain, and kept up a close connection with their mother country. Neither their methods nor their aims were in accord with the Iberian spirit, and they were always unpopular with the natives. The Greeks, on the other hand, were formed into communities whose first settlements had been prompted mainly by political or other uncommercial reasons, and were practically independent of their mother country. They therefore identified themselves much more closely than the Phœnicians with the life of the people amongst whom they had made their new homes. Their civil and religious organisations also were sympathetic to the natives, and from all these reasons combined, the influence of Greek civilisation in Spain was, in comparison with the extent of the colonisation, much greater than that of the Phœnicians.—H.

For nearly two hundred and fifty years the Carthaginians ruled the coast and a fringe of the interior, much as the Phœnicians had done before them; treating the country rather as a source of revenue than as a theatre of military glory, and pouring the rich treasures of the Spanish mines into the lap of Carthage; and no attempt was made to subdue the greater part of the country until the time of the great Hamilcar Barca.[1] But after the Roman successes which brought to a close the first Punic war, and the seizure of Sardinia by the Senate, and while the Carthaginians were occupied with the mercenary revolt which followed in Africa, Hamilcar, consummate statesman no less than skilled commander, conceived the bold and brilliant scheme of strengthening his position in Europe rather than in Africa, as a step to the invasion and subjugation of Rome, by extending and consolidating the Carthaginian possessions in Spain.[2] Hamilcar, though he quickly overran Baetica, found it no easy task to vanquish the sturdy Celtiberians. After over nine years' warfare, and the foundation of the city which preserves the proud title of Barca[3] in the modern name of Barcelona, he was killed in the retreat after the battle of Bellia (the modern Belchite) where his Celtiberian ally turned his arms against him, Spain was not only still unconquered, but the central and northern provinces were almost untrodden by the Carthaginians.

Hasdrubal, the son-in-law and successor of Hamilcar, wisely preferring peaceful to warlike methods, ruled over Carthaginian Spain for some eight years [228-221] organising and consolidating the Punic Empire, and cultivating the friendship of the native Celtiberians. The most enduring monument of his sway was the city of New Carthage,[4] lying on a noble bay over against the Punic capital in Africa, a city which still flourishes, after a lapse of over two thousand years, as Carthagena. The peaceful conquests of Hasdrubal were rudely and disastrously checked by his assassination at the hand of a slave; and his sympathetic policy was unhappily and abruptly reversed. For the young

[1] See Diodorus Siculus, lib. v., cap. 35; also the authorities cited in James' *Gibraltar*, cap. i.

[2] As to the oath taken by Hamilcar Barca and his son Hannibal, see Polybius, iii., 11.

[3] *Bark*, Hebrew and Arab, Lightning; *cf.* Bosworth Smith, *Carthage*, cap. ix., Lafuente, i., 330.

[4] Carthagena: Phœn., *Carth* = city; *gena* = new. Founded in B.C. 228. Polybius, ii., 13, 36; Livy, xxi., 2.

commander who succeeded him was before all things a man of war.

Hannibal, the greater son of the great Hamilcar Barca, had been brought up from his early childhood in Spain. In Spain he had served his apprenticeship in arms. He had married a Spanish wife. His friends and companions were rather Spaniards than Carthaginians, and his only foe was Rome. And when, at the age of twenty-six, he succeeded to the supreme command in Punic Iberia, his armies numbered as many Spaniards as Africans in their ranks. Grasping the slackened reins of military dominion in his master hand, Hannibal inspired every soldier under his command with his own dauntless spirit, and he soon carried his victorious army over the whole of southern and eastern Spain. One city alone resisted; and the name of SAGUNTUM lives in history, as glorious as that of Hannibal himself.

By a treaty made but a few years before, between the Roman Senate and the diplomatic Hasdrubal, it had been stipulated that Saguntines should be considered as allies of Rome, and that their ancient rights and privileges should be respected by the Carthaginians. But good reasons are ever to be found for the rupture or evasion of treaties, and a real or imaginary attack made by the Saguntines upon the neighbouring semi-Carthaginian tribe of the Turditanians, afforded Hannibal a specious pretext for laying siege to the city. The population of Saguntum was largely Iberian. And in the Punic armies, thanks to the genial policy of Hasdrubal, and the magic military charm which ever attended the name of the younger Hannibal, were found great numbers of those Iberian or Celtiberian soldiers in whose veins flowed the blue blood of the future Spanish people. The attack was tremendous, the defence unflinching. For nearly nine months the city withstood all the assaults of the besiegers. Hannibal himself, fighting in the forefront of a party of the assailants, was wounded under the walls; and in spite of all his skill as a general and all his impetuosity as a soldier, in spite of the presence of a host which is said to have amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand men, in spite of the invention and use of new engines of battery and escalade, the fall of Saguntum was due rather to famine than to force of arms. Embassies were despatched from the beleaguered city to Rome. But Rome was too busy with party politics,[1] and Rome sent no help.

[1] Dum Romæ consulitur, Saguntum expugnatur.

Good advice indeed was offered to the besieged. Threats were conveyed to the besieger. But Hannibal was undismayed. The Saguntines would hear of no surrender; and after nine months' agony, came the inevitable end. The spoils of the victors and the slaughter of the vanquished were equally enormous;[1] and the self-immolation of the Saguntine leaders, who preferred to perish, with their wives, their children, and their treasure, rather than fall into the hands of the victorious enemy, is immortalised in the glowing pages of Livy.[2]

[1] "Signo dato ut omnes puberes interficerentur," Livy, xxi. 14.

[2] See Saint Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, iii., 20; Livy, xxi., 7-15; Appian, *Iberica;* Silius Italicus, i., 271; Polybius, iii., 15; and for the inevitable counter criticism, Niebuhr's unsympathetic contention that "Livy's account of Saguntum is a childish exaggeration well suited to a rhetorician like Cœlius Antipater, from whom he took his description. . . . Saguntum was restored by the Romans, and became a considerable town under the Empire," Niebuhr, *Lectures on Ancient Geography and Ethnography*, ii., 292-3.

CHAPTER II.

NUMANTIA.

(B.C. 209—B.C. 27.)

THE events that immediately followed the fall of Saguntum, important as they are in themselves and in the annals of Carthage and of Rome, are chiefly interesting to the student of Spanish history in so far as they led to the invasion of Spain,[1] and the ultimate absorption of the whole country into the Roman Empire. Of the varying fortunes of Romans and Carthaginians; of the ever changing alliances between the high contending parties and the native Celtiberians; of the successes of Hannibal and his Spanish soldiers in far away Italy; of the coming of Publius and Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, who took the field with twenty thousand Celtiberian allies against Hasdrubal and his Carthaginians in Spain; of the defection of the Spaniards, and the defeat and death of the Roman generals in Spain; of all these things but little need be said in this place, partly because it concerns Spain so little, and partly because, in the plain language of Thomas Arnold,[2] "we really know nothing about them". What we do know is

[1] The derivation of the name of Spain, España, Hispania, is most uncertain. To the Greeks the country was known as Hesperia, the land of the setting sun, and as we have seen in Scylax, *ante*, p. 1, as Iberia, the land of the Iberians, and of the Ebro; and as Hispania, which has been derived (1) from Phœn., *Span*= hidden or distant, as being the most remote land known to them; (2) from Phœn., *pahan*=a rabbit, from the number of rabbits found in the country, *cuniculosa*. On some of the coins struck in the reign of Hadrian, during his visit to the Peninsula, the bust of the Emperor is seen on the obverse, and on the reverse a female figure with an olive branch in her hands and a rabbit [conejo] at her feet, and the legend *Hispania*. Humboldt derives España from the Basque *España*, margin or edge, as being on the margin or edge or border of western Europe, an idea possibly apparent in the poetical name of Hesperia. See Marrast's edition of *Humboldt* (1866), pp. 54-56.

According to Mariana, Spain is called after its founder Hispanus, a son or grandson of Hercules; and he devotes many pages to the *history* of his reign! Mariana, i., cap. 8-11.

[2] *Hist. of Rome*, vol. iii., p. 215; Bosworth Smith's *Carthage*, cap. xvii.

certainly not to the advantage of the Roman commanders, nor even of the Roman soldiers. Had they been more successful, their records would, no doubt, be more definite. But the arrival of Scipio Africanus in 209; his taking of New Carthage, or *Carthagena*, and his masterly display of unaccustomed humanity after the fall of the city, entirely changed the condition of affairs.

The historic or legendary episode of "The Continence of Scipio," which has formed the subject of so many well-known pictures, is supposed to have taken place after the capture of Carthagena. Whether the youthful commander actually restored the weeping virgin [1] to her lover, or whether the graceful story is one of the fables of history, it is certain that Scipio distinguished himself by a most politic and most honourable clemency, more fruitful even than his military successes in obtaining for him the admiration and respect of the sympathetic Iberians, who offered to salute him as their king. When Scipio returned to Tarragona, in 208, Rome had well nigh triumphed over Carthage in Spain; while his crowning victory less than a year afterwards, with an army composed almost entirely of Spaniards, apparently put an end to the struggle.

But although the Carthaginians were thus defeated, it was impolitic as well as ungenerous in Scipio to treat his Spanish allies as a conquered people. The Iberians promptly responded to his change of attitude by rising against the Roman arms: and when Mago at length abandoned Cadiz [B.C. 206], the last of the Carthaginian possessions in Europe, the war in Spain was only about to begin. And the new enemy was far more stubborn than the old. The details of battle and siege are for the most part entirely wanting; but we read in the scanty annals of the time how the unknown Iberian defenders of a well-nigh forgotten town, with a determination hardly equalled at Saguntum, and not exceeded at Numantia, preferred death to surrender; and leaving a small guard within the city, to slay the women and children and to set fire to the town, sallied forth from unconquered Ataspa,[2] and died every man with his face to

[1] "Adulta virgo . . . eximia forma," Livy, xxvi., 50; Polyb. x., 19.

[2] The town was Ataspa [see Livy, xxviii., 22-23] on the Bætis or Guadalquivir. It is referred to by Mariana, lib. vii., cap. 9, as a rebellious city as late as A.D. 888. The etymology of Ataspa is highly interesting; *Asta* in Basque means rock; and is the root of the word Asturia = the country of rocks, and Asturica = water of the rock; *asta* = rock; *ura* = water. Ataspa is still used in modern Basque for "a house at the foot of a rock or rocks," *pa* = foot. Ataspa must thus, in the time of Livy, have been an ancient Iberian town.

the foe, by the unsparing swords of the Roman besiegers [B.C. 206].

It was about this time, in 207, or more probably 206, that Scipio founded the city to the north of Hispalis, and on the other side of the river, which, peopled as it was by Italian troops and camp followers, was known as *Urbs Italica*, the birthplace of Trajan and of Theodosius the Great, the family city of Hadrian. Italica was long a celebrated *municipium*, and bore the proud title of Julia Augusta. But its rival Hispalis survives as Seville, while Italica[1] is but a memory of departed greatness. The very name is lost; and on the spot where the town once stood a few wretched hovels are now known as the village of San Ponce or Seville la Vieja.

Of the marching and counter-marching of the Romans, recking all too little of Spanish friendship, now that the Carthaginians had taken their departure; of the intrigues of Massinissa and Syphax; of the Roman and African politics of the day, the student of early Spanish history need seek to know little or nothing. Suffice it here to say that by the year 205 the Roman Senate, rejoicing over Scipio's successes, already regarded Spain as a conquered country; and the entire Peninsula, conveniently divided by the river Ebro into two provinces, *Citerior* and *Ulterior*,[2]

[1] See Townsend's *Journey in Spain* (1791), vol. ii., p. 331. Italica, according to Mommsen (*Hist.*, iii., 4), was intended by Scipio to be a *Forum et conciliabulum civium Romanum*, as *Aquæsextæ* (Aix), in Gaul, afterwards was. As to the true signification of the word "Italica" see a long and very learned note by Masdeu, vii., pp. 339-350. He is, as usual, ultra-patriotic. *Cf.* Justino Matute y Gaviria, *Bosquejo de Italica* (Seville, 1827), and Ukert, *Geog.* ii., 372.

[2] See Strabo, iii., 4, 7, 19; Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, iii., 73; Pliny, iii., 1, 2. The geography of the time is even more confusing than the chronology. Hither Spain, or Ἰβηρία, included generally the eastern portion of the province as *citerior* or nearer to Rome. Further Spain, or Κελτιβηρία, included the western portion of the province as *ulterior* or further from Rome. The river Ebro, if taken as a boundary, would give to Hither Spain only a corner of the north-east of the Peninsula; and Polybius makes the boundary start from a point near Saguntum; and Urci, or Almeria, in Murcia, was, in later times, the southern starting-point of the common frontier. A line drawn on the map of modern Spain from Almeria to Saragossa and thence to Gerona would probably leave Hither Spain to the east and Further Spain to the west, much as the division existed during a great part of the first and second centuries B.C. The capital of Hither Spain was at one time as far south as New Carthage, though it was more permanently fixed by Augustus at Tarraco (Tarragona). The capital of *Hispania Ulterior* was sometimes *Corduba* and sometimes *Gades*. We find the divisions sometimes spoken of as Ἱσπανία μεγάλη and Ἱσπανία μικρά, which is a much more reasonable nomenclature, if the Ebro was really the line of demarcation between the provinces. The fact is, no doubt, that the boundaries between *Citerior* and *Ulterior* Spain were never very clearly defined; and while at first *Citerior* included little more than the north-east corner of Spain, it had, by the time of Julius Cæsar, eaten up, as it were, the greater part of the Peninsula, except Bætica and Lusitania, which were always included in

was committed by Rome to the care of two Proconsular Prætors.[1]

But Rome reckoned without the Spaniards. Many long years had to pass, and many dark and disastrous deeds to be done, before the country was finally subdued. And the tardy conquest cost the great Republic more of her blood and of her treasure than the subjugation of the rest of the world.

From the day that Publius and Gnaeus Scipio landed at Rosas in 218 to the day when the mountaineers of remote Asturias laid down their arms before the generals of Augustus Cæsar, it was a struggle of full two hundred years, a struggle in which the greatest captains and the bravest troops of Rome were often humbled by the sturdiest and proudest of the barbarians.

An army of forty thousand legionaries was constantly maintained in the Peninsula, and although the tide of Roman conquest flowed gradually over the country, the conquerors were often driven back for a season, and were often well contented to hold their own. But Rome never abandoned the territory that she had once occupied. The proud boast that each camping-ground of the advancing army was ever Roman soil—*Ubi castra, ibi Respublica*—was not merely a sentence, it was a fact. So Iberia became slowly but surely Roman. Yet for long years the fortune of war seemed not unequally divided; and the frontier provinces of Roman Spain were too often re-occupied by the indomitable Celtiberians. From the very first, battles and skirmishes were of daily occurrence; and in less than ten years after the departure of Scipio the whole of Hither Spain was in revolt (198-197). Minucius, the Prætor in command, hardly made head against the insurgents; Marcus Cato, the consul, was despatched from Rome to take over the supreme command in Hispania. After two years of fighting, with varying fortune, an important victory enabled the Romans to effect a general disarmament of the provincials in 195, as the only means of securing peace in the province. But in spite of this prudent measure a Roman army was once more routed by

Further or *Ulterior* Spain. This difficult question is very fully gone into by Masdeu: tom. vii., pp. 6-34 and 284-292. *Cf.* also Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iii., 3, "Citerioris Hispaniæ sicut complurium provinciarum, aliquantum vetus forma mutata est". And see, on all these questions the most interesting chapter, *Les Provinces Espagnoles*, in the second vol. of Mommsen, and Marquardt's *Organisation de l'Empire Romain* (Paris, 1892).

[1] The first governors were styled *Proconsuls;* afterwards they were *Prætors*, with Proconsular authority.

the Celtiberians in 191. Nor does the perpetual fighting appear to have ceased until Æmilius Paullus (189) and Calpurnius (185) succeeded in pacifying or destroying the hostile tribes of north-eastern or Hither Spain. Southern or Further Spain, indeed, was already counted among the Roman dominions; but Rome had no acquaintance with the country to the north of the Douro until the consulship of Quintus Flaccus in 181, and little or no real authority in those wild districts until the time of Augustus. During the thirty happy years that immediately followed the organisation of the province of the Ebro by Sempronius Gracchus in 179, Hispania Romana enjoyed, on the whole, the blessings of peaceful if not always of just government. And if Hispania Ulterior was wisely let alone by the legionaries, Hispani Citerior made rapid steps in the path of Roman civilisation.[1]

But an outbreak in Lusitania in 154 put an end to these halcyon days; and was itself but the commencement of new and greater troubles. In 153 Fulvius the Consul arrived from Rome with thirty thousand men; and, although reinforced by a troop of Numidian horse, with ten elephants, sent over by Massinissa from Africa, he was twice defeated by the Arivaci, under Carus of Segede, near Numantia. And these defeats were followed by the loss of all the Roman stores and military chest at Ocile, possibly the modern Ocana. The Roman war in the Peninsula differed, as Polybius remarked, from all other wars, both in its character and in its continuance. The wars in Asia and Greece were usually decided in a single battle, and a battle was usually decided by the first onset. But the Celtiberian war was protracted year after year, hardly interrupted even by winter; and every battle after being continued until nightfall was resumed at the dawning of the ensuing day.

The defeated Fulvius was succeeded in 152 by the Consul Marcellus, who, more prudent than his predecessor, entered into a treaty, honourable alike to the insurgents and to the Romans, which was signed under the walls of Numantia. To secure the necessary ratification by the Senate, envoys from the various tribes were sent to Rome, and were duly admitted

[1] Two colonies were founded with the object of permanently fixing Roman civilisation in the country. One Carteia (a Latinised form of the Phœnician Carth = city) was founded near the modern Algeciras, for Celtiberian freed slaves and the illegitimate children of Roman legionaries by native women; the other for Romans and half-castes of higher rank at Cordoba, whose beautiful villas and the luxury of whose inhabitants soon became famous, and gained for it the name of the "Patrician" City.—H.

to audience. The proud and dignified bearing of these unconquered barbarians astonished the Roman Fathers: and the Senate hesitated to make a direct reply to their demands. The Roman answer, they were told, would be given by Marcellus in Spain. The envoys accordingly returned to Numantia; and the Senate prepared to continue the interrupted war.[1]

A new army raised with difficulty in Rome was sent into Spain under the command of the new Consul, Lucullus. Marcellus was recalled. The treaty that he had made was disregarded. The Celtiberian war was to continue. But before the arrival of Lucullus, Marcellus had entered into a new and more definite treaty with the Celtiberians, and had accepted the enormous sum of six hundred talents of silver to put an end to the war. Lucullus on his arrival found that Rome had no longer an enemy; but, hungering for booty, he attacked and spoiled the friends and allies of the Republic. Marching first upon Cauca, or *Coca*, between the modern towns of Madrid and Valladolid, he entrapped and massacred the entire population—some twenty thousand souls—and carried off a vast amount of plunder. Yet his career even as a robber was not successful; for shortly after the massacre at Cauca, he was forced to sue for terms at Valladolid. And the terms were granted by the Celtiberians, not to Lucullus himself, but on the word of honour of a young and noble Roman[2] who served in his army, and who was afterwards known to fame as the destroyer of Carthage and Numantia. The Celtiberian was ever generous. And Lucullus, defeated and disgraced, retired to winter quarters at Cordova.

Galba, who was Prætor in the same year, emulating the achievements of the Consul, contrived by an odious act of treachery to enslave the greater part of three Lusitanian tribes, who had confided themselves and their arms to his Roman honour; and the whole of the western and central Provinces were soon in a blaze. A subsequent massacre of some thirty

[1] During the absence of the Celtiberian envoys, Marcellus, unmolested in a peaceful and well-satisfied country, made his winter quarters in the south of the Province, at a spot on the right bank of the *Bætis* or Guadalquivir, famous in succeeding ages as Colonia Patricia; as a Roman city, as a Moorish capital, and as a Spanish town, "the best of all Spanish towns to be born in," the birth-place of Gonsalvo de Cordova. Strabo, iii., iv. 9; Polybius, xxxv., 2; Ford's *Spain* (1878), p. 73.

[2] One of the terms of this treaty was that the Celtiberians should hand over to the Romans some ten thousand σάγοι or cloaks; a very early reference to the National *Capa* of Spain. See Appian, *Iberica*. The trusted Roman was of course Scipio Africanus the younger, who was serving as military tribune.

thousand refugees, entrapped once more by another shameful practice, filled up the cup of his enormities, and even brought down upon him the unwonted penalty of a state prosecution on his return to Rome. Among the remnant of the unhappy Lusitanians who escaped the bloody knife of Galba, was a man whose name happily illuminates the darkest days of Republican oppression and perfidy in the Peninsula; no Roman, indeed, but the most distinguished of the enemies of Rome, the first and not the least remarkable of the great generals of Spain.

A Lusitanian shepherd, a fugitive from Roman treachery (B.C. 150), Viriatus found himself suddenly raised to the command of a small army of men, most of them fugitives like himself, in wild Estremadura. Well acquainted with the country, and entirely trusted by his fellow-countrymen, he succeeded in uniting the ever-divided tribes by his rare personal influence, and he held the field for ten successive years against the best generals that Republican Rome could send against him. A born leader of men, he transformed himself from a shepherd into a guerilla chieftain; from a guerilla chieftain into a commander of armies. Learning in his irregular successes the great lessons of war, Viriatus became not only a tactician, but a strategist; not only a bold leader, but a consummate general. Seven times in the open field he routed with his rustic soldiery the famed legions of Rome. Rarely did he suffer defeat; never disaster. And at length in 141, by a crowning masterpiece of strategy, he succeeded in drawing the forces of Fabius Servilianus into a defile in the mountains, near Erisane in Lusitania, where he held them as completely at his mercy as Von Moltke held the French at Sedan, or the Samnites hemmed in Pontius at the Caudine Forks. But instead of the general massacre which Roman example invited, and which Lusitanian opinion would scarcely have condemned, Viriatus offered his antagonist terms of honourable capitulation, which were promptly accepted; and the Roman army was permitted to depart unharmed and unmolested to Tarragona. The treaty under which the Lusitanians remained in possession of their own territory, as the friends and allies of the Roman people, was ratified by the Roman Senate. But Roman avarice rather than Roman pride forbade so honourable a termination of the war; and treachery accomplished what valour had been unable to achieve. Enraged at the final success of Viriatus, and at the loss of plunder which the peace brought with it, a Roman general, the brother and successor of the vanquished Servilianus, compassed the assassination of the

victor: and the acceptable crime met with no reprobation in the Roman Senate.[1]

Viriatus was allowed even by his enemies to have been distinguished for his justice and his magnanimity, for his temperance and his generosity, and for the still more remarkable virtues of humanity and good faith. Untainted by the avarice of Rome, frugal in his habits, affable and unostentatious in his demeanour, distinguished by his sallies of native wit, surpassing every one of his soldiers in temperance and in toil, he was true to his friends, just to his companions, moderate in prosperity, undismayed by adversity—nor did his successes destroy the native simplicity of his character or corrupt the sturdy honesty of his dealing. To the last he remained the leader—not the tyrant—of his countrymen. Viriatus was a man of whom two modern kingdoms have equal right to be proud; whose memory should be honoured alike on the banks of the Tagus and on the plains of Castile. He died the victim of his own generosity. But his murder brought no advantage to Rome.

Viriatus was dead. But Numantia remained: Numantia, a city on the Douro, near the modern town of Soria, in the heart of Old Castile—the bravest town in Celtiberia. And Numantia shut her gates, and defied the arms of the Republic. Pompeius, relieved of Viriatus, called upon the place to surrender, but the Roman summons was disregarded by the inhabitants, and the Roman attack was repelled. Once more a treaty was made, by which the Numantines, for a considerable payment, were to remain in the undisturbed possession of their city. But Popilius, who succeeded Pompeius, refused, according to Roman usage, to be bound by the treaty. The war was continued. And Popilius was no more successful as a warrior than Pompeius had been before him. Numantia remained unsubdued.

Hostilius the Consul, taking the place of the defeated Popilius, found himself and his besieging army in their turn besieged by the Numantines; and he sought safety in sudden flight. But the men of Numantia were not far behind him; and after an immense slaughter, the entire destruction of the Romans was only averted by yet another treaty of peace between the flying Romans and their victorious but generous adversaries. Upon this occasion, it was only by the personal influence of Tiberius Gracchus, who had served in the country as Quæstor, and who was supposed to be a man of honour, that the Celt-

[1] Florus, ii., 17; Appian, *ubi supra*; Lafuente, i., 443; Dunham, i., 45.

iberians were induced to trust in Roman engagements. Once more the Roman army was saved. But once more the Roman Senate refused to ratify the treaty.[1] And new hosts were pushed forward under the command of new leaders to be again repulsed at Numantia. Hostilius gave place to Lepidus; Lepidus to Brutus; and Brutus to Furius. But Numantia remained untaken. Yet the unequal conflict between a single city and the Roman world could not be maintained for ever.[2] Scipio Africanus the younger was despatched from Rome with a large contingent; and an auxiliary force of horse and foot under Jugurtha, with twelve elephants from Numidia, was added to the powerful army under the command of the greatest of living generals. For six years the Numantines had defied the armies of Rome; and now Numantia, like Carthage, was to be destroyed; and Scipio was once more to be the destroyer. Scipio made his preparations in a very different fashion from that of his predecessors. The army was drilled and disciplined by a master hand. The assaults were conducted with skill as well as with determination. Nothing that consummate generalship could suggest was neglected. The siege at length was turned into a blockade. Not a single sally of the besieged found the besiegers unprepared. Scipio not only superintended everything as general-in-chief; he fought on foot in the ranks. Numantia was doomed. What could six thousand starving defenders avail against sixty thousand hearty besiegers? Yet as long as their supplies lasted, the Numantines defied and defeated all the Roman assaults. But the boldest sallies of the citizens were all in vain. Famine at length assailed the town;

[1] As to the *casuistry* of the grave arguments, and the legal subtlety of the decrees by which the Senate released themselves and their officers from the obligation of this treaty, made and solemnly sworn to by Hostilius and Tiberius Gracchus, see George Long, *Hist. of the Roman Republic*, i., pp. 77-84. As part of the formal *Absolution*, Hostilius, who had returned to Rome, was solemnly brought back to Numantia and exposed, naked and bound, under the walls of that city. The Numantines, ever generous, refused to take advantage of his defenceless condition; and after lying a day and a night untouched by the enemy, Hostilius was carried back by his friends to the Roman camp, as soon as the *Aruspices* had given a solemn decision that, by so doing, no religious duty would be violated. And on returning once more to Rome, he was restored to his position and honours; having been supposed, by a convenient legal fiction, never to have left his own house!

[2] It should be remarked that, although the centre of the struggle was the open and unprotected city of Numantia, whose main defence was the difficulty of the mountain passes that led to it, the whole of the Arivaci and Carpetanian tribes took part. These, indeed, were the only peoples except the tribes of the extreme north-west remaining unsubdued, and the fall of Numantia really meant the almost complete Roman domination of Spain.—H.

and the Numantine leaders, recalling their frequent generosity to their Roman foes, sought terms of honourable capitulation. But Rome was an unflinching enemy. Numantia was to be destroyed. No peace was to be found at the hands of the destroyer. Famine, said the relentless Scipio, should alone subdue the town.

It was not magnificent; but it was war. And in the sixteenth month of the great siege, starvation did its work; and Numantia was destroyed. But no Numantian, at least, fell into the hands of the enemy; for a universal self-slaughter of those whom famine had spared, a doom solemnly decreed and relentlessly executed, saved the heroic remnant from slavery and dishonour —wives and daughters at the hands of husbands and fathers; the father by the spear of the son; the brother by the sword of the brother; friend cut down relentlessly by friend; all were slain; and the last man set fire to the town, and cast himself into the blazing ruins. Numantia, "the terror of the Republic," needed no further destruction at the hands of the Roman destroyer; and when the army of the victors marched through the tenantless city, they found nothing but "ruin, blood, solitude and horror". Scipio, no longer merely Africanus, but Numantinus, returned in triumph to Rome, where, as the Spanish historians are glad to remember, he met with a violent and disgraceful death.

And thus, after fourteen years' defiance of Republican Rome, the town on the Douro was destroyed. But they died not in vain, those old Castilians who defended it. For if their city has perished so that no shred of its ruins can be found by the antiquary, their story lives in the hearts of their countrymen, one of the richest and most enduring of the treasures of their country.[1] After two thousand years of honour and of shame, Numantia was not forgotten at Saragossa.

The fall of Numantia opened the greater part of the country to the Roman Legions. The north-west of course was still untamed, yet within ten years after the great victory of Scipio, Hispania is spoken of as the most flourishing and the best organised Province of Rome.[2] For half a century we have little or no record of the operations either of war or of peace; and the last serious struggle for Iberian independence that was

[1] See Livy, *Epitome*, lib. lxx., 36; Florus, *Hist.*, lib. ii.; Orosius, lib. v., cap. 7; Appian, *Iberica;* St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, iii., 21.

[2] And already (B.C. 123), with a Latin-speaking population. Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, iii., p. 19.

made in the Peninsula was undertaken under a Roman leader from Italy. Quintus Sertorius was born at the village of Nursia, the son of a Sabine father and a Spanish mother, to whom he was devotedly attached. He had fought with distinction in the Roman armies in Gaul, and served as military tribune in Spain in 97. Here he obtained, like Hannibal, to whom he was often compared by the Spaniards, an intimate knowledge of their manners and disposition; and in spite of the severity of his discipline, his justice and his honesty, virtues rare indeed among Romans in Spain, caused him to be loved as well as respected by the natives.[1]

Returning to Italy as Quæstor, and attaching himself to the party of Marius, he commanded an army under that leader until 83, when he became Prætor at Rome. An exile on the return of Sulla, and the only eminent surviving soldier of the Marian party, he made his way through Gaul to Spain, and thence, though well received by the inhabitants, he continued his flight into Africa.[2] After much fighting by land and sea with Romans, and Moors, and Cilician pirates; and after many successes, including the siege and capture of the Mauretanian capital of *Tingis* or Tangiers, he yielded to the earnest invitation of his old friends the Lusitanians, and, landing in southern Spain, he set up the standard of organised revolt against the Roman Republic. His army consisted partly of Mauretanians whom he brought over with him from Africa, and partly of Marian exiles from Italy, like himself, content to bear arms against the forces of Sulla; but he promptly organised the Lusitanians, and many of the neighbouring tribes of Celtiberians, into a united force, with which for many years he successfully defended his adopted country against all the assaults of the Roman arms. In 81 he defeated Cotta in a sea-fight in the Straits of Gibraltar. In 80 he defeated Fufidius on the banks of the *Bætis* or Guadalquivir. In 79 he routed Metellus, the Consul, on the banks of the *Anas* or Guadiana, and then, turning northward, he defeated two Roman armies in Catalonia. Such were his military successes. But Sertorius was far from being only a skilled and fortunate general. He shone more especially as a civil administrator, at a time and in

[1] *Cf.* Niebuhr, *Lectures*, etc., ii., 300. Like Hannibal and other heroes in Spain, Sertorius had lost an eye in battle.

[2] Froude, *Cæsar*, p. 89. The reason for the flight of Sertorius into Africa was that the Celtiberians, tired of fighting, at first refused to listen to him; and his lieutenant Salinator was routed by the Roman Caius Annius.—H.

a country where the administration of civil government was almost exclusively confined to the extraction of money from the governed. He established his capital and his modest court at Evora, which he beautified with many works of art, and where for some years he ruled over a united and a loyal people. A statesman rather than an adventurer, and in complete sympathy with his Spanish subjects, Sertorius aspired to the foundation of an independent, a peaceful, an industrious, and well administered State, a State which might vie in prosperity with Rome itself.[1]

With this end in view, he granted to the people, as soon as his authority was generally accepted, a complete system of Government, modelled to a great extent on that of the Republic; with Prætors, Quæstors, and Tribunes. He founded a school or college at Huesca, where Celtiberian youths studied under Latin and even Greek professors. He gave rich prizes to successful students; and he did much personally to encourage the pursuits of science and of literature. Manufactories were established; arsenals constructed; and the mines were worked with renewed vigour. The army was equipped and trained after the best traditions of Rome; and the pride of the troops was gratified by the adoption of rich uniforms and splendid accoutrements. A small but active fleet was equipped and stationed at Dianium, between Carthagena and Valencia, which may be considered as perhaps the first more or less regular navy of Spain. For once the Spaniards were united by good government, and the Romans divided by faction; and the success of Sertorius was rapid and complete. "His power," says George Long, "was at this time probably acknowledged in every part of the Peninsula which had ever felt the Roman arms. A strict disciplinarian, vigorous but kindly administrator, a consummate general, Sertorius maintained the conflict with somewhat varying fortune until B.C. 72, when he, like Hasdrubal and Viriatus on Spanish soil, met his death at the hand of an assassin. Metellus, his Roman adversary, had not scrupled to put a price upon his head. And Perpenna, his Roman sub-

[1] With the most decided political and patriotic tact, Sertorius acted whenever he could do so, not as Condottiere of the Lusitanians, in revolt against Rome, but as a Roman general and Governor of Spain. Mommsen, *History of Rome*, iv., 20; and *Roman Provinces*, ix., pp. 75-77. This is enforced by the reply given by Sertorius to Mithridates when the latter offered his aid. He was not, he said, in arms against his country but against those who oppressed her. Sertorius would doubtless have maintained great autonomous rights for Spain, but he would never have permanently severed her connection with Rome.—H.

ordinate, did not scruple to strike the fatal blow."[1] The Sertorian Commonwealth existed only through Sertorius. It was destroyed by the dagger of Perpenna. And the Spaniards, disheartened and disorganised once more by the death of their leader, submitted themselves throughout the greatest part of the country to the arms of Pompey, who succeeded the Consul Metellus in 71, as leader of the Roman armies in Spain. But the heroic defence of Calagurris (*Calahorra*) on the Ebro, which had yielded only to the last extremities of famine [in 72] after the women and children had been killed[2] to provide food for the defenders, made it plain to Afranius, the Roman commander, that the destruction of Numantia had not broken nor even tamed the proud spirit of the Celtiberians.

But the days of these Spanish horrors were well nigh past. It was time that Cæsar should appear. The success of Sertorius might indeed have led even a less politic Proconsul to think that after one hundred and fifty years of fighting, it was possible to do something better with a Spaniard than to slaughter him; and a change of policy was gradually and silently adopted. As long as Rome treated the Provincials merely as a conquered people, the Provincials remained unsubdued; but as soon as wiser and more friendly counsels generally prevailed, the Roman Spaniard grasped the hand that was extended to him, and became one of the proudest and most loyal citizens of the Empire. Left to themselves, the tribes were ever divided, factious, disturbed. United under Lusitanian Viriatus, or even under Roman Sertorius, they long successfully withstood the power of the Republic. United under Julius and Augustus Cæsar, they became the most Roman of the Provincials of Rome.

A great susceptibility to personal influence has ever been a striking characteristic of the Spanish people. Under the sympathetic Hasdrubal they accepted the dominion of Carthage; under the fiery Hannibal they fought, the hardiest and most loyal of his soldiers, in the Punic armies in Italy. In the early days after Saguntum, when Roman Scipio came, not as a destroyer but as a deliverer, and displayed his greater qualities of clemency and justice, the Spaniards would have

[1] Appian, *Iberica*.

[2] The Calahorrans are said not only to have killed their wives and children for food, but to have salted the remains of these horrible repasts for future use. Geo. Long, *op. cit.*, i., 479.

compelled him to be their king.[1] But Scipio was not always clement. The successors of Sempronius Gracchus were not always just. They were not even judicious.

"For great men," says the Spanish proverb, "great deeds are reserved." And the coming of one of the greatest men the world has ever seen was the beginning of the end of the dark days of early Spanish history. Cæsar, indeed, marched sternly through the country at the head of his legions; nor did he stay his hand until he had reached far-off Corunna, where he chastised and astonished the wild tribes of Brigantium or *Finisterre;* but his policy in the more settled districts was ever genial and pacific. He put down the banditti. He organised the administration with the rapid skill that always so remarkably distinguished him. He sent home large sums of money to the Treasury. His work was quickly done, but it was done completely. The quality of mercy, a hatred of unnecessary slaughter, an immense generosity to fallen foes; these were among his most distinguishing characteristics; nor were extortion and oppression permitted by this stern but sympathetic soldier. Good faith was to be maintained by the victors as well as the vanquished. For the exactions of the rapacious Varro there was not only condemnation, but, for the first time in the history of Roman Spain, there was restitution of ill-gotten treasure to the astonished victims. Cassius, not he of the itching palm, but one Longinus, whose palm had itched not in vain during his government of Bætica, was compelled to fly the country, and an avenging storm sent the Prætor and his money-bags to the bottom of the sea. Four times did Cæsar visit the Peninsula; and the fourth time—his legions well filled with loyal and admiring Spaniards—he fought, "not for glory but for existence" on the bloody field of Munda.[2] And with the final

[1] It is indeed surprising, says Niebuhr, to see how a Roman general with humane feelings was able to win the affections and confidence of the tribes of Central Spain, and it was thus that Sempronius Gracchus concluded the war in B.C. 179, by a peace, on terms honourable to the Celtiberians and which so won the hearts of the natives, that the Roman power was ever after assured in the rich and important districts of Catalonia, Valencia, and Aragon.

[2] Munda is sometimes identified with the modern Monda, near Marbella, to the south-west of Malaga. But it was more probably a town close to Cordoba, whither the remnant of Pompey's army retreated after the battle, and where twenty thousand fugitives are said to have been slain. See Strabo, iii., 2, 2; Pliny, iii., 1, 3; Florus, iv., 2; Dion Cassius, xliii., 39, and Froude, *Cæsar*, p. 430.

Some remains of walls near the modern town of Martos, are probably all that is left of this once celebrated city.

triumph of the great Julius, begins the peace and prosperity of Roman Spain.[1]

[1] Yet peace was as yet by no means an accomplished fact. The south was already Roman. The Central Provinces were well affected to the Republic. But the north was still hostile, ever disturbed; and from the departure of Julius to the coming of Augustus, no less than seven Roman Governors won, not merely battles, but triumphs on the slopes of the Pyrenees. Cn. Calvius in 36; C. Flaccus in 34 and 29; L. Marcius Philippus between 34 and 29; M. Lepidus in 36; Appius Claudius Pulcher between 34 and 29; C. Sabinus in 39; S. Appuleius celebrated his triumph in B.C. 25. See Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*, 1886, vol. i., p. 64.

CHAPTER III.

HISPANIA ROMANA.

(B.C. 38—A.D. 192.)

THIRTY-EIGHT years before the birth of Christ, at the close of the Macedonian war, when the administration of the Roman world was divided among Lepidus and Antony and Octavian, Spain fell to the share of the future Augustus Cæsar, and a new tax was imposed upon the Province in order to provide for the exigencies of the Imperial Treasury; and from the date of this impost,[1] or *Aes*, commences the *Spanish Æra*, or era of Cæsar, the basis or starting point of a chronological system adopted and maintained in the Peninsula for over thirteen centuries.[2]

One of the earliest decrees of Octavian was calculated to bind Spain yet more closely to the Empire. For in his fifth Consulship (B.C. 29), he divided the country anew into three provinces, directly tributary to Rome, and enjoying all the advantages of Roman Unity and Roman Law. *Bætica*, the most civilised and easily governed, and which included the modern provinces of Andalusia, Granada, and a portion of Estremadura, was to be administered by the Senate; while *Lusitania*, which comprised northern Estramadura, Southern Portugal, the Algarves, and part of Leon—all the wildest and most turbulent districts in the Peninsula, was to be governed by the Emperor; and that great tract of country, henceforth known as *Tarraconensis*, which comprehended the whole of the rest of Spain, and whose most important city, Tarraco, took

[1] It was used in Catalonia down to 1180; in Aragon till 1350; in Castile till 1380. Solo por esta paga y no por el Señorio de Augusto sobre España se ha de fijar la Epoca. *España Sagrada*, vol. ii., cap. vi., pp. 147-154; and Garibay, lib. vi., cap. 26. The somewhat fanciful derivation of era by Florez is adopted by most Spanish historians. Modern Etymologists derive the word from Æs, plur: *Aera* = counters; not perhaps very much more satisfactory.

[2] See Bury, *Students' Roman Empire*, cap. vi., sec. iii., p. 87.

the place of Carthagena as the capital of the entire Province, was also reserved for the direct rule of Augustus. Bætica, the peaceful, was administered by a resident Proconsul. The Imperial Provinces were committed to a *legatus Augusti pro Prætore*.[1]

Shortly after this new division of the Roman dominions (B.C. 27), and his own assumption of the Imperial title, Augustus determined to visit the important Spanish provinces of his Empire. The Temple of Janus had been closed at Rome; but Roman troops were still vainly engaged in the never-ending struggle in Cantabria. Augustus, the undisputed master of a peaceful world, was not yet master of the Spanish Asturias, nor was he as immediately successful as he had expected on his arrival in the country; and after a fruitless march through the wild regions of north-west Spain, he retired to Tarraco, leaving to his lieutenant, Marcus Agrippa, the duty of receiving the formal, but scarcely substantial submission of the Asturian and Cantabrian mountaineers, "the last to submit to the arms of Rome, and the first to throw off the yoke of the Arabs".[2]

North-west Spain, indeed, was in the end rather overcome than subdued; but as long as the natives yielded nominal obedience to the Romans, they were permitted to enjoy their freedom, if not their independence. If Augustus failed to conquer the Asturians, he spent two fruitful years (27-25) in Spain, devoted to the more peaceful objects of reforming the manifold abuses of the Imperial administration, and consolidating Roman power in the Peninsula. Yet nothing was left undone by the Emperor to ensure the continued subjection of the turbulent mountain tribes of Cantabria, and the safety of their more peaceful neighbours in the plains.

Three legions were permanently stationed on the north-west frontier; two legions in the Asturias, with military headquarters at Asturica Augusta (Astorga) and Bracara Augusta (Braga), and one legion for Cantabria and the modern Province of Leon, with headquarters at Pisoraca, now Herrera, between Santander and Palencia; and a military road was constructed from one town to another, along the entire frontier. So complete and so successful were these timely precautions that, with

[1] Similarly in British Imperial India, the old and well settled Presidencies are somewhat differently and more *constitutionally* governed than the Non-Regulation Provinces lying on the frontier. The Governor of Bombay and Madras are often styled Proconsuls; the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab is a noble modern Proprætor.

[2] "Te Cantaber non ante domabilis," Horace, *Carm.*, iv., 4. *Cf.* Gibbon, chapter i.; Livy, xxviii., c. 12.

the exception of a trifling revolt in the time of Nero, we hear of no more fighting in the north-west of Spain until the arrival of the Suevians, more than four hundred years after the visit of Augustus. As the population became more settled, the number of legions was diminished, until at length, from the time of Diocletian to the time of Honorius, the Cantabrian Provinces remained without any standing garrison; and three legions were judged sufficient to maintain the *Pax Romana* throughout the length and breadth of the Peninsula.

Not only in the north-west, but in every part of Spain, the Imperial visit inaugurated an era of unwonted peace, contentment and prosperity; the name of the first and greatest Augustus was long held in honour by the grateful inhabitants, and lives in the present day in the names of many Spanish cities. Merida or *Emerita Augusta* recalls its prudent foundation by grants of land to retired soldiers or *Emeriti,* who were induced to settle there about B.C. 18. Astorga is *Asturica Augusta;* Braga is *Bracara Augusta;* Lugo is *Lucus Augusti*—all frontier garrison towns founded about the same time by the same Emperor. The city which survives as Leon was established a few years later on the north-west frontier, and has nothing to do with the lions that are displayed on the noble coat of arms of the Province. The charge, if heraldically *canting,* is etymologically deceptive. For Leon, *Urbs septimæ Legionis,* takes its name from the seventh Legion, which was stationed there to keep in check the wild tribes of the neighbourhood,[1] and is the city, not of the Lion, but of the Legion. *Cæsarea Augusta* or *Cæsaraugusta,* formerly Salduba, and now Saragossa, perpetuates the very name of its founder; and in *Pax Augusta,* or Badajoz, we have perhaps the most happily named of all the Spanish cities of Augustus. For his Empire was really peace—the *Pax Augusta;* and for full four centuries after his visit, Spain enjoyed that happiness which is proverbially said to be the lot of those countries which have no history.

[1] Some ingenious Spanish archæologists have not only asserted that the lion is displayed on the civic shield in consequence of the presence of the king of beasts in north-east Spain, but they go to the length of saying that the Leonese lions were brought into the country from Africa by the Carthaginians! The lion was of course adopted as an appropriate device for the city of the Legion, after the name had been softened into Leon, which was not until *the end* of the thirteenth century, and not in the reign of the Lion King, Leovgild, as is frequently asserted.

Furthermore, heraldic charges are no older than the end of the twelfth century, and it is unlikely that towns adopted any cognisances for another fifty years. See Manual Risco, *Historia de la Ciudad y Corte de Leon* (Madrid, 1792), and *Iglesias y Monasterios de Leon* (Madrid, 1792), chap. iv., 3.

Of the general condition of the Peninsula, and of the cities and districts inhabited by the various more or less Romanised native tribes at this period we have a most interesting account in the great work of Strabo. The southern provinces, at once the most accessible and the most civilised, naturally claim the largest share of his attention. Gadeira (Cadiz) had long been one of the most celebrated seaports of the world; Malaca (Malaga) was already a considerable town; and the famous Rock of Calpe, half-way between the two, and held by an Iberian tribe, the Bastuli or Bastulani, is frequently mentioned by the traveller. Starting on a westerly course from these favoured regions and passing the Sacred Promontory, now Cape St. Vincent, Strabo first surveys the western coasts, and speaks of the city of *Ulysipo* or *Olisipo*, the landing place of Ulysses, now Lisbon, at the mouth of the Tagus. And he finds, as he proceeds northwards in his survey, Celts, Lusitanians, Carpetanians, Oretanians, Vettones, and Gallicians, "the last to be subdued"; to the east of these, Asturians, Celtiberians, and most distant tribe of all, north of the Minius (*Minho*), the Arrotrebæ, inhabitants of the great promontory of Nerium, the modern Finisterre; lawless and plundering mountaineers every man of them, though peace and the influence of the legions of Tiberius had already done much to soften their rough and savage manners.

Turning from these wild regions, and starting once more from Malaga, in a north-easterly course, he finds Bastitanians, whose country is represented by the modern Province of Murcia, with the cities of Carthagena and Denia (Dianium) on the coast. The Contestanians inhabited part of Murcia und Valencia, the country of the Esparto grass, already highly appreciated in the markets of Italy. The Edetanians occupied part of Valencia and Aragon, with the ever famous city of Saguntum; and the Gymnesiæ or Balearic Islands lay off the coast. The Ilercarones were found on the northern shores of Valencia; and the Cosetanians inhabited South Catalonia and the imperial city of Tarragona. Northward, again, he met with Laletanians in North Catalonia, and Indigetes in the country just south of the Pyrenees, with the old Greek town colonies of *Rhodope* and *Emporium*. To the west of these were found the Ilergetes; and inland to the south-west as far as Cæsaraugusta, which is classed as a Celtiberian city, was the country of the Ausetanians.

Beyond this, Strabo's geography is somewhat confused; but he speaks of the inland country generally as Celtiberia, and of

its "most renowned city Numantia," which had apparently been already rebuilt after its destruction by Scipio. But his greatest admiration, and a great part of his book on Spain is reserved for Turdetania, the most civilised and the most prosperous district in Hispania.[1]

Turdetania was bounded on the west and north by the river Anas or Guadiana, on the east by the tribes of the Carpetani and the Oretani, on the south by the sea; and it thus included the modern Provinces of Malaga, Cadiz, Seville, Huelva, Badajoz and Cordova, and was pretty nearly conterminous with Roman Bætica. The chief cities were Hispalis, Gadeira, Corduba, Italica, and Munda. There was a large population settled on either side of the Bætis or Guadalquivir, which flowed through the heart of the Province, and was navigable for ships as far as Hispalis, and for boats as far as Corduba. The old geographer was amazed at the endless succession of groves and gardens, at the marvellous fertility of the soil, and at the skill with which it was cultivated. Nor was he less struck by the material wealth of the country; by the immense production of corn and wine and oil;[2] by the vermilion and scarlet dyes, the wool of surpassing quality, the stuffs of incomparable texture, the wax, the honey, the pitch, the leather, the cattle, the game—more especially the rabbits[3]—and the fish, of which the tunnies and congers were of peculiar excellence, and of which an enormous quantity was annually salted for export. He is amazed at the number and size of the merchant ships, built for the most part of Turdetanian timber; and at the almost fabulous richness and variety of the mines. Nor is he less struck with the purity of the air, and the politeness and urbanity of the inhabitants, who had, he says, for the most part so entirely adopted the Roman mode of life as even to have forgotten their own language.[4]

Of the towns, in addition to those already referred to, he specially notices Pax Augusta (Badajoz) among the Celtici, and Augusta-Emerita (Merida) among the Turduli. But he does not mention either Bracara Augusta, Asturica Augusta, or Portus Cale, in the north-west; nor even Barcino (Barcelona) in the north-east.

Of the tribes and districts of the interior, Strabo speaks very

[1] Strabo, lib. iii., cap. 2.

[2] Polyb., *in Athen.*, i., 28.

[3] See as to the ancient mode of ferreting, the most graphic account in Strabo, iii., 2, 6. The rabbit (λεβηρίς) as we have seen, was an ancient device of Hispania.

[4] Ticknor, *Hist. of Span. Literature*, vol. iii., p. 320.

vaguely, and he neither knows nor cares to know very much about them. Celtiberia, including the modern Leon and New and Old Castile, with some parts of the adjacent provinces, was a geographical expression indicative at once of ignorance and of indifference; for the Celtiberians were regarded by a citizen of Hispalis and Gadeira much as a mediæval Londoner would have regarded the Picts and Scots of the Caledonian Highlands. In summarising the characteristics of the Spaniards of his day, Strabo speaks of them as obstinate and self-sufficient, split up into contending tribes and factions, incapable of united action, and thus powerless against attacks from without.[1]

Before the death of Augustus, Spain had become not only an integral but a very important part of the Roman Empire. The capital was fed with Spanish corn. The legions were filled with Spanish recruits; and the Emperor had entrusted the immediate guardianship of his person to a *bodyguard* of three thousand Spanish soldiers.[2] Spanish poets, Spanish rhetoricians, and even Spanish teachers were welcomed and respected at the capital. Tarragona and Merida, Saragossa and Carthagena, Cordova and Cadiz were among the great cities of the Empire. Spain had been rather absorbed than conquered by Rome, and had in a very brief period of time, become "deeply, heartily and thoroughly Roman". At the death of Augustus, the Roman language and even the Roman dress prevailed throughout Southern and Eastern Spain. Cicero[3] himself could find but a slight foreign flavour in the Latinity of the poets of Cordova; and Marcus Porcius Latro, a native of the same distinguished city, was the teacher and model of Ovid, of Mæcenas, and of Augustus himself. Another Cordovan of the same period, who

[1] The word *αὐθαδεια*, which I have rendered by obstinacy and self-sufficiency, is usually translated *moroseness*, conveying an unfavourable and misleading idea of Strabo's meaning.

The elder Pliny, who, after Strabo, has left us the most interesting account of the geography of Spain in the first century of our era—*Nat. Hist.*, lib. iii.—was sent as Procurator to Tarraconensis, by Nero, and not, as is usually stated, by Vespasian. 'Tis well to give even Nero his due. His nephew, Pliny the younger, was gratefully remembered as having successfully defended the rights of the Andalusians against the exactions of the Proconsul, Cæcilius Classicus (A.D. 104) in the time of Trajan. The fullest restitution was made to the plundered cities. The Proconsul, convicted by the Senate, had committed suicide before the trial; but his accomplices were banished, and the daughter of Cæcilius was judiciously permitted to inherit from her father the wealth—and no more—that he had possessed before he left Italy for Spain.

[2] Calagurritans. See Suetonis, Octav., 49. Augustus had a German bodyguard up to A.D. 9.

[3] "Pingue quiddam atque peregrinum," Cicero, *pro Arch.*, 10.

was known as Antonius Julianus, was a rhetorician in high favour at Rome.

The first Provincial that ever rose to the Consulship, or was accorded the rarer honour of a triumph, was Balbus, a Spaniard of Cadiz, in the early days of Augustus. The first Provincial that ever sat upon the throne of the Cæsars was Trajan, a Spaniard of Seville. And from the death of Sertorius to the death of Honorius, no part of the world beyond the limits of Italy contributed so much to the resources of the Empire as Spain, nor did any Province claim and receive so large a share of the favours and of the honours of the Roman government. When the power of Rome waned, and the rule of Christ waxed strong, Spain from the first took her place in the forefront of Western Christendom [1]; and when Athanasius and Constantine at Eastern Nicæa were formulating new doctrines for the Roman world, the greatest and the most powerful of western ecclesiastics was not found in an Italian city, but in the Palace of Hosius, Bishop of Cordova.

Under Trajan, and under his fellow countryman and successor Hadrian, Spain flourished exceedingly. Nor was the Province less prosperous under another noble Andalusian, the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. The rule of the Roman had brought peace and law to the home of the Spaniard; and the rule of the Spaniard gave peace and law to the world.[2] "If a man were called," says Gibbon, "to fix the period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would without hesitation name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus." And the Spaniard is proud to remember that during more than sixty of these eighty-three golden years, the world was under the personal rule of a Spanish Emperor.

Some slight changes were made from time to time in the system of provincial administration. Fifty-four years after the death of Augustus, the African Province of Tingitana, or the

[1] St. James the Great with seven disciples is said by Spanish writers to have preached Christianity on the Cantabrian coasts as early as A.D. 3, and the new religion spread more rapidly in Spain than elsewhere; the character of the people, in the Celtic north-west especially, being notably receptive of devotional ideas.—H.

[2] Theodosius the Great was also a Spaniard, born either at Italica or Cauca; Trajan was a native of Italica or Seville; Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, both *born* at Rome, were also Spanish by race.

In the year 385 the Pope (Damasus), the Emperors (Theodosius, and his rival Maximus), the arch-Heretic (Priscillian), and the first Inquisitors (Idatius and Ithacus) were all Spaniards.

country around Tangiers,[1] was united for a season with more peaceful Bætica. In the time of Hadrian, who spent some time in Spain in 122 and 123, the immense area of Tarraconensis was divided into three districts: Gallicia, Tarragona and Carthagena, while the boundaries of Lusitania remained as before.[2]

Under good government, Spain grew rapidly in wealth and importance, and in the Peninsula, if not in the Empire, the operations of war gave way to the arts of peace. Husbandry, the only form of labour that was not considered unbecoming in a Roman citizen, was cultivated as a science, and practised with signal success.[3] The olive flourished not only in Bætica but in Tarraconensis. The cultivation of the vine was extended from Turdetania to the slopes of the Pyrenees; and the wines of Tarragona became highly appreciated in Rome. Nor was industry wanting to develop the natural resources of the country. The Spanish oil held its own by the side of the product of Central Italy. The Spanish steel challenged comparison with that of Damascus. The flax, which is said to have been introduced by the Phœnicians was worked by fair Spanish hands into the finest linen that was to be found in Western Europe.[4]

[1] *Esp. Sag.*, i., xiv., 128-134. Bury, *Student's Roman Empire*, cap. vi., sec. iv., p. 89. Masdeu, tom. vii., cap. v. On the death of Nero the legionaries of the provinces sought to impose a successor upon Rome, Galba, Prætor of Tarraconensis, Otho, Prætor of Lusitania, and Vitelius, being successively chosen by the soldiers. The second of these, Otho, added Tingitana to Bætica for the purpose of gaining popularity for himself and increasing the importance of the Spanish provinces.—H.

[2] It would be impossible within the limit of this work to go into the question of the Communal System and popular assemblies in the great provincial towns of the Roman Empire. But it is equally impossible to refrain from mentioning that it is owing to the comparatively recent discovery of two documents in Spain that modern criticism has been able so fully to understand these questions. These documents are: (1) The Municipal Laws of the Latin Communes of Salpensa and Malaca in Bætica, prepared between 82 and 84 under Domitian, and discovered in 1851. *Cf.* M. R. D. Bulanga, *Estudios sobre los dos bronces encontrados a Malago a fines de octubre* 1851 (Malaga, 1853), 4to; Mommsen, *Die Stadtrechte der latinischen Gemeinden Salpensa und Malaga in der Provinz Betica* (Leipsic, 1855); and (2) The law or statute of foundation of the Colonia Julia Genetiva (Urso) in Bætica, by order of Julius Cæsar or shortly after his death. This most interesting document was discovered in two fragments, one at Osuna (Urso) in 1870, and the other at the same place in 1875. Bulanga, *Los bronces de Osuna* (Malaga, 1873); and Ch. Giraud, *Les nouveaux bronzes d'Osune* (Paris, 1877); and see authorities quoted generally on this subject in Marquardt, *L'Organisation de l'Empire Romain* (1892), tom. ii., pp. 64-80.

[3] See Masdeu, vii., pp. 83-91, 105.

[4] Masdeu, vii., pp. 64, 65, 66, 88, 92, 98 and 108. In the time of the early Empire, according to this author, there were no less than ninety-three mints in Spain. Caligula, however, abolished all these local rights of coining money, and transferred the whole to Rome. This was of course a great loss both of dignity

The exclusively military roads that had been made for the defence of the frontiers were supplemented by what may be called trade routes in every part of the Peninsula. The great road along the east coast from the Pyrenean frontier to the mouth of the Guadalquivir, the *via Augusta*, was only one of the many noble roads that opened the rich country to the merchant and the traveller, and secured to the miner and the husbandman the full reward of his industry.[1]

Nor were the imperial works restricted to those of mere utility. Noble bridges crossed the broad streams that flowed through the country. Aqueducts, circuses, baths, public buildings of every kind sprang up throughout the land; and it is from the days of the great and good Spanish Emperors, Trajan, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, that date most of those monuments of imperial grandeur which are still to be found, glorious even in their decay, throughout the Peninsula. The beautiful arch of Torre d'en Barra in Catalonia, the ever-famous bridge of Alcantara in Estremadura, the colonnade of Zalamea-de-la-Serena, the tower at Corunna, the Monte Ferrada or Furado in Gallicia, the circus of Italica, and the magnificent aqueducts of Tarragona and Segovia; these are the living records of the days when the Roman Spaniards ruled the world. Nor were the glories of *Hispania* confined to the development of material wealth, nor even to the splendour of the imperial administration. From the death of Ovid to the death of Martial, there is not one Latin writer of the first rank who did not come from Spain.[2] The elder Seneca, with his yet more distinguished son, the philosopher[3]—as true a Spaniard as ever lived—and his nephew Lucan, the author of the *Pharsalia*, were all born at Cordova. Pomponius Mela, the first Roman geographer, was

and of profit to Spain, which was forced from that time to furnish the raw material for the imperial coiners in Italy.

[1] It extended from Milan by way of Marseilles and Narbonne to Tarragona, and thence it divided into three; one to the city of Leon, another to Astorga, and the third and greatest went by the coast to Valencia, Carthagena and Cordova to Cadiz. For a list of the principal Roman roads in Spain, and the list is long, see Masdeu, vii., 138-140. The public roads of all the provinces were State property.

[2] Tacitus indeed had begun to write a few years before the death of Martial.

[3] "There is none of the ancient moralists to whom the moderns, from Montaigne downwards, owe more than to Seneca; he touches the great and eternal commonplaces of human occasion, friendship, health, bereavement, riches, poverty and death, with a hand that places him high among the divine masters of life. Men have found more abundantly in his essays and letters than in any other secular writer, words of good counsel and import."—John Morley, *Aphorisms*.

a native of Algeciras, near Gibraltar. The authority for ascribing a Spanish origin to the historian Florus is doubtful; and we must abandon the old unfounded notion that Silius Italicus, the poet of the Punic wars, took his name from Italica, near Seville. But Columela, the father of agriculture, "and the first and most important of all the Latin writers on rural affairs," was certainly a native of Cadiz. Martial was born at Bilbilis, near Calatayud, in Aragon, and after his brilliant career at Rome, returned[1] to die in his beloved Spanish country; and Quintilian, greatest name of all, left his home at Calahorra to give to Rome and to the world "one of the most excellent, if not the most excellent, of the great text-books that we owe to antiquity."[2]

[1] *Sic me vivere, sic juvat perire,* xii., 18.

[2] Mommsen, *Prov.*, i., p. 77. A list of some of the most celebrated Roman commanders and other soldiers of Hispania will be found in Masdeu, vii., pp. 54-58, and a list of the principal Spanish Roman writers in pp. 148-195.

Seneca the elder was born at Cordova, circ. B.C. 54, ob. circ. A.D. 39. Seneca the younger was born at Cordova, circ. B.C. 5, and faced death at the command of Nero, A.D. 65. His elder brother, Marcus Novatus, better known to us by his adoptive name of Gallio, referred to in Acts xxiii., was also a Cordovan of great and well-deserved reputation. His nephew Lucan was born at Cordova in A.D. 39, and died, likewise at Nero's command, in 65. Of Pomponius Mela we can only certainly say that he flourished in the time of the Emperors Claudius or Nero, circ. A.D. 60.

Columela lived and wrote during the middle of the first century. Silius Italicus was born *traditionally* at Italica (near Seville), circ. A.D. 28, ob. circ. 101. Martial was born at Bilbilis about A.D. 40-43, and, after his successful career at Rome, returned to his birthplace, circ. A.D. 98-100, where he died, circ. A.D. 102-4. Quintilian was born at Calagurris (Calahorra) A.D. 40, and died circ. 95. The birth of Florus is uncertain; he wrote his *Epitome* during the reign of Trajan or of Hadrian.

I am indebted to my friend, Mr. J. B. Bury, the historian of the later Roman Empire, for his most kind revision of this and other chapters.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BARBARIANS.

(A.D. 180—411.)

I.—*Theodosius the Great.*

THE unworthy successors of Marcus Aurelius, beginning with the most detestable son of that virtuous Emperor, concerned themselves little with the affairs of Spain. Nor have its provinces, from the accession of Commodus to the accession of Honorius, any history beyond that of the declining and decaying Empire, and of the rise and progress of the new and living religion which has exercised so enormous an influence on the fortunes of the Spanish people. Spanish wars there were none; for there was no one in Spain to fight, and nothing in Spain to fight for. Public works decayed. Letters died out. The civil government concerned itself only with the collection of the taxes. The Spanish provinces, like the rest of the Empire, were gradually bleeding to death at the hands of the imperial Procurators. The worst and most oppressive fiscal system that has ever been invented or practised was doing to death the industrious population of the world, to provide for the lusts and the caprices of the worst and most oppressive of tyrants at Rome. The celebrated decree of Caracalla, investing all the provincials with the empty honour of Roman citizenship, compelled them to pay the taxes incident to that position, without any relief from the burden of the tribute which was still collected from them as provincials.[1] And the obligation of supplying the city of Rome with an amount calculated as the equivalent of one-twentieth of the annual production of corn in the country—at a rate fixed by the Roman

[1] When the name of Roman citizenship became worthless, and implied no immunity from taxation, imprisonment, death, or even torture, it was forced on the whole world by Caracalla. E. A. Freeman, *Oxford Essays*, 1856, p. 304; but see Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, pp. 6, 7, and Gibbon, chapter vi.

civic magistrates themselves—pressed with peculiar hardship on the cultivators of the rich corn lands of the Peninsula.

The third century, dreary and disastrous throughout the Roman world, brought no exceptional happiness, nor indeed any exceptional misery, to Spain; although it was during that most calamitous period of four and twenty years, from the accession of Philip the Arabian, to the death of Gallienus, (244-268) a period pre-eminently of shame and misfortune, that the Peninsula was exposed for the first time to the fury of the Northern Barbarians. In the reign of the unfortunate Decius (circ. 250), the great barrier between the Rhine and the Danube was first broken through by these savage hordes. The degenerate Romans were unable to offer any serious resistance; and Gaul, and even parts of Spain, were soon overrun by the Franks. The Goths and the Suevians encountered a more serious resistance in the east of Europe; and they fought with varying fortunes, on the banks of the Danube, in Mœsia, in Greece, and even in North Italy. But for twelve long years (256-268) the fertile provinces of Spain, more especially the northern and eastern districts, were ravaged by the terrible Franks. Tarragona was sacked and almost destroyed,[1] and the Barbarians, seizing the ships in the harbours of the east and south-east coasts of the Peninsula, made more than one descent upon Africa.

At length the day dawned, after the dark night of Roman shame, and the valour and virtue of Claudius (268-270), who, on the death of Gallienus, succeeded to the purple, and nobly earned the title of Gothicus; and the still greater success of the yet more admirable Aurelian (270-275), prepared the way for Diocletian (284-305), who saved Italy at least for another century from the inroads of the northern hordes. In theory, the first *Autocrat* of the old Empire; in reality, the first *Statesman* in a new Europe, Diocletian saw clearly enough that over-centralisation was the bane of the Roman administration; and while on the one hand he magnified the importance of the imperial office, on the other he divided the Empire into a number of well-nigh autonomous governments,[2] each

[1] Aurelius Victor, *De Cæsaribus*, 23. 33; Eutropius, ix., 6; and generally for all events between A.D. 15 and A.D. 578, Clinton's *Fasti*.

[2] The Spanish historians assert that this politic decentralisation was begun in the second century by a Spanish Emperor, Hadrian, and that the unwieldy area of Tarraconensis was divided into four: Gallaecia, Tarraconensis, Carthaginiensis, and the Balearic Islands; but this division was probably not made before the time of Diocletian. See Marquardt, *ubi supra*, tom. ii., p. 79.

one with its own elaborate hierarchy, in all but the name a kingdom. The foundations of modern Europe were already laid.

This magnificent decentralisation was carried still further by Constantine (306-337), who divided the entire Roman world into four vast Prefectures: 1. Italy; 2. The East; 3. Illyricum; 4. Gaul; each under the more than regal government of a Prætorian Prefect.

Of these Prefectures, Gaul contained three great dioceses, each one administered by a Vicar: *Hispania*, *Septem-provinciæ*, and *Britannia*. The diocese of Hispania contained seven provinces: 1. Bætica, 2. Lusitania, and 3. Gallaecia—each under the immediate government of a Consular,—4. Tarraconensis, 5. Carthaginiensis, 6. Tingitana, and 7. Insulæ Balearum, each under the immediate government of a President.[1] The capital of Tarraconensis was naturally fixed at Tarraco, and that of Bætica at Corduba; the Consular of Lusitania held his court at Emerita, and the Consular of Gallaecia at Bracara, while the provincial capitals of Carthaginiensis, Tingitana, and the Balearic Islands were at New Carthage, at Tingis, and at Palma.[2]

Each of these Provincial Governors was directly responsible to the Vicar of the diocese, who held his court at Hispalis. And the Vicar in his turn was responsible to the Prefect, whose court was held for some time at Treves (Augusta Treverorum), on the Moselle, but whose capital was afterwards fixed in the more central position at Arles (Arelate) on the Rhone.

The Prætorian Prefect was indeed one of the great ones of the earth. His purple robe differed by but a few inches of length from that which was worn by the Emperor himself. His huge silver inkstand, his writing-case of solid gold, his lofty

[1] As to the exact nature of the offices and dignities of the Legati Augusti proprætore, and the other classes of Legati—the Præfecti, the Procuratores, the Præsides, and the entire Hierarchy of Roman administration—see a very interesting and admirable chapter, "Du Gouverneur et ses Agents," in vol. ii. of Mommsen and Marquardt, *L'Organisation de l'Empire Romain* (Paris, 1892), more especially pp. 572-586. See also *España Sagrada*, i., xiv., 128-134; and ii., xiv., xv.

The Gallic provinces most interesting to the student of Spanish history are of course the more southern: Narbonensis Prima, with the capital at Narbo (Narbonne); Narbonensis Secunda, with the capital at Aquæ Sextæ (Aix); Novempopuli, with the capital at Auch and Fauze; Aquitania Prima, with the capital at Avaricum (Bourges); and Aquitania Secunda, with the capital at Burdigala (Bordeaux). See also Bury, *Roman Empire*, pp. 85, 86.

[2] See Böcking, *Notitia Dignitatum*, i., 69 and 458; and Ukert, *Geog. der G. und Rom.*, ii., 356.

chariot were among the many magnificent ensigns of his exalted office. In all but in name he was a king.

But the Vicar in his diocese, the Consular or the President in their respective provinces, enjoyed an authority and a personal consideration scarcely less than that which is accorded to modern sovereigns.

But all this magnificence and all this systematic administrative perfection did not avail to save the Empire. It rather prepared the way for its dissolution. Rome indeed never died. The religion of Constantine achieved in less than a century the final conquest of the Roman Empire; but the victors themselves were insensibly subdued by the power of their vanquished rival.[1] Nepos might give place to Augustulus, and Augustulus to Odoacer. But for eight hundred years Heraclius and the successors of Heraclius kept back the forces of Islam, and saved Europe from the dominion of the Moslem. When at length in New Rome, Constantine succumbed in the palace of the Cæsars to the forces of Mahomet, there was still at Old Rome the legitimate and more powerful descendant of the Roman Pontifex Maximus, crowned with the triple tiara of imperial dominion over the kings of the earth. When, twelve centuries after the division of the old world by Roman Diocletian, Roman Alexander, himself a Spaniard, divided a new world undreamed of by the early Cæsars among the Iberians and Lusitanians of the sixteenth century, he only asserted that imperial Roman authority which had been exercised by his predecessors from the days of Numa Pompilius, first of the Pontiffs of Rome.

When, four-and-twenty centuries after the first Pontificate of Numa, eight hundred subject princes, the rulers of the great dioceses into which the modern world is yet divided, flocked obedient at the bidding of Pius to the banks of the Tiber, it was to cast themselves at the feet of the imperial image, and once again to hail Cæsar as divine, omnipotent and infallible.

But in the fourth century the great Roman provinces of Spain, like Rome itself, grew weaker and poorer, until the time came when Spain, like Rome itself, passed under the dominion of the rude but vigorous Barbarians of the North. Italy was worn out, decayed, literally rotten to the core. Rome was in one sense rich; but rich only in useless and demoralising luxuries; in the splendid spoils of other nations; in the

[1] As to the connexion between Pagan and Catholic Rome, see Conyers Middleton's *Letters from Rome* (Dublin, 1731), and Mourant Brock, *Rome, Pagan and Papal* (London, 1883).

splendid remains of other days; producing nothing; consuming everything; eaten up with sensuality and self-indulgence, forgetful even of the Pagan pride of life, in degrading self-abandonment to the lusts of the flesh; draining the world of its true wealth; without respect, without ambition, without hope. And if Rome was full of silver and gold, Italy was on the brink of starvation. Gaul produced little or nothing; Greece was but a name. Africa, it is true, provided corn and wild beasts. Further east, Egypt, Syria, Asia—these were no sources of strength nor of wealth. Britain was a source of weakness. But Spain, with its boundless corn-fields and its inexhaustible mines, with its hardy population who worked for the Empire at home, and its hardy soldiers who fought for the Empire abroad; these things made Spain the sheet anchor of the drifting world.[1]

One struggle moreover was made against the old forces of decay and the new forces of Barbarism. One man was found at the supreme moment to stand between the living and the dying world—and that man was a Spaniard. To Theodosius the Great, the countryman and the descendant of Trajan, is due this crowning honour. And the record of the great deeds of the most Christian of the Emperors may be read in the admiring pages of Gibbon.

The reign of Theodosius was marked by the struggle of the new forces against the old. With one hand he kept back the new Barbarism from the old Empire, once more united under his sway. With the other he beat down the old Paganism, struggling for life in a changing and decaying society. In one hand was found the Sword; in the other the Cross. Looking back we have Julius; looking forward—Gregory; at all times—Cæsar.

Theodosius was the first Christian Inquisitor. He was the last Emperor of the world. The massacre at Salonica might have been the act of Nero. The submission to Ambrose might have been the act of Henry IV. The fifteen edicts against heresy might have been dictated by Philip II. The destruction of Antioch might have been decreed by Caracalla. The Council of Constantinople might have been convoked by Edward the Confessor.[2] Barbarism without; heresy within; these

[1] See Salvian, vi., 121-123, and vii., 137.

[2] The first edict of Theodosius after his baptism into the Christian religion ran as follows: "It is our pleasure that all nations which are governed by our clemency and moderation should steadfastly adhere to the religion which was taught of St. Peter to the Romans, which faithful tradition has preserved, and

were the forces against which Theodosius strove, and strove with immediate success. But against himself he strove not at all. He lived and died a tyrant and a bigot. His tongue was ever ready to proclaim or to confess his faith; but his hands were swift to shed blood. He ordered massacres; but he convoked councils. He destroyed cities; but he dictated laws. The character of Theodosius was thoroughly Spanish—devout, passionate, noble-minded. Reckless, when excited, of human life and suffering, he was alternately a resolute and skilful general,[1] and an indolent and superstitious persecutor. But his arms did not save Italy, his laws did not save society, and his orthodoxy did not save religion.

II.—*The Coming of the Visigoths.*

Theodosius died in 395, and in five years Alaric was in Italy. But his first coming was not that of a conqueror. For his Gothic Barbarians, surprised in their pious celebration of Easter by the less scrupulous, if more orthodox, Vandal Barbarians in the service of Honorius, were defeated at Pollentia on Easter Day, 402, and Rome was saved from Alaric[2] the Goth, by Stilicho the Vandal, for seven inglorious years. And thus it came to pass that Spain and not Italy first became the abiding place of the invader. But for the immediate cause of the occupation of the Peninsula by the Barbarians, we must look not to Italy nor to the fatherland of Alaric, but to Britain.

Far away beyond the Straits of Dover, a common soldier in the ranks of a Roman Legion, bearing the auspicious name of

which is now professed by the Pontiff Damasus, and by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. According to the disciples of the apostles and the doctrine of the Gospel, let us believe the sole deity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, under an equal majesty and a pious Trinity. We authorise the followers of this doctrine to assume the title of Catholic Christians, and we judge that all others are extravagant madmen: we brand them with the infamous name of *Heretics*, and declare that their conventicles shall no longer usurp the respectable appellation of Churches. Besides the condemnation of Divine Justice, they must expect to suffer the severe penalties which our authorities, guided by heavenly wisdom, shall think fit to inflict upon them." See Cod. Theod., lib. xvi., tit. v.; Leg., 6, 23; Godefroy's *Commentaries*, tom. vi., pp. 104-110; Gibbon, chap. xxvii., 326, 327; Sozomen, lib. vii., c. 12.

[1] See Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, i., 182, and 197, 198.

[2] Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, i., 148; Orosius, vii., 37. Hodgkin, *ubi supra*, p. 289. Montalembert, *Les Moines de l'Occident*, i., 4. For a very appreciative sketch of the character of Stilicho, see an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, September, 1892, by Sir Herbert Maxwell, published after this chapter was written.

Constantine, had been elected by his fellows as Augustus—or *Tyrant*, after the fashion of the day—in Britain. This bold aspirant to supreme power had easily mastered the feeble government of Honorius, and had crossed over the narrow Straits into Gaul, dreaming of yet larger conquest.[1] To oppose or embarrass the rebel, Stilicho, by one of those strokes of policy so common and ever so disastrous in history, had invited—or permitted—the Barbarian hordes, long kept back beyond the Rhine by the imperial allies who guarded the frontier, to cross over into Gaul. And on the last day of the memorable year 406, an immense concourse of Vandals and Suevians and Alans made their way across the river and ravaged the rich and peaceful districts of Eastern Gaul at their pleasure. They served Stilicho's immediate political purpose, no doubt, by embarrassing Constantine; yet that prudent rebel was skilful enough to avoid their onslaught, and, continuing his career of easy conquest, removed his capital from Treves (Augusta Treverorum), on the Moselle, to the richer and no less august city of Arles (Arelate), on the Rhone.

Having strengthened himself in his new capital, he defeated the imperial troops despatched against him under Sarus, at Valence on the Rhone, and was soon acknowledged by all that was left of Roman within the confines of Gaul, while the Barbarians were at once discouraged and dispersed.

Thus Constantine, everywhere triumphant, and aspiring to even greater empire, crossed the Pyrenees, and pursued his course of victory into the rich province of Spain. The northern districts of the Peninsula would seem to have been promptly and easily occupied. Constantine, albeit a usurper and a rebel, had all the authority of Prefect of Gaul, and he was received without opposition at Tarragona.

The authority of Honorius counted for little in the province; yet, as a Spaniard by race, and the son of the great Theodosius, the Emperor was not without friends and even relations in Spain. But the imperial troops offered little or no resistance to the Tyrant from Arles. The great mass of the population cared little whether the taxes were collected in the name of Honorius or in the name of Constantine. The usurper would possibly be less exacting than the regular oppressors. And it was the rude levies of slaves and dependents raised by some of the faithful kinsmen of Honorius that alone appear to have

[1] See Olympiodorus, 12; Zosimus, vi., 2.

offered any opposition to the arms of Constantine.[1] The Barbarian levies of the Tyrant from Britain proved more than sufficient to overthrow these rustic troops; and two bands of Scottish soldiers are said to have played an important part in the determination of this early Peninsular War.

Within a few months the authority of Constantine was at least nominally supreme from the Wall of Antoninus to the Columns of Hercules. Honorius, ever prompt in weakness, recognised the successful rebel as Augustus and imperial brother; and Constantine, committing his new possessions to the care of his son Constans—another Augustus—and his lieutenant Gerontius, a British general of distinction, quitted Spain for Ravenna, proposing to drive Alaric out of Italy.

Constantine marched as far as Verona on his way to relieve or to possess himself of the Western Empire; but having reason to suspect treachery on the part of his ally Honorius, and feeling that in such very doubtful company he was no match for the Goths of Alaric, he hastily retraced his steps to the Rhone, and retired within the walls of his capital at Arles. Gerontius, taking advantage of the absence of Constantine, and of a mutiny among the soldiers of various nationalities engaged in Spain, rebelled against the youthful Constans, and set up his own son Maximus as Emperor or Augustus, with his imperial capital at Tarragona. And the new usurper—seeking to overthrow the reigning usurper—adopted the old tactics, and invited the Barbarians, who were driven hither and thither in Gaul, to cross the Pyrenees, and assist him against the imperial forces of Honorius and the quasi-imperial forces of Constantine in Spain. And thus it was that the Vandals and the Suevians and the Alans, introduced into Gaul by Stilicho to embarrass Constantine, and introduced into Spain by Gerontius to embarrass Constans, promptly turned their arms against their various allies, and proceeded to ravage Spain for themselves.[2]

[1] The levies of Verenianus and his brothers seem to have arrived too late to defend the passes of the Pyrenees. As soon as the Barbarians had actually crossed the mountains, their immense numbers would, of course, have overwhelmed the patriotic Guerilleros in the plain country.

Of the four brothers who raised and led these rude levies in defence of the rights of their contemptible kinsman, Lagodius and Theodosius escaped the destruction of their followers. Verenianus and Didymus were taken prisoners and immediately executed, after the savage fashion of the day, at Arles.

[2] See Bury, *op. cit.*, i., 41; Freeman, in *Eng. Hist. Review*, i., 60. There were now *six* Emperors! Theodosius at Constantinople, Honorius at Ravenna, Constantine at Arles, Constans at Saragossa (Cæsaraugusta), Maximus at Tarragona, and Attalus at Rome.

The Romans, indeed, of all parties in Spain, fared equally ill at the hands of the invaders, who showed themselves, with a pleasing impartiality, equally hostile to Honorius, to Constantine, to Constans, and to Gerontius. Constans fled at their approach, and sought refuge at Vienne, where he was taken and put to death by his old tutor Gerontius—himself a fugitive from his own unruly allies. Constantine, besieged at Arles by the imperial general Constantius, and finding further resistance impossible, assumed the habit of a Christian priest, and craved his life, without success, at the hands of the victors. Gerontius, hard pressed by the imperial legions on the Rhone, fled into Spain, where he fell by his own sword to escape the violence of his own troops. Meanwhile, the only man who could cope with the Goth had already found his reward at the hand of his sovereign. Stilicho, the mainstay of the falling Empire, had been sacrificed to a Court intrigue, and had been executed with his whole family at Ravenna in 408. It was time for Alaric to advance. Italy was undefended, Rome was at the mercy of the Barbarian. But the city was ransomed and spared by the invader. The title of Emperor had no charms for the King of the Visigoths; and Alaric contemptuously invested one Attalus, a Roman Prefect, with the imperial purple, of which, after twelve months' hesitation, he no less contemptuously stripped him. Disgusted at length by the tergiversation and treachery of Ravenna, Alaric turned his arms once more against Rome. And then no puppet Emperor, no Court intrigue, no religious ceremonial, was found to stay his hand. The priests, indeed, had unwittingly fought for Alaric in the palace at Ravenna. For they had induced the feeble Honorius to issue that disastrous and insulting edict by which neither *heretics* nor *pagans* were to be permitted to engage in the armies of the Empire. And thus forty thousand of the best troops that would have served to resist the invaders were dismissed from the Imperial service at the moment of the Imperial danger. The issue was never doubtful. Rome fell; but the victor did not long survive his victory.

While the sturdy Goth triumphed in Italy, the Vandals and their savage companions were devastating Spain. The north-west was occupied, if not entirely overcome, by the Suevians; Lusitania was overrun by the Alans, while the central and southern provinces were ravaged by the Vandals. The Alans were led by Atacius, the Suevians by Hermanaric, and the Vandals, the fiercest of the three, by the terrible Gunderic,

who was succeeded by the yet more terrible Gaiseric. The destruction wrought by these hordes of Barbarians was terrific. They not only conquered, they destroyed. "Not only mankind," says Orosius, "but the fruits of the earth, the beasts of the field, cities, storehouses, everything perished as if devoured by the flames of a general conflagration. And the horrors of ensuing famine gave place only to pestilence. For so great was the number of unburied bodies of man and beast, that the entire country became, as it were, a vast charnel-house."

It is difficult to account for the extraordinary facility with which these Barbarians appear to have been able to possess themselves of the greatest of the provinces of Rome. The terror that was inspired by the vast numbers of their terrible tribes, and the very names of their yet more terrible leaders, was no doubt enormous. But the rapidity with which they overran the Spanish Peninsula is still well-nigh inexplicable. Three months before their descent into Spain, just such Barbarians had been driven out of the heart of Italy. Four years earlier Alaric himself had been repulsed on the very frontier of that country. Why were the degraded Romans of Spain so inferior to the degraded Romans of Italy? Stilicho and his Barbarian troops counted, no doubt, for much in the struggle. A skilful commander in those days was worth at least as much as Napoleon's forty thousand men. But were there no Spaniards left in Spain? Was the old Celtiberian blood entirely exhausted? No explanation is offered by history. We are merely told that five centuries after Numantia, a Barbarian host marched unchecked across the Peninsula, that the fatherland of Viriatus was invaded and occupied without the serious opposition of a single Lusitanian; and that the country which had for two hundred years resisted the forces of Republican Rome, which had defied Consuls and defeated armies, and, when exhausted by long years of conflict, had hardly yielded to the generalship of Pompey and of Cæsar, was content, almost without striking a blow, to submit, not merely to a change of masters, but to utter destruction at the hands of a horde of savages. It is hard to believe—it is still harder to understand. It is reasonable at least to seek to solve the enigma.

1. The devastation that was wrought both in Italy and in the provinces by the incidence of Imperial taxation and the tyranny of the Imperial tax-collectors—more especially after the time of Caracalla—though it has perhaps been rhetorically exaggerated by contemporary Christian writers, was undoubt-

edly a terrible reality. Of the exactions of the tax-gatherers; of the financial persecution; of the legal and illegal torture to which even Roman citizens and all industrious and worthy men were exposed; of the ruin and flight of the municipal magistrates; of the decay of industry; of the universal impoverishment and misery and despair of the whole nation, we may read in the heart-rending lamentations of Salvian. It is not hard to understand that the provincials so harassed, and driven to actual—and not merely figurative—despair by this "consuming hierarchy of extortion" should await with indifference the approach of the terrible Vandal, as of something likely to change at least the nature, if it might not lighten the weight, of the burden of their insupportable misery.[1]

The exactions of the publicans and farmers of the revenue had long been proverbial, even in the palmy days of the Empire; and while the assistance of the Imperial officers was easily obtained by the legalised oppressor, the succour of the Judges or Tribunes, in cases of even the most flagrant extortion, could hardly be purchased by the oppressed. After the time of Caracalla the oppression became more severe throughout the provinces. And the reforms of Diocletian completed the misery of the entire population. For not only did the army of new provincial officers entail increased taxation to provide for their support, but, as a matter of administrative discipline, each town was made responsible, in the person of its *Curials*,[2] or chief municipal officers, not only for its own taxes, but for those of the surrounding districts. The Curials, thus, from honoured and honourable functionaries, engaged in the gratuitous performance of civic duties, became exposed as tax-collectors or unremunerated publicans to the odium of their fellow-citizens, while they were themselves ruined by the burden of their financial responsibilities to the Imperial Government. It was not surprising that respectable citizens should flee from their homes to escape election; and the office was bestowed upon men

[1] See Salvian, *De Gubernatione Dei*, lib. v; Lactantius, *De Mortibus persecutorum*, with special reference to the time of Diocletian; Zosimus, *Hist.*, ii., 38; Montalembert, *op. cit.*, i., 18; Littré, *Etudes sur les Barbares*, pp. 41, 126, 123, 201.

Masdeu, vii., 39, gives a terrible list of the principal Imperial functionaries engaged in the collection of the rates and the harassing of the taxpayers: Procuratores, Agentes, Censitores, Exactores, Arcarii, Commentatores, Tabularii, Publicani, Rationales, Actuarii, Frumentatores, Carnicularii, Accensi, Questionarii, Assessores, Appositores.

[2] See Littré, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

with neither means nor morality, who invoked the forces of the Empire to enable them to plunder their neighbours.[1]

So numerous, says Lactantius, were the receivers in comparison with the payers, and so enormous the weight of taxation, that the labourer broke down, the fields became deserts, and woods grew where the plough had furrowed the soil. It was impossible to number the officials who were rained upon every province and upon every town; or to make head against the condemnations, the exactions, and the outrages of which the peaceful and once prosperous inhabitants were the daily victims.

That such a system of administration and oppression should render the Provincials indifferent to any change of masters is scarcely to be wondered at.[2] Yet this financial ruin is but one of many causes that combined to render Spain an easy prey to the Barbarian.

II. Almost equally important, though to some extent dependent upon it, was the decay of the Spanish manhood. That the slaves and paupers who composed the greater part of the population of Roman Spain in 406, should be willing or even able to take up arms in defence of the Empire was hardly to be expected. For five hundred years the free manhood of the province had marched under the Roman standards to be slain on every frontier of the Empire. The Spanish troops

[1] See Sheppard, *Fall of Rome and Rise of New Nationalities*. The whole question of provincial taxation, as well under the Republic as under the Empire, will be found treated in a masterly manner by Joachim Marquardt, *L'organisation financière chez les Romains*, 1888, pp. 207-309. As to the various heads and divisions of provincial taxation, ordinary and extraordinary, and the administration of taxes generally, see a most admirable *résumé* in the same work, pp. 335-400. As to the responsibility of the *Curials*, see Cod. Theod., lib. xii., tit. "*Si Curiales*". In Spain, before the Gothic invasion, the land tax alone had grown to 35 per cent. upon all the agricultural produce of the country. The corvée, or the obligation of personal service, was rigorously enforced, and the Emperor himself had become far the largest landed proprietor in Spain as well as in Italy.

[2] See Lactantius, *ubi supra;* Salvian, v.; Orosius, vii., 41. It is hard to believe these writers when they speak of the Barbarians, not only the *ignavi Visigothi*, but the terrible Vandals and Suevians, being actually *welcomed* by the oppressed Provincials. Sidonius Apollinarius speaks (Epist., vii., 14) in a very different strain. *Cf.* Littré, *op. cit.*, p. 200. It is pretty certain that the outrages committed by the invaders were regarded with leniency by those earnest Christian men, who thought but little of the death of the body, and who looked upon the Romans, still half Pagan in religion, and entirely Pagan in morality, as killers of the soul. The Spaniard Prudentius seems to have been almost the only one among the early Christian writers who had any patriotism. His kingdom, no less than that of Salvian, was in heaven. But as long as he lived on earth he was proud to be a Roman citizen. As to Salvian generally, see Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, vol. i., chapter x.

were not only the sturdiest in the armies of Rome, but they were perhaps the most numerous; and the legionary never returned to Spain. He settled in far away Roumania, where his ancient language is still spoken by his modern descendants. He killed himself with riotous living at the capital. But in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of a thousand, he died in his harness, fighting the battles of the Empire.[1] And his death at least was not inglorious. He lived a free Spaniard, and he died a Roman soldier; while his less fortunate brother, who remained at home in his province, lived and died a Roman slave.

III. The large estates or *latifundia*, which were said to have destroyed Italy, had also destroyed rural life in the provinces. The whole of Roman Africa at the time of Honorius is said to have belonged to six great landholders, and though the evil was not so enormous in the Peninsula, the extension of prædial slavery, in the absence of free labourers, or even of free agricultural tenants, combined with other causes to destroy agriculture, and that great agricultural class which has so constantly been at once the support and the glory of Spain.

IV. The enormous growth of slavery in the towns was not so disastrous as the destruction of free labour in the country, but it tended to degrade the whole race. For domestic slavery in the Roman Empire was by far the most demoralising form of

[1] The detailed lists given by Masdeu, vol. vii., pp. 50-54, of the Spanish legions employed abroad, and the foreign legions quartered in Spain, are most instructive. And yet this most painstaking of historians does not take any account of the Spanish soldiers who found service in legions not distinctly Spanish, and fought for the Empire throughout the world. See also Böcking, *Notitia Dignitatum*, etc. (1839-1853). On the farthest frontier of far away Britain, defending the Roman Wall against the Picts, we find records of many Spanish legions and Spanish commanders. Asturian troops were long quartered at Axelodunum, at Æsica, at Condercum, at Cilurnum on the Tyne. See *The Roman Wall*, by Collingwood Bruce, 1867, 3rd ed., pp. 68, 149-158. A monument to an Asturian leader named Aventinus is still extant, *ibid.*, p. 64. An inscription at Cilurnum, of the time of Elagabalus, records the fact of the restoration of the temple in which the stone was set by the soldiers of an Asturian legion, *ibid.*, pp. 158-60. An altar near Maryport in Cumberland was dedicated by the Prefect of the first cohort of the Spaniards, *ibid.*, pp. 365-6. And the memory of a Temple in the same distant land, dedicated to the Spaniard Marcus Aurelius, by two legions of Spanish foot, and one cohort of horse soldiers, is perpetuated in an inscription reproduced at pp. 412, 413 of the same interesting work.

It is sufficiently strange that the first recorded mention of a British fleet is in connection with the Spanish Emperor, Hadrian, and that the fleet itself was commanded by a Spanish Prefect. On a slab found in Umbria, and referred to by Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 13, is the following inscription: *Electo a Divo Hadriano et misso in expeditionem Britannicam. trib. cohor I. Hispan. Equit. Præf. classis Britannicae.*

the dark institution that has ever existed in the civilised world. And while it degraded labour, and rendered the great human duty of work, one scarcely to be performed by a free man, and thus struck at the root of all perfection and of all progress in any art or craft, it demoralised the slave-owners to an extent which it is difficult to convey in an English printed book, and which the pages of Suetonius and Juvenal may but suggest to the diligent and careful student of human corruption. And so it came to pass that when the Vandal thundered on the frontier, there were not only no Roman soldiers—there were no free Romans left to bar his entry. The garrison of Spain had been gradually reduced to the most insignificant proportions. And the soldiers who composed the single legion that sufficed for the maintenance of public order were either degenerate Provincials, unworthy to take their place in the armies ever fighting on the frontier, or the still more degenerate Italians, who had been sent over to take the place of better men, in the most peaceable of the Roman provinces.[1] For in Spain there had been no fighting for four hundred years. Even the Cantabrians needed no subjugation, or no one had cared to subdue them. The old fighting stock had departed; the old fighting traditions had died away. Peaceful men and peaceful pursuits had taken their place. Those who were not slaves or paupers were decayed and emasculated by luxury, and the slaves and paupers had no heart to fight, for they knew of nothing that was worth the push of a lance.

V. In the last place, Christianity was by no means the least of the manifold influences that tended to weaken the resistance of the Roman province. It was not only that the new religion was a religion of peace; Christians have fought, and fought better than other men, when they have had anything to fight for. But the rise of Christianity was already a source of disunion among the forces of the Roman world. Few Christians who could avoid military service were to be found in the ranks of the legions. Their best men, their boldest spirits were presbyters and deacons; their natural leaders were metropolitans and bishops. Hosius, who might have led the armies of Viriatus, had devoted his magnificent energy to the sub-

[1] After the time of Gratian, the Roman soldiers complained of the weight of the armour, which they seldom wore! The relaxation of discipline rendered them less able and less willing to support the fatigues of the service. The heavy weapons of their ancestors, the short sword and the *pilum* which had subdued the world, insensibly dropped from their feeble hands. See Gibbon, cap. xxvii.

jugation of Arianism. Vincent, who might have held the breach at Numantia, had only been called upon to maintain his faith, undaunted by the tortures of an over zealous president. The empire of Christ was not of this world, and for worldly empire the Christian would hardly care to fight. The end of the age was daily, almost hourly, expected. The faithful soldier and servant of Christ would render unto Cæsar, aye, even to Maximus or to Galerius, the things that were Cæsar's; but the business, the pleasure, the entire work of his life, was devoted to the things that were God's.

CHAPTER V.

CHRISTIANITY.

(A.D. 60—600.)

In no part of the Roman Empire in the west did Christianity spread more rapidly, or grow more vigorously, than in the Peninsula. That St. Paul intended to visit the Christians in Spain is as certain as that he wrote his Epistle to the Christians at Rome. And that his intentions were carried out would seem at least to be fairly probable[1]; although history is silent as to the fact of his visit, and even tradition is meagre and uncertain as to the details. Where and when the apostle landed, how long he stayed, whence and whither he journeyed, what churches he strengthened, what heathen he converted, what Christian disciples he left behind him—on all these points nothing certain is told. Had his personal influence been as powerful and extensive as it most undoubtedly was in other provinces of the Empire, we should have expected to find a somewhat more definite record of his preaching and teaching in the Peninsula.

But St. Paul has never been as popular in Spain, nor, indeed, in any Roman Catholic country, as many other Christian saints. Pedros and Juans, Joses and Diegos, are to be found in every hamlet, while Pablo is not much commoner than Cæsar or Horacio in the towns and villages of Castile.

The apostle whose name, at least, has played the leading part in the religious development of Spain, is Saint James or *Santiago*,[2] the special property of the Spaniard—his battle-cry in two worlds, the inspirer of his chivalry in all ages, the hero of his great National Miracle, the patron under whose sacred banner his armies have marched to victory for a thousand

[1] See Romans xv. 24; Eusebius, *apud* Rohrbach, ii., 614; Neander (ed. Bohn), i., 117, and a number of ancient authorities quoted by Lafuente, ii., 185. *Cf. Muratorian Fragment; Antiq. Ital.*, iii., 353.

[2] As to the legend of Santiago, see *post*, chapter xv.

years. And to doubt that the bones of the saint, martyred at Jerusalem, and heaven-sent to the shores of Spain, now rest in most sacred Compostella, amid the wild mountains of western Gallicia, would be an affront not only to the religious, but to the national sentiment of the Peninsula.

The rise and progress of Christianity in the Roman world is one of the most interesting questions that can engage the attention of the historian; but its consideration, even in the briefest manner, would be quite outside the limits of the present work. Of the spread of the new religion in Spain during the second and third centuries of our era, we have, unfortunately, but the scantiest and most uncertain records. And as in the political history of these early days, we hear of little but battles and military heroes, so the history of religion or religious thought is represented only by records of bloody persecutions and legends of the martyrs of the faith.

The actual extent of the persecution of the Christians under the earlier Emperors, as well as the character and causes of the various outbreaks of Imperial intolerance of Christianity, have always been matters of the greatest uncertainty; but it would seem probable that, in the provinces of Hispania at all events, with the exception, perhaps, of a short period during the reign of the virtuous Trajan, the Christians[1] were subjected to no general or systematic persecution, whether on account of their religion or their political opinions, until the dark days of Diocletian.

Eugenius of Toledo, who suffered under Domitian, is the first great name in the Spanish martyrology; Mancius died for his faith at Evora under Trajan; Facundus and Primitivus in Gallicia under Marcus Aurelius, and the more celebrated[2] Fructuosus suffered death at Tarragona, under Gallienus. These were the gallant witnesses among the early Christians, who met their death bravely with their faces to the foe. For rashness rather than reserve characterised the attitude of the converts to the faith in the One True God, and many were the endeavours made by more prudent leaders to restrain the over zealous from condemning themselves to unnecessary martyrdom, by offering public and gratuitous insult to the religion, and even to the civil authorities, of the Empire.

[1] See Renan, *Marc Aurèle;* and as to Trajan's policy as regards the Christians generally, Bury, *Student's Roman Empire* (1893), pp. 445-448.

[2] A long list of the early Christian martyrs of Spain will be found in Masdeu, vii., pp. 217, 220. Fructuosus is still the patron saint of Tarragona.

But the night grew darker before the dawn; and the weakness rather than the policy of Diocletian devoted the Christians throughout the Roman world to a final and fruitless persecution. Yet the agony, if dreadful, was at least of brief duration. It was only in 303 that Galerius persuaded the Emperor at Nicomedia to issue the dreadful edict. In 305 Diocletian resigned the purple; and Spain was released from the destroyer. Galerius bore no rule in western Europe; and while a pitiless persecution was carried on in Italy and in the east, Constantius Chlorus, the amiable father of Constantine, who ruled in Spain, not only displayed a most generous toleration, but secretly favoured the new religion by every means in his power. Had it not been for one Dacian, president of Aquitania Secunda, who seems to have taken upon himself the position of arch-inquisitor in the *Tarraconensis*, upon the promulgation of the edict of Nicomedia, the last persecution to which the Christian Church was subjected would have left Spain unmolested and unharmed.

But under Dacian, incited by Galerius, and hardly checked by Constantius, the Spanish Christians suffered for their faith throughout the north and north-east of the province; and at Cæsaraugusta more especially, *patria sanctorum martyrum*, the cruel and treacherous conduct of the Roman president recalled the darker days of Lucullus and Galba.

Of all the victims of Dacian, St. Vincent,[1] who faced death and torments at Valencia in the course of the year 304, is the most celebrated in Christian story. Of the pious and learned bishop, the intrepid witness, the unflinching sufferer, the tale of the almost superhuman constancy was told throughout Europe in the plaintive and graceful verse of Prudentius.

Our knowledge of this Spanish persecution, such as it was, is derived indeed almost entirely from the works of this first of Christian poets; and a poet, however honest, is scarcely a safe guide in matters historical, more especially when his feelings are deeply stirred by the subject of his own recital. But in 306 Constantine was proclaimed at York; and his influence at once made itself felt throughout the Roman world. Persecution ceased. Christianity was at least permitted to every Roman citizen. A dozen years later it was to be the faith of the

[1] For the origin of the name of *Cape St. Vincent*, so far removed from Valencia, see Mariana, vii., 4; and as to the removal of a holy coat of St. Vincent from Saragossa to Paris, see *post*, p. 65 of this work. *Cf. Esp. Sag.*, viii., 249.

Empire. Upon the proclamation of Theodosius it became the only form of religion recognised in the Roman world.[1]

In Spain, ever marching in the van of ecclesiastical development, we have, from the very beginning of the fourth century, the records of the Spanish Councils which afford us much insight into the religious life of the province.

At Illiberis or Elvira, on the site, it may be, of the more celebrated city of Granada, some three hundred years after the birth of Christ, was held the first Christian Council of whose proceedings we have any authentic record.[2]

Nineteen bishops and thirty-six priests, with an uncertain number of Christian deacons, constituted this early Council, and if every one of its eighty-one decrees is of transcendent interest to the student of theology, there are not wanting among them some few of almost equal interest to the student of Spanish history. Conspicuous, yet not supreme, among their early councillors was Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, the greatest of Spanish Churchmen in the early days of the Christian Church. He was not, indeed, counted among the martyrs of the faith, nor has the memory of his noble and stirring career procured for him the posthumous honour of canonisation; yet he was "approved," says Eusebius, for the sobriety and genuineness of his faith, and for his virtuous life, and pronounced by no less a doctor than Athanasius, to be "the most illustrious of men".[3] Born in southern Spain about 256, we know nothing of his career until at the close of the persecution under Dacian he was consecrated Bishop of Cordova; and his earliest public act in connection with the Christian Church was his appearance as Vice-President of the Council or Synod of Elvira.

In 316, we find him at the Imperial Court of Constantine, whose respect and admiration he was not slow to acquire, and who entrusted him in 321 with the celebrated mission, enjoining doctrinal uniformity, to Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, and to the more renowned Arius—a mission, in the words of the ecclesiastical historian Socrates, "the most honourable and the

[1] The *Pax Ecclesiæ* was proclaimed in 312. "La Religion Chrétienne cessait á peine d'être proscrite que déja elle devenait protégée, puis dominante," Montalembert, *Moines d'Occident*, i., 5.

[2] Possibly as early as 306; the date is very uncertain. In any case the council was held not later than 316; nine years at least before that of Nicæa (325). The name Illiberis is derived by so good an authority as Mr. Wentworth Webster (*Spain*, p. 75), from the Basque or Iberian *beri* = new, *iri* = town, *i.e.*, Newtown.

[3] Dean Stanley gives him the pre-eminence over all his contemporaries, including even Athanasius himself, *Eastern Church*, p. 244 (Ed. 1862).

most important that could have been confided to any Churchman" of the day.[1] The mission failed; and by the advice of the Bishop of Cordova, Constantine convoked the Fathers of the Christian Church to meet him at Nicæa.

The exact precedence accorded to Hosius at this ever-celebrated council, is a matter of bitter controversy. He probably took the first place, pre-eminent over all other ecclesiastics, by the side of the Emperor himself; and his influence was undoubtedly enormous. Whether his position was that of the legate[2] or the rival of Rome; whether he sat at Nicæa as the Pope's man or as the Emperor's man, or as Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, it is certain, says Dean Stanley, "that he was himself an object of deeper interest to Christendom than any Bishop of Rome". On his return from Constantinople to Spain, the year after the assembling of the council, he paid a visit to Italy, and saluted, or was saluted by, Pope Sylvester. For twenty years more he lived at Cordova, occupied with the business of his See, until at length, in 347, he was summoned once more by the Emperor at Constantinople, to preside at the Council of Sardica, a city in Upper Mœsia, better known to modern readers by its modern name of Sofia, the capital of the still more modern principality of Bulgaria.[3]

The Bishop of Cordova was then over ninety years of age. The journey from the Sierra Morena to the Balkans would have deterred many a younger man from accepting the Imperial commission. But the fine old Spaniard, a citizen of no mean city, mounted his mule, and rode across mountain and river, through forest and marsh, for full sixteen hundred miles from Cordova to Sofia, and back again from Sofia to his home at Cordova, when he had finished the work that had been given him to do.

But he was not yet suffered to rest. Six years after his return from Sardica he was summoned to Milan by the Emperor Constantius II. (353), and urged to abandon the doctrines of Nicæa for those of the rival and then more popular school of Arius. Hosius, now nearly one hundred years of age, obeyed the Imperial summons, but disregarded the Imperial dictation. He withstood the Emperor in his palace; and, more faithful

[1] Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, i., 4.

[2] Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 112.

[3] As to the secession of some eighty of the eastern members of the Council of Sardica, and their meeting at Philippopolis, when both Hosius and Pope Julius were solemnly denounced, see De Potten, *Considérations sur les Principaux Conciles*, i., 330-337. See also Sozomen, lib. iii., c. xii.

or more consistent than Pope Liberius, he endured personal duress, if not actual torture, for nearly twelve months at Sirmium, rather than subscribe a formal declaration against the teachings of his old friend Athanasius,[1] and the doctrines which he had himself had so large a share in promulgating.

To what extent he may have relented in his opposition to Arianism during his visit to Sirmium it is now impossible to say. He seems, at all events, to have consented to hold communication with two Arian bishops, Valens and Urgacius, an exhibition of Christian amity for which he has been severely blamed by Hilary of Poictiers, and other orthodox critics. Where our knowledge of the facts is so imperfect, praise and blame are alike impertinent, and we know little more for certain than that Hosius ultimately obtained the Emperor's permission to return to Spain, and that he died at Cordova in 357 or 358, at the age of at least a hundred years.

Hosius was a fine specimen of a Christian Churchman and a noble Spaniard; advising Emperors, reasoning with arch-heretics, convening councils—neither fearing the strong nor persecuting the weak—throughout a long and honoured career; and in the evening of life bearing the burden of his years bravely across Alps and Pyrenees, and holding his own against the arguments or the commands of a fourth century Emperor—consistent to the last, even if he did lapse into a little over Christian toleration of Christian heresy!

But, alas! the toleration of Hosius was rare even in the fourth century; and the Christians who had braved and converted the Pagan world by *loving one another*, were found corrupted[2] by the corruption of the Empire into which their religion had been absorbed—seeking to promote the spread of their faith in an all merciful God, by the methods of Galerius and Dacian. Nor were these Christian rigours reserved for the obstinate heathen. It was Christians, as time and thought developed differences in doctrine and practice, who suffered most severely at the hands of Christians; and within less than

[1] See Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii., 25, 26. As to what Hilary (*de Synodis*) speaks of as "the Blasphemy of Hosius," and of the character and import of the formularies that the Bishop of Cordova is said to have signed, a full account will be found in De Potten, *Considérations*, etc., i., 357, 361. See also Fleury, *Hist. Ecclésiastique*, xvi., 46; Stanley's *Eastern Church*, *ubi supra;* and Tillemont tom. vii.

[2] "Quam dissimilis est nunc a se ipso populus Christianus, id est ab eo quod fuit quondam . . . sentina vitiorum!" Salvian, *De Gub. Dei*, lib. v.

fifty years from the baptism of Constantine, a Spanish bishop,[1] with his attendant presbyters, and a noble lady disciple, were publicly executed as heretics by a Christian Emperor at the earnest solicitation of more orthodox Christian ecclesiastics. The death of Vincent was followed in less than a century by the death of Priscillian, the proto-martyr of Non-Conformity in the Christian world.

Priscillian was a man of wealth and position, born probably about the year 340, in some part of southern Spain. Attracted by the Christian teaching of one Marcus, a preacher from Egypt, he became an earnest advocate of certain mystic religious views regarding the nature of the Trinity, the inspiration of Holy Scripture, and the origin of evil, which were not in accordance with those commonly accepted by the Spanish Churchmen of the day.[2]

But Priscillian was zealous, devoted, rich ; of considerable intellectual power, simple and frugal in his habits, liberal to others, pure, faithful, persevering. He soon drew after him many devoted followers ; and two bishops, Instantius and Salvianus, were among his earliest disciples. His teaching gradually attracted so much attention, that a council was summoned to meet at Cæsaraugusta to condemn his unknown theology. The council was held in 380. Priscillian and his teaching, though what his teaching was is not by any means certain,[3] were authoritatively denounced. But Priscillian was not silenced by his enemies. He was inspired with renewed vigour. He was consecrated Bishop of Avila ; he was spoken of throughout the country ; his disciples increased in number. Two members of the council thus set at nought, Idacius, Bishop of Merida, and Ithacius, Bishop of Ossonoba, appealed for assistance to the secular government.

[1] " Ils persécutaient pour le compte d'Arius comme leurs prédécesseurs l'ont fait pour le compte de Jupiter et de Vénus," Montalembert, *op. cit.*, i., 9. In the Theodosian code there are no less than sixty-six enactments against Christian heretics, and a much smaller number against Pagans, Jews, apostates, and magicians. Lecky, *Rationalism*, ii., 1-36. See also Gibbon, chapter xxvii., and authorities there referred to.

[2] An Egyptian or gipsy by name Mark, says D. Vicente de la Fuente, passed from Memphis through France into Spain ; and . . . became the teacher of Priscillian. Don Vicente classes the followers of Priscillian with *Freemasons* and *Jews* as being amongst the earliest members of *Secret Societies* in Spain ! *Hist. de la Sociedades Secretas en España* (Lugo, 1870), pp. 17-26. The best account of Priscillianism that I have yet seen is in Señor Menendez Pelayo's *Heterodoxos Españoles* (1880), tom. i., pp. 100-148.

[3] The Priscillian heresy is usually understood to be a disbelief in the Incarnation and the assertion of absolute predestination. It was thus a sort of Unitarian fatalism,—H.

And at Milan, in 381, the Emperor Gratian granted a rescript excluding all *heretics* from the Christian Churches, and sending them into perpetual exile. The Spaniard Damasus had been elected Pope in 366, and Priscillian appealed in person to his compatriot at Rome. But Idacius and Ithacius were at Rome before him. And he accordingly failed even to obtain an audience of the Pope.

Turning back undismayed to Milan, he contrived by judicious bribes to the palace officials, to obtain the rescission of the Imperial rescript; and returning triumphant to Spain, he induced Volventius the Vicar to summon Idacius and Ithacius to appear before him as defendants in some legal process. What the charge was, we know not; we only know that the orthodox bishops declined to appear before the Imperial *Diocesan*, and fled for safety and succour to Trèves.

Seville was the capital of the diocese. Milan was the capital of the Empire. But Trèves was the capital of the Prefecture of Gaul. And at Trèves, Maximus, himself a Spaniard, discontented with the prefectorial purple, had recently (384) proclaimed himself Cæsar. Thus inclined to orthodoxy, the bishops appealed to him not in vain. A council, by the command of the Imperial usurper, was convoked at *Burdegala* or Bordeaux, in 385. Priscillian and Instantius were summoned, and duly appeared; the councillors delayed to determine, and showed themselves unwilling even to discuss; and the defendants, unable to obtain a fair hearing, demanded that the case should be remitted for the decision of Cæsar himself. The appeal was allowed; and the Spanish Christians, the accusers and the accused, journeyed on to the august city on the Moselle. A court was constituted by Maximus. The prefect presided. The orthodox bishops prosecuted; and the issue was never doubtful. Priscillian and his followers were pronounced guilty of heresy, and their offence to be worthy of death; and the sentence was confirmed by the pious Maximus, whose hands were yet "red with the blood of the murdered Gratian".[1] Priscillian was immediately executed. Euchrocia and one or two presbyters shared his fate. Instantius and Salvianus, with a number of heretics of lesser degree, were banished to the dreary exile of the Scilly Isles, off the coast of Britain.

Idacius and Ithacius were triumphant.[2] For a short time,

[1] Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, v., ii.

[2] Idacius is said to have been afterwards excommunicated by St. Ambrose in 389. As to his tenure of the See of Merida, see Masdeu, tom. vii.; *Ilustracion*, xiv.

indeed, the cause of the martyrs waxed strong in Spain. Yet Priscillianism without Priscillian was a dead thing, and the heresy soon ceased to attract any serious attention; though it was mentioned at the councils at Toledo in 400 and 447, and in that of Braga, in 448. It is last heard of as an extinct form of Arianism at the council of Braga in 563;[1] and its errors are now unknown or forgotten.

One of the most curious and characteristic features, indeed, of this early manifestation of Christian intolerance is that no one seems to have troubled himself very much with the nature of the heresy, nor with the actual doctrines and practices of Priscillian. It was apparently sufficient that he thought for himself. No one assuredly concerned himself with his conversion or that of any of his followers. The prosecuting or persecuting bishops, the representatives of the Holy Office of the day, intriguing at the corrupt court of one of the most contemptible of the Christian or even of the Pagan Emperors, procured the sentence of condemnation. Priscillian intriguing with equal or greater success, procured the repeal of the decree. The Pope would hear no arguments. The council at Bordeaux would arrive at no decision; and Maximus—a strange judge of religious truth—condemning the heretics to death, seems to have been autocratically annoyed at any one presuming to oppose the constituted authorities, and politically glad to be able to please the official *Episkopoi* of a Church that was already becoming a power in the Empire. And it is sufficiently curious that the Pope and the Emperor, no less than the accusers and the accused, should all have been natives of Spain. But there is one Spaniard whose name is remembered in pleasant contrast to those of these early persecutors. Marcus Aurelius Prudentius,[2] the greatest Christian poet of the early Church, and the glory of Spanish Latinity in the fourth century, was born at Calagurris

[1] See Sulpicius Severus, *Historia Sacra*, iii.; Tillemont, *Hist. Ecclesiastique*, vii., 498; *España Sagrada*, iv., appendix iv., and xiv., 359; Gaillard, *Rivalité de la France et de l'Espagne*, i., 22. But as to the influence of dead Priscillianism upon living heretics from A.D. 1200 to 1250, see Vicente de la Fuente, *ubi supra*, p. 26. The *Albigenses* too, says that author, were Priscillianists—full of the errors of Egypt—*ib.*, pp. 28, 29.

[2] The honour of producing a still earlier Christian poet must also be assigned to Spain. Caius Vettius Juvencus, the first Christian writer of Latin verse, preceded his greater countryman, Prudentius, by some twenty years (circ. A.D. 330).

Pope Damasus, who died in 384, and was also a poet, and Dracontius, who flourished in the early part of the fifth century, and was the author of the Christian poem the *Hexaemeron*, were also natives of Spain. See Masdeu, tom. viii., pp. 185-188, and Mayor's *Latin Literature* (1875), pp. 102-111.

or Calahorra, on the Spanish slopes of the Pyrenees in 348. Of good family and position, he practised at first as an advocate, but was soon appointed to an important civil office at Tarraco, and afterwards at the court of the Emperor at Milan. Later in life he seems to have joined some religious society, and to have been moved, after a visit to Rome, to write and publish his poems on subjects directly connected with the Christian religion.

The character of Prudentius, as it appears to us from his writings, is not only admirable, but is undoubtedly most attractive. A thorough Roman, proud of the Empire, and loyal to the Imperial authority, at a time when both were in their decay, he was still prouder of his religion, as yet in the full charm and glory of its early perfection and purity. Distinguished among his fellow Christians by a fondness for art, Prudentius[1] set his face against the destruction of the Pagan statues that fared so ill at the hands of his contemporaries. His large toleration was the outcome of true charity. He recognised the virtues of Julian and the eloquence of Symmachus, and he would not persecute the heretics whose errors he most deplored. As an author, his style is not only easy and fluent, but terse, epigrammatic, and at times humorous and satirical. The great fault of those of his works that have survived to our own time is no doubt their prolixity. Their greatest merit is that they illustrate, by their numerous references and allusions to contemporary affairs, the true life and feelings of the age.

The historic and antiquarian value of the poems is thus very great, not only as regards early Christian theology and practice, but as regards the manners and customs of the times, the luxury and extravagance of the rich, the misery of the poor, the gladiatorial shows, the modes of punishment and of torture in common use, the early Christian painting and art generally, dress, relics and religious ceremonies and symbols—with an immense number of historical and topographical details of the very highest interest.

[1] As to the theology of Prudentius, see F. St. John Thackeray, *Selections from Prudentius* (London, 1890), Prefatory Memoir, pp. xxxiii.-lv. *Cf.* Cod. Theodos., xvi., 10, 8. As to his liberal and intelligent appreciation of the Pagan works of art, his own words are worth quoting:—

> "Marmora tabenti respergine tincta lavate,
> O proceres! liceat statuas consistere puras
> Artificum magnorum opera, hæ pulcherrima nostræ
> Ornamenta fuant patriæ, nec decolor usus
> In vitium versæ monumenta coinquinet artis".
>
> *Contra Symm.*, v., 501-506.

See also Ozanam, *La Civilization au Cinquième Siècle*, tom. ii., c. xxi.

Prudentius was brought into contact with the three great forces of the day: the Pagan, revived under Julian, and tolerated in the days of Theodosius; the Barbarian, already thundering on the frontier; and the Christian, accepted by the edict of Milan in 313, and supreme after the death of Gratian in 382. And in his works we find something of this three-fold influence. The *Liber Cathemerinon*, the Christian Day, as Mr. Lilly calls it,[1] is a collection of hymns, and is certainly the most important; after that, the *Liber Peristephanon*, the Martyr's Crown, consisting of fourteen lyric poems, is the most valuable; the *Psychomachia* was perhaps the most popular in the Middle Ages, together with the *Hamartigenia*—a treatise on the origin of sin, now rather of archæological than of theological interest. Prudentius wrote before *rhyming* Latin verse was thought of, and after *quantity* had ceased to be critically regarded; and his poetry has thus a slovenly and unfinished character, only redeemed by the exceeding earnestness of the writer, the beauty of his thoughts, and the immense interest to modern readers of his presentment of ancient life. "The Horace and Virgil of the Christians," according to no less a critic than Bentley, "the poet of dogma," and "the forerunner of Calderon and Lope de Vega," Prudentius has from the first been held in high honour at home and abroad. His works were edited in the sixth century by the Consul Vettius Agorius Basilius, the editor of Horace; and they were used as a school book from the tenth to the fifteenth century in every country in civilised Europe.[2]

[1] Chapters on *English History*, i., 208.

[2] No less than thirty-three MSS. are still in existence; and sixty editions of his works are said to have been printed since 1470.

CHAPTER VI.

THE KINGDOM OF TOULOUSE.

(411—569.)

On the death of Alaric, his brother-in-law, Atawulf, was proclaimed King of the Visigoths.

The dream of the Goth was at this time to destroy the Roman Empire, and to found a great Gothic Monarchy on its ruins. But Atawulf had none of the direct and uncompromising vigour of Alaric; and after many marchings and counter-marchings in Italy, after many attempts at honourable negotiations with the shifty and faithless Honorius, Atawulf made his way into Gaul, defeated Jovinus, one of the numerous upstart Cæsars of the period, proclaimed himself to be the friend and ally of Rome, and thus "employing the sword of his Goths, not to subvert, but to restore the prosperity of the Roman Empire," he re-conquered the greater part of Gaul, not for himself, but for Honorius. He then, and not for the first time, solicited the hand of Galla Placidia, a captive in his train, whom he respected rather as the daughter of the great Theodosius, than as the sister of his degenerate successor.

Honorius, the degenerate Emperor of the West, a powerless refugee at Ravenna, refused his consent to the restorer of Gaul; but the marriage—delayed but not prevented by his opposition—was celebrated with Imperial pomp and splendour at Narbonne in the course of the year 414. It would have been wise as well as kind to conciliate this Gothic brother-in-law, who had shown himself to be not the destroyer but the supporter of declining Rome. It is ever politic to be grateful to a powerful benefactor. But the weak are rarely politic, and are often ungrateful; and the weakness of Honorius was only exceeded by his ingratitude. The ignoble murderer of Stilicho knew not how to take advantage of the generosity of Atawulf.

He would admit no favour; he would allow no alliance; and above all, he would take upon himself to do nothing whatever. In the eyes of such politicians, to shirk responsibility is the only way to avoid danger.

Meanwhile, the diplomacy of his new minister Constantius —himself an aspirant to the hand of the wedded Placidia— was devoted to inducing Atawulf to abandon Gaul to the thankless Honorius, and to turn his arms, unasked and unaided, against the barbarous foes of the Empire in Spain. The Goth, indignant, but apparently consenting, bound it may be to the Roman with silken chains, crossed the Pyrenees,[1] taking with him Attalus, the puppet Emperor of Alaric. Why, we scarce know. Nor do we know whether it was his supposed subserviency to his Imperial brother-in-law, as some have asserted, or, as it would seem more probable, a stroke of private revenge, that led to his assassination before he had penetrated further south than Barcelona, in August, 415. But even so he died.[2]

Atawulf has been called the first of the Visigothic sovereigns of Spain. But he was no more King of Spain than he was King of Italy. Far less, indeed. He ruled over Rome; he vanquished a rival Emperor at Mayence; he conquered Gaul. But if he was never King of Spain, nor of any other country in Europe, he succeeded Alaric as King of the Visigoths.[3] He needs no higher title. The odious Singeric, who nominally succeeded him, was never king of any nation or country outside the palace at Barcelona, and was in his turn assassinated after a reign of seven days, when the choice of the Goths fell upon Wallia, who was elected as a determined foe to the Roman court. Spain was to be conquered, not for the Roman enemy, but for the Visigothic people.

The charms of Placidia once more saved the Empire. Constantius, still aspiring to the honour of her hand, now placed within his reach by the death of Atawulf, promptly marched into Spain at the head of an Imperial army, and compelled or persuaded the Gothic king to restore the daughter of Theodosius; and further, in return for a welcome subsidy, bound him by treaty to prosecute the war in Spain against the

[1] There is a very long *Disertacion* by Martin de Ulloa in the *Memorias de la Real Acad. de Historia*, tom. i., pp. 264-345, on the origin of the Gothic Monarchy in Spain, more especially as regards the negotiations between Honorius and Alaric.

[2] *Memorias de la Real Academia de Historia*, tom. i., pp. 225, and 243-264.

[3] Mr. Bury somewhat happily styles him the Moses of the Goths, who brought them within sight of the promised land, but died before its actual occupation.

earlier Barbarians, as the vassal or ally of Honorius. Wallia was faithful to his engagements. Placidia became the wife of Constantius. The Vandals in Bætica were dispersed. The Alans in Lusitania were said to be destroyed; and the Suevians, who retained their possessions in the north-east, submitted themselves, by a common and convenient fiction, to a nominal overlordship. And when the Peninsula was pacified, Wallia retired, faithful and triumphant, to the capital of the rich province that was granted to him on the northern slopes of the Pyrenees.

Wallia, like Atawulf, is usually counted among the kings of Spain. But although Wallia, unlike his great predecessor, actually or nominally conquered the country, he conquered it for Rome. And at the hand of the Roman Emperor he accepted the kingdom in southern Gaul, which the prudence of Constantius assigned to him. "The Kingdom of Tolosa," as it has been happily called, was a rich and fertile territory, and included the whole province of Aquitania Secunda and a great part of Narbonensis and Novempopulania, with the flourishing cities of Poictiers and Angoulême in the north-west, with Bordeaux on the broad Garonne, and Toulouse, where Wallia fixed his capital, higher up on the same noble stream —almost within sight of the Pyrenees.

But while Wallia triumphed at Toulouse, the Vandals remained in the Peninsula. In 420 they were attacked and defeated at Bracara Augusta by an army of Romans under Asterius, with the Suevians under Hermeric, and were routed with considerable slaughter.[1] Disturbed in northern Spain alike by the Goths and the Romans, the Vandals pursued their course towards the south, as far as Bætica to which they gave the name of Vandalusia or Andalusia;[2] and for many years they ravaged that fair and fertile country, unharmed by the feeble Romans of Spain, almost unopposed by the degenerate Spaniards of the Peninsula. Their leader, the terrible Gaiseric, restless and unsatisfied even on the banks of Guadalquivir, was at length persuaded by Boniface, the Tribune, and Count of Africa, to assist him against his enemies. Whether these enemies were Goths or Romans, or both, is somewhat

[1] Though this defeat was revenged two years later by a great victory over Castinus.—H.

[2] Rather their name of *Vandal* was given to the province by the Africans whose territory they invaded from southern Spain. As to the etymology of Andalusia, see *post*, Appendix IV.

obscure. It is more certain that the entire Vandal nation then in Spain, to the number, it was said, of 80,000 persons, men, women and children, passed over the Straits of Gibraltar [1] in the happy month of March, 427, to turn their arms once more against the Roman commander who had invited them; to drive out the Imperial and Gothic troops; and to found the great Vandal Empire in Africa.

It was thus by successive master strokes of folly and treachery that the Vandals, invited by Stilicho into Gaul, invited by Gerontius into Spain, and finally invited by Boniface into Africa, marched, not only unchecked, but by easy stages of encouragement, from the wild forests beyond the Rhine to the rich and sunny kingdom that was prepared for them beyond the Pillars of Hercules.

From the invasion of Gunderic in 409 to the departure of Gaiseric in 427 the political condition of Spain was somewhat remarkable. The Roman had almost ceased to possess. The Visigoth had not yet begun to govern. The Vandal was but a sojourner. The Suevian was a pagan, if not a savage. But if there was as yet no king of the Visigoths, living and ruling in Spain, there was at least a king of the Vandals and a king of the Suevians, harrying, if not actually possessing, the Roman provinces. For although Asterius and the Suevians drove the Vandals out of northern Spain in 420, another expedition, undertaken by Castinus with a Roman and Visigoth force two years later (422), was not only defeated by Gaiseric and his Vandals, but the Roman commander was forced to fly for safety to Tarragona.

Wallia died, strangely enough, "in his bed," as the phrase runs, in his palace at Toulouse, and was succeeded by Theodoric, who, possibly to avoid confusion with the great Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths in Italy, is usually known as Theodored. With his life in Gothic Gaul, and even with his death in the moment of victory on the plains of Châlons,[2] the still Roman province of Spain had small concern. Yet his defeat of Attila decided the fate of Europe, and altered the course of history.

[1] Not of course known by that name until after the Arab invasion by *Tarik*, when *Calpe* gave place to *Gibil Tarik*, and *Gibraltar*. Strictly speaking the Straits should still be called the Straits of Gades, and the Guadalquivir the Bætis.

[2] The battle of Châlons was fought in the Champagne country of north-east France, near Moirey, a village a few miles from Troyes, no longer in existence. The ancient name of the entire district was that of the Catalauni, or Châlons, which gave the well-known name to one of the greatest of mediæval battles.

The names of his successors, Thorismund and another Theodoric, are of little interest to the historian of any country. Thorismund was assassinated by his brother Theodoric. And Theodoric, after a successful campaign against the Suevians in Spain, undertaken at the request of the Emperor Avitus, was in his turn assassinated by his brother Euric,[1] who succeeded him as King of the Visigoths. A bold and successful sovereign, Euric in less than twenty years extended the little kingdom of Tolosa into a realm reaching from the Loire to the Straits of Gibraltar, and from the Rhone to the frontiers of unconquered Cantabria. The Goth indeed is said not only to have conquered Lusitania, but to have completely subdued the Suevian kings in north-west Spain. But for five hundred years the conquest and subjugation of Cantabria and northern Lusitania had been one of the most constantly recurring incidents in Spanish history, and yet the Cantabrians and northern Lusitanians always retained their independence.[2]

Against the old Roman power, at least, Euric was completely successful. He besieged and took the provincial capital of Tarragona. He occupied the Imperial district of the Arverni —the modern *Auvergne,* and added the solemn sanction of a treaty to the more important fact of possession ;[3] and at length when Romulus the last Augustus gave place to Odoacer the first Barbarian, Euric was permitted to add to the immense Empire which he ruled from his palace at Arles, not only the whole of modern Provence, but the cities and districts which had till then continued to be counted among the Roman possessions in Spain.[4] Nor was Euric less successful as a maker of laws than as the maker of an Empire.[5] There was but one rift in the

[1] For the reign of Euric, and generally for the history and manners of *Gothic Gaul,* the letters of his contemporary Sidonius Apollinaris are of the utmost interest and value, as is the modern work of the Abbé Chaix, *Sidonie Apollinaire et son siècle,* 2 vols. (Clermont, 1866). Sidonius, though a layman, was consecrated Bishop of Clermont. His own life was that of an accomplished gentleman, and his letters should interest the man of the world as well as the student. I have used the edition, *Paris,* 1598.

[2] Lusitania was not as extensive a province as modern Portugal. Its northern boundary was the Douro, and the country between the Douro and the Minho, now Portuguese territory, formed part of the province of Gallicia.

[3] The treaty between Euric and the Empire was negotiated by Epiphanius, Bishop of Pavia, a very important personage at the time. It was executed in 475.

[4] Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs,* vi., 422-433.

[5] Euric's famous code of laws is of the greatest interest, because it exhibits a mass of Visigothic usage as it had been modified by contact with Roman civilisation. Although the foundation of the code is Visigothic, many of the provisions

lute, and that rift was religious dissension. The Visigoths were Arians. The great bulk of Euric's new subjects were Athanasians. The bishops as a rule were hostile to the king ; and the bishops in the fifth century were already beginning to be a power in western Europe. Their influence, moreover, was rapidly increasing, as Alaric the Second, the feeble successor of the politic and masterful Euric, had soon good cause to know.

Euric died in his capital at Arles in 484, having raised the kingdom of the Visigoths to its highest pitch of power, and to its greatest extent of territory in Europe.[1] From the day of his death the greatness began to decline, and in less than five-and-twenty years the kingdom was shorn of nearly half its territories, and the king of more than half his glory.

Alaric had been less than three years on the throne[2] of his father, when Clovis, King of the Salian Franks, a bold young pagan from the banks of the Meuse, descending upon the city and district of Soissons in north-eastern Gaul, had overrun the country, and driven Afranius Syagrius, the governor, or as the old chronicle styles him, "king of the Romans" to seek asylum at the more hospitable court of Toulouse. Clovis demanded the surrender of the fugitive, and the contemptible Alaric yielded to his threats, and gave up his royal guest to the mercy of the Frank. Thus was Visigothic honour sadly sullied, even before the Visigothic dominions were curtailed.

But the loss of territory was not long delayed. Clovis was the hero of the hour. In 486 he had conquered the Gauls at Soissons. In 496 he was to conquer the Alemans at Zülpich. A strong and masterful barbarian, a heathen, but at least not a heretic, the vigorous pagan at Soissons was preferred by the Catholic bishops to the feeble Arian at Toulouse.[3]

are evidently inspired by the Theodosian code. The intention of Euric in preparing this code of Toulouse was evidently to bring about a fusion of the peoples, or at least to devise a commonly acceptable set of laws which should gradually bring them together. This attempt was a failure, as the Latinised Spaniards resisted all attempts to force Visigothic laws upon them. The result was that Euric's successor Alaric ordered a commission of jurists to draw up the *Lex Romana*, a code mainly founded on the Theodosian laws as a supplementary code to that of Euric (A.D. 506). These various codes were augmented by succeeding kings, and finally embodied, 150 years after, in the famous *Lex Visigothorum* of King Chindaswinth.—H.

[1] Euric, like Atawulf and Wallia, is frequently spoken of as the first King of Spain. It would be as reasonable to style him King of France. But he was the sovereign not so much of any country as of a nation.

[2] Clovis was born only in 465 or 466, and became King of the Franks in 481. The name by which I speak of him is, I think, a good English word ; but as to the spelling of this and other proper names, see Introduction.

[3] Clovis did not establish his court at *Paris* until the year 500.

The people, however, as yet insufficiently educated in religious politics, hesitated to march against their Christian neighbours under the banner of a pagan king; but the difficulty was happily solved after the great Frankish victory at Zülpich or *Tolbiacum*, by the conversion of Clovis (496) who found, like his celebrated successor, that France was well "worth a Mass"; and the newly-baptised Catholic was ready to embark upon the *first religious war of Europe.*

Alaric, alarmed at the prospect of the coming struggle, craved the honour of a friendly interview with his brother Clovis. The interview was granted. The two kings met on an island in the Loire, near Amboise, and swore eternal friendship. Alaric returned contented to Toulouse—and within the year Clovis had declared war against the Visigoths.

No pretext was needed for this fifth century *Crusade.* "It was not to be endured," says the pious Gregory of Tours, "that these Arians should possess the finest country in Gaul."[1] It was clearly the duty of a Catholic king to drive them out; a duty insisted upon by Churchmen, enforced by miracles[2] and entirely agreeable to the temper of "the chosen champion of Catholicism". There is indeed a fine mixture of the ecclesiastical and the temporal at the Court of the Frank, where ambition and superstition were equally powerful, "and for the first time in history," says Dean Milman, "the diffusion of belief of the nature of the Godhead became[3] the avowed pretext for the invasion of a neighbouring territory". Clovis,[4] as an orthodox Catholic, and a zealous convert, lost no time in invading the dominion of the Visigoths. And the great battle[5] on the *Campus Vocladensis,* near Poictiers, in which Alaric was slain, and his Arian army completely defeated, was at once the foundation of the Frankish kingdom of France, and the origin of the Gothic kingdom of Spain.

[1] Gregory of Tours, ii., 37.

[2] The milk-white hind at the ford at Vienne, the fiery column over the cathedral of Poictiers; these and many equally convincing prodigies are faithfully recorded by Gregory of Tours.

[3] Montalembert, *Moines de l Occident*, ii., 248; Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vol. i., p. 277.

[4] Clovis occupied the remarkable position of being the only Catholic king in Europe. The *Emperor Anastasius* professed heretical views on the Incarnation. *Theodoric*, King of the Ostrogoths, *Alaric*, King of the Visigoths, *Gondebald* and *Gondisel*, Kings of the Burgundians, and *Thrasimond*, King of the African Vandals, were all Arians.

[5] The plain of Vouglé or Vouillé.

Toulouse was immediately occupied by the victorious Franks; the Visigoths were driven out of Gaul, and the orthodox army of Clovis was checked only by the great mountain barrier of the Pyrenees.

Alaric left two sons, Gensalic, whose birth was illegitimate; and Amalaric, a child of but five years old, whose mother was a daughter of Theodoric, the great King of the Ostrogoths in Italy. Gensalic was elected on the death of Alaric to fill the vacant throne. Five years later, in 511, he was slain by the armies of Theodoric, who had maintained the rights of succession of his grandson Amalaric, not only against the illegitimate pretension of Gensalic, but against the Catholic ardour of the more formidable Clovis; and it was due to the successful warfare waged against the Franks by the great Ostrogoth, not only that Amalaric inherited the new kingdom of Spain,[1] but that the kingdom was preserved or created for him to inherit, and administered during the long minority of Amalaric by Theudis, the first *Minister Regent of Spain.*

On the death of Theodoric, in 526, the boundaries of the Visigothic kingdom were once more disturbed. To Athanaric, his nephew, the great Ostrogoth left Italy and the country to the north-west as far as the Rhone; while to Amalaric was given not only Gothic Spain, but Gothic Gaul, or Septimania—the rich country lying between the Rhone and the Pyrenees, and including the city of Narbonne, where Amalaric established his court. His marriage with Clothilda, a daughter of Clovis, the vanquisher, and perhaps the actual slayer of his father, was dictated by political prudence, but it was attended with most unfortunate results. Christian dissensions had already begun to vex unhappy Spain. The king was an Arian, the queen an Athanasian Catholic, and neither of them would endure the heresy of the other. Amalaric, at length, unable to convince his consort of the truth of the doctrines that he professed, forbade her the public exercise of her religion. It is not thus that alliances were cemented in the sixth century; and Clothilda appealed in anger to her brother in Gaul.[2]

The story of the bloodstained kerchief sent by Clothilda to Childebert, as an eloquent token of her ill-usage at the rude

[1] As a matter of fact, the Visigothic sovereign never assumed the title of King of Spain; but that of "King of the Visigoths in Spain." Yet Amalaric was *de facto* King of Spain—the first of all the Visigothic kings who held sway in the Peninsula, who were not kings of Toulouse.

[2] See Gregory of Tours, lib. iii.

hands of her Arian lord, may be treated as an episcopal fiction; but however summoned, it is certain that Childebert, rejoicing to find so orthodox a pretext for an invasion of the dominions of the Visigoths, hastened to the defence of his sister and of his faith. The Frank triumphed. Amalaric, defeated near Narbonne, fled across the Pyrenees; and Childebert pursued the unfortunate Arian into north Catalonia (531). Amalaric was slain in battle;[1] and Childebert returned to Gaul, bearing with him not only his rescued sister, and the applause of his ecclesiastical patrons, but an immense booty of sacred treasure, the spoil of the Arian churches of Spain. Amalaric leaving no issue, Theudis, his worthy tutor, and possibly his murderer, was elected to succeed him on the throne, and the old regent fought not without success against the Gauls or Franks, once more invading his Spanish territories; and he not only drove them out of the country to the south of the Pyrenees,[2] but re-established the Visigothic sovereignty in the rich province of Septimania, with the cities of Carcassonne, Narbonne, and even Nismes. He was less fortunate in a campaign beyond the Straits of Gibraltar.

The Roman Empire of the East under Justinian was just now showing some signs of life in the south-west of Europe; and Belisarius was striving with a success long unknown to the arms of the legions, to recover the old province of Africa from the Vandals. Theudis, dreading the near approach of so great a neighbour, more especially as Spain might, like Africa, still be considered to be a province of the Empire, responded to the entreaty of Hildibad, King of the Ostrogoths, who was supporting Gelimer and the cause of the Vandals against Belisarius in Mauretania. The story of the campaign is confused and uncertain. Theudis crossed over the straits and attempted to relieve Ceuta; but the Gothic armies were defeated with great

[1] How Amalaric died, whether he fell in battle, or was murdered by order of Childebert, or by that of Theudis, is uncertain. The presumption of probability in those days would seem to be always in favour of the most unworthy.

[2] "In the following year (543), Childebert, King of the Franks, and Clotarius his brother, not satisfied with what they had done before, again made war upon Spain, and after wasting all the province of Tarragona, laid siege to Cæsaraugusta or Saragossa.

"The citizens had recourse to their patron Saint Vincent, whose garments they carried in procession about the walls, imploring his assistance, whereof Childebert being informed, he took compassion, and desisted from doing them any further harm. At his request, the citizens gave him that garment, which he carried to Paris, and there built a church in the suburbs, of the invocation of this saint—now called St. Germain des Prés." Mariana, *Hist. of Spain*, v., 6, translated by Stevens. *Cf.* Gaillard, *Rivalité de la France et de l'Espagne*, vol. i., 28, 29.

slaughter, and their leaders hardly found safety in flight. The explanation of this disaster that was offered by the Goths, that they were surprised at their Sunday devotions, has a suspicious resemblance to that of Alaric at Pollentia, one hundred and fifty years before. One party must always be defeated in a Sunday victory—not always, it is to be hoped, the most devout.

Theudis escaped the sword of the enemy, only to perish some four years[1] later within the walls of his palace at Seville, by the ever-ready hand of an assassin. His immediate successor, Theudisel, who is said to have been a monster of licentiousness, was assassinated in his own chamber after a reign of eighteen months' duration; and he was succeeded by Agila, who found himself soon after his election called to suppress a rebellion in the southern provinces, fomented by the Roman authorities in Africa. Liberius, one of Justinian's commanders, had succeeded after nearly five years' desultory fighting, in concluding a treaty of some sort with Athanagild, one of the Visigothic leaders, by which a considerable tract of country in southern Spain was to revert to the Roman Empire in the event of Athanagild's succession to the throne. As a natural result of this arrangement Agila was assassinated in 554, and Athanagild reigned at Toledo over what remained to the Visigoths of Spain.[2] He endeavoured, it would seem, to abandon to Liberius something less than was stipulated in the treaty. His Imperial deliverer desired something more; and Athanagild's war against his sovereign was continued as a war against his ally. But Rome maintained and even extended her power in the Peninsula, until the Imperial territory reached from sea to sea.

The conversion of the Suevians from Arianism to the rival and more powerful religion was certainly the most important event in the reign of Athanagild; for the results, both immediate and remote, were of the utmost consequence to Spain. The restoration to health of a Suevian prince by the influence of the most orthodox relics of St. Martin of Tours led to the adoption of the orthodox religion by the king, together with his entire people (560); and the hostility which ever existed between the inhabitants of Cantabria and the inhabitants of

[1] Gregory of Tours, iii., 30.

[2] Not only were the principal coast towns of the south and south-east—Cadiz, Malaga, Almeria and Carthagena—restored to the Roman Empire, but even Cordova and Illiberis, the site of more modern Granada. The Roman dominion was said to have extended "from sea to sea"; and it was sixty years before they were finally dispossessed by the Goth.

Spain was accentuated by the newly added zest of religious animosity. And the fresh bond of union between the rebels on the shores of the Atlantic and the rivals beyond the Pyrenees rendered the position of the Spanish Visigoths more isolated and more dangerous than before.

Nor did the diplomatic efforts of Athanagild tend in any way to save the situation. Seeking, like Amalaric before him, to strengthen his position by a family alliance with the rulers of the Franks, he had given his two daughters in marriage to two princes of the house of Clovis.[1] Chilperic, King of Neustria, had espoused the elder daughter, Galeswintha, while Brunhilda the younger had fallen to the lot of Sigebert, King of Austrasia; and still further to cement the union, each of the Arian princesses announced her conversion to the orthodox faith of her husband. But neither Church nor State were served by these early Spanish marriages. The terrible story of the faithlessness of Chilperic, the jealousy of Fredegonde, the murder of Galeswintha, the long struggle between the successful mistress and the avenging sister, a struggle in the course of which ten kings and queens are said to have lost their lives, and the final triumph of Fredegonde, and the savage murder of the vanquished Brunhilda, these things are familiar to every reader of French history.[2] But the character of Brunhilda, who was at least a woman of immense and indomitable energy, has become a matter of national contention. In the eyes of patriotic Spanish historians, she is a model of all that is virtuous, as well as of all that is beautiful;[3] to the French she is a foreign termagant who brought confusion and bloodshed to the courts of the early Merovingians (564-614).

[1] The superiority in refinement, in morality, in royal dignity, and in civilisation generally of the Visigothic kings who ruled in Spain over the Frank kings who ruled in France, is brought into very strong relief by a distinguished French historian, Augustin Thierry, *Etudes Historiques* (ed. 1835, pp. 375-385).

[2] Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.*, lib. iii.

[3] See Montesquieu, *Esprit des lois*, livre xxxi., c. i.; Mariana, *Hist. Esp.*, lib. v., cap. x.; Feyjoo, tom. vi., 2, 6; Masdeu, xi., 4; Boccaccio, *De Claris Mulieribus*; Gaillard, *De la Rivalité entre la France et l'Espagne*, i., pp. 47-49. Finally, *L'Histoire des Francs*, par Grégoire de Tours—I have used Guizot's edition (Paris, 1823)—is invaluable for all events between 397 and 591.

CHAPTER VII.

LEOVGILD.

(567—586.)

Athanagild did not live to hear of the murder of his daughter. He died at Toledo in 567, and was succeeded, after an interval of over five months, by Leova or Liuva, who was duly if tardily elected king in his room.

During this unfortunate interregnum, the ungoverned country had been distracted by serious internal dissensions; and Leova, who never crossed the Pyrenees, but reigned and died at Narbonne, was glad to entrust the government and defence of greater Spain to his younger brother Leovgild, whose reign may be said to have commenced from the day that he received his commission as viceroy. For of Leova no more is heard nor known, but that he died in 572, when his younger brother became *de jure*, as he already was *de facto*, king of the Visigoths.

But the first task that fell to Leovgild, as king or viceroy in 569, was to repel the encroachments of the Imperial forces in Andalusia. His operations were uniformly successful. He besieged and took Asido (possibly Jerez) in 570; and he occupied the yet more important city of Corduba in 571, when the Romans were driven beyond the Sierra Nevada, and the Imperial dominion was restricted to a narrow strip of territory along the coast, yet including all the important towns and harbours from Cape St. Vincent to Carthagena. Nor was Leovgild less fortunate in checking, though it was not until the close of his reign that he actually subdued, the wild tribes of Gallicia and the Asturias.

Beset with enemies from the first day he set foot in Spain; with enemies in the court and in the camp, in the palace and in the Church, harassed by Gothic nobles, by Imperial commanders, by Cantabrian mountaineers, by Romish bishops—

Leovgild showed himself the ablest of all the Visigothic kings of Spain; and as a general, as a lawgiver, and as an administrator by far the most successful. Hampered as he was by ecclesiastical opposition, by religious dissension, and by domestic treason, he contrived to raise the position and power of the king and of the kingdom to a higher pitch than had ever been reached before. He checked, if he could not destroy, the growing power of the Church, and he at least temporarily crushed the overgrown power of the Visigothic nobility—that intractable order of whom a contemporary writer says that they had learned "the detestable habit of killing their king whenever he displeased them, and putting another in his place!" [1]

But the ecclesiastics who wrote the history of the times were far more concerned with points of doctrine, and matters of discipline or ritual, than with any large questions of government or of policy; and Leovgild is unfortunately best known to us in the part of the wicked father in a wretched domestic drama—a tragedy of priests and women, of converts and rebels, of a disloyal bishop and a sanctified traitor.

The beginning of troubles was found, as usual, in a Merovingian marriage, albeit such an alliance with powerful neighbours might fairly have been considered a prudent and judicious measure for strengthening the throne of the Visigoths. Ermengild, the eldest son of Leovgild, had been married to Ingunthis, a daughter of Sigebert of Austrasia and the unfortunate Brunhilda of Spain. But although Brunhilda, on her marriage with the Frank, had been content to be converted to the Catholicism of her husband, Brunhilda's daughter was permitted by the Visigoths to retain her more aggressive rule of faith, heterodox though it was, in the palace of her husband and of her husband's kin in Spain. But neither the theology nor the temper of Ingunthis were found agreeable to her husband's stepmother, Goswintha, the queen consort of Leovgild; and the palace at Toledo was distracted by religious and feminine strife. The daughter of Brunhilda was not likely to submit tamely to the oppression of a mother-in-law, who was also an Arian, still less to embrace a heresy which had become doubly odious to her; and Leovgild, in the interests of domestic peace, contrived to separate the rival ladies by investing Ermen-

[1] The celebrated maxim of Visigothic law in Spain, *Rey serás si fecieres derecho, y si non fecieres derecho, no serás Rey*, might be of dangerous application in the case of an *elective* monarchy. The judges of the right were the electors from among whose number the new monarch would be chosen.

gild with the vice-royalty or *consortium regni* of Bætica,[1] and sending him and his wife to reside at Seville.

At the southern capital, unfortunately, was found, not an Arian persecutor, but an Athanasian ally and tempter, in the person of Leander, the celebrated Bishop of Seville, the elder brother of his yet more celebrated successor Isidore, and the most powerful prelate in all Spain. To this wily Churchman the young couple appeared as heaven-sent instruments for dealing a deadly blow at the masterful Arian monarch on the throne. The leading Catholics, and possibly even some of the Arian nobility, may have shared the views and aspirations of Leander, and it was no hard task to convert the vain and unhappy prince into a religious rebel. Thus encompassed by Catholicism within and without, his head turned by his more than princely authority, his heart touched by the tender entreaties of his young wife, and the vehement exhortations of one of the most eloquent Churchmen of the day, it was but natural that Ermengild should have accepted the theology that was agreeable to Ingunthis—and the crown that was offered by Leander.

But the conversion of the prince would have been poor and barren indeed had it been restricted to a change of creed. And when the royal convert was solemnly re-baptised (580), by the triumphant Leander, and made Catholic under the new Christian name of Juan, it was understood that the unorthodox father of the princely consort should no longer be permitted to rule over Spain, and that a heterodox stepmother should give place in the palace of Toledo to an eminently Catholic wife. And thus Ermengild, "the champion of the true faith," proceeded to take up arms against his father, to coin money in his own name, stamped with his own royal effigy,[2] and to proclaim himself the orthodox, and, as such, the only legitimate king of the Visigoths. He solicited the alliance of Mir, King of the ever-ready and now Catholic Suevians, and he called in to his assistance the Roman legions of the Emperor Tiberius (580), already in the occupation of some of the fairest cities in south-

[1] Two forces, says Dahn, combined to make German kingship; hereditary succession and popular election. The object of these delegations of authority during the lifetime of the reigning sovereign were usually to promote the hereditary at the expense of the elective principle. The *consortium regni* was one of many expedients for securing the succession of the king's son after the king's death.

[2] There is a gold piece of this issue in the collection of the British Museum, where I have seen it.

eastern Spain. Merida and Cordova declared themselves in his favour. Rebellion was once more abroad in the land.[1] For some time Leovgild attempted to reason with his rebellious son. But messages and messengers, lay and ecclesiastical, were sent in vain. The king at length determined to submit the matter to a synod; and a council of Arian bishops was summoned to meet at Toledo in 581, which pronounced several decrees in favour of religious unity, and generally of the most liberal character as regards those who professed the Catholic, or, as they expressed it, the *Roman* religion.[2] But the rebels were not convinced.

At length all this parley gave place to actual war. *Juan* Ermengild marched his combined forces against his father at Toledo; while Bishop Leander took his departure on a pious embassy to Constantinople, to solicit the active support of the Roman Emperor against the King in Spain. The ever-ready Suevians took advantage of the opportunity to rise once more in revolt, and the Imperial forces reoccupied Cordova. But Leovgild was not unequal to the occasion. He marched first against Mir, the rebel King of the Suevians, and reduced him to complete submission. He further laid the foundations of a frontier town, on whose site now stands the modern city of Vitoria, as a permanent defence against the wild tribes that inhabited the neighbouring mountains of the north-west. The Imperial troops, bribed by Leovgild, abandoned the cause of his rebel son, and the king held his own in the south-east. He reduced insurgent Merida[3] to subjection. He reasoned yet more earnestly with his unhappy son; and when all his entreaties proved of no avail, he besieged him in his vice-regal capital of Seville, where he kept him a prisoner with his rebel army for nearly two years.

The betrothal of Ermengild's[4] younger brother Reccared, to another Frankish princess, Rigunthis, daughter of Chilperic, King of Neustria, was at least diplomatically more successful than the marriage with the unhappy Ingunthis. And embassies from Leovgild on the subject of the coming of the young princess to Spain served to ward off any hostile combinations

[1] Ermengild is said to have actually held his court for some time at Merida.

[2] *De Romana Religione.*

[3] And struck a medal in honour of the victory. Florez, *Medallas*, iii., 182.

[4] The betrothal of Ermengild and that of Reccared are said (*Hist. Franc.*, iv., 38) to have been negotiated at the same time, about 572. Chilperic, though a Frank, was always a firm ally of Leovgild.

between Chilperic and Childebert, the brother of Ingunthis, or her uncle Gunthram of Burgundy.

Ermengild at length escaped from Seville, and made his way to Cordova, and thence to the neighbouring town of Ossetus,[1] where he took refuge in a church, and sought, with many protestations of repentance and amendment, to implore the mercy and forgiveness of his father. Reccared, his younger brother, was the bearer of his message; and he appears to have behaved with remarkable kindness and discretion. Leovgild, with the generosity of greatness, at once promised pardon, received the professing penitent with fatherly affection, and visited his crimes with no further chastisement than the loss of his vice-royalty.

It is not perhaps surprising that Leovgild should now have looked with some disfavour on the persons and offices of the Roman or Catholic clergy in his dominions. And as political rebels rather than as religious dissenters, they were made to feel the weight of his resentment. We hear of priests persecuted, of prelates dispossessed, of churches plundered. But we must remember that the good and the evil deeds of this most Arian king are known to us only through the writings of his most Catholic opponents.[2] To his son, at least, no harshness was displayed, and the vanquished rebel was provided with a befitting establishment in honourable retirement at Valencia.

But the vain and faithless Ermengild was not to be won by kindness. To such natures as are incapable of gratitude, generosity is but weakness. And Ermengild acted after his kind. Within a year of his pardon, he had made use of his freedom to invite the Franks to cross the Pyrenees, and carry their arms into Spain; and he had contracted a new alliance

[1] Ossetus is referred to in Masdeu, vol. vi., p. 374: Inscription No. 1094. The town appears to have enjoyed the Roman title of "Julia Constantia".

[2] John of Biclara, whose chronicle is our best authority for the greater part of the reign of Leovgild, was himself an exile for his faith. This most worthy monk, bishop and historian, was born about A.D. 540 at *Santarem* (Scalabis), in Lusitania, and is said to have passed seventeen years in study at Constantinople, "*urbs regia*". Returning to Spain about 576, he seems to have suffered persecution from the Arians of Barcelona in the time of Leovgild. After the accession of Reccared, and the triumph of Leander, he founded the Monastery of Biclara, near Tarragona, about 585, composing a special rule for the monks. He was appointed Bishop of Gerona in 591, and died about 620.

His chronicle embraces twenty-three years, 567-589, written probably in 590, and is marked by singular fairness and impartiality, especially as regards the character and acts of Leovgild, under whom he suffered persecution, and who is only mentioned by the Catholic bishop in terms of admiration. See *Esp. Sag.*, vi., 360.

with the Imperialists, who were to receive a large accession of territory in his father's kingdom as the price of their assistance in a new revolt. Ingunthis, who had been included in the pardon of her husband, was confided to the care of the Imperial commander at Carthagena; and Ermengild, with his Romans and rebels, was marching northwards to join his forces with those of the invading Franks, when he was captured at Tarraco by Sisebert, one of his father's officers, and thrown into prison, where he was shortly afterwards executed as a rebel.

The story of the Arian bishop who visited him in his dungeon, and who, finding his ministrations rejected, magnified the insult to the king, and so procured the immediate murder of the prince, not as a traitor but as a heretic, is sufficiently characteristic of the times. And it is but one of the many that have grown up round the pious memory of the unfortunate prince, the edifying horrors of whose saintly end have been enlarged upon by successive historians. John of Biclara and Gregory of Tours refer to the death of Ermengild in half-a-dozen words. Isidore does not mention it at all. The only authority for the ghastly and miraculous incidents which are recorded in the Martyrologies is a dialogue of Pope Gregory the Great, who never set foot in Spain, and who, as the friend and companion of Leander during his exile or mission at Constantinople *pro causâ fidei Visigothorum*, presents himself as a witness at once necessarily ignorant and necessarily prejudiced. It would be unbecoming to say more of the testimony of the only man who has earned the double title of sanctity and of greatness, but that it has failed to convince his more critical if less distinguished posterity.[1]

For a son to compass the death of his father has ever been accounted a crime more grave than that of the ordinary murderer. For a citizen unaggrieved to take up arms against his sovereign, is more than common rebellion. For a royal prince to call in the foreigner in arms against his own country, is more than common treason. Yet Ermengild takes a place

[1] See Gregory, *Dialogue* iii, 31. The *Dialogue* commences: "I have learned of many things which came from Spain". See the edition of the *Dialogue* by Mr. Coleridge, pp. 181, 182, for the details of his execution and the "mighty singing that was heard at his body"; "the night burning lamps that were seen at the place, by reason whereof his body, as of him that was a martyr, was worthily worshipped by all Christian people". It is worthy of remark that Gregory speaks of the martyr as "King Hermengild". Gregory resided at Constantinople as *apocrisiarius* or envoy to the Imperial court, first of Pope Benedict I., and afterwards, at the time of the visit of Leander, of Pope Pelagius, whom he succeeded in the Papacy in 590.

not among the traitors, but among the martyr saints of his country, more orthodox than Viriatus, and scarcely less holy than St. James.[1] For the career of Ermengild found favour in the sight of an infallible judge. And Pope Sixtus V. perpetuated the memory of his many virtues by a formal canonisation. Many are the recorded miracles wrought by his powerful intercession, and a single bone of Saint Ermengild forms one of the most precious of the relics preserved for the adoration of the faithful in the Cathedral Church at Saragossa.[2]

The Imperial troops seem to have returned to their cities after the prince's death, without further troubling Leovgild; and the widowed Ingunthis was sent with her infant son Athanagild to the Imperial capital at Constantinople. Ingunthis died on the journey, but Athanagild lived to reach the shores of the Bosphorus, where he was kindly treated by the Emperor Maurice, and thus happily passes out of the history of the times.

The projected marriage between Reccared and Regunthis had been broken off, partly on account of the death of her father Chilperic in 584, and partly from the reluctance of her relatives to part with her rich dowry.[3] And Gunthram of Burgundy, freed from the restraint of Chilperic, although the promptitude of Leovgild had deprived him of the all-important co-operation of Ermengild in Spain, declared war against the Arian Goths, and laid siege to Nismes and Carcassonne, two of the northernmost towns in the dominion of the Visigoths. Reccared, dispatched by his father at the head of an army, acquitted himself with skill as well as valour, drove off Gunthram and his nephew Childebert, the leaders of the Franks, secured the northern frontier, and returned in triumph to Toledo.

His father, in the meantime, had undertaken a most successful campaign against the Suevians. Mir, the first ally of Ermengild, had been defeated and subdued by Leovgild some time before. But on the death of that leader, during Ermen-

[1] See Morales, *Cron. Gen.*, iii., 79; Butler's *Lives of Saints*, *sub. Hermengild*, and the *Breviary of Span. Church*, 13th April.

[2] See Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.*, vi., 43. Ermengild was not recognised as a martyr for some three hundred years after his death, *España Sagrada*, xvi., 373. Nor was he canonised until 1585 by Sixtus V., at the solicitation of Philip II. See, on the question generally, Gorres, in the *Zeitschrift für Hist. Theolog.*, 1873. St. Ermengild's Day is 13th April.

[3] The way in which first the treasure, and afterwards the Princess, were stopped on their way from Paris to Narbonne is characteristic and amusing. See Gregory of Tours, *op. cit.*, vi. 45.

gild's rebellion, two rival kings had asserted their claims to the monarchy of the turbulent tribe, and Leovgild, taking advantage of their dissensions, and glad to make an end of such chronic rebels, marched into the heart of Gallicia. In a brief campaign, he successfully defeated both the rival kings, Eboric and Andeca, who, with shaven heads and monkish habits, were sent to pass the remainder of their days in the convenient shelter of a monastery; while the victor received the submission of their subjects, who had continued for a hundred and seventy-seven years, ever conquered, but ever independent, a thorn in the side of the Visigothic monarchy. A fleet dispatched by Gunthram to the assistance of the Suevians, was at the same time routed off the coasts of Gallicia by the Visigothic king, who, with a few vessels hastily equipped, entirely destroyed the Frankish squadron.[1]

It is admitted by the most uncompromising Churchmen that Leovgild was a great, if not an orthodox king. His vigorous heresy is on the whole somewhat tenderly dealt with by Catholic historians. And the story of his conversion to the principles of Athanasius a few days before his death in 586, may be taken as a species of tribute to his merits, suggested by the very natural desire to preserve the memory of the greatest of the Visigothic sovereigns of Spain from future condemnation. But however he died, it is certain that Leovgild while he lived was one of the ablest of the Gothic rulers of Spain, and the first who maintained anything like regal pomp and splendour at his Court. Of the magnificence of his apparel, of his golden crown, of his jewelled sceptre, of the gorgeous throne on which he presided at the assembly of the State Council, we have abundant contemporary record. The coins which bear his image, crowned, first of his race, with the insignia of royalty, are to be found in every collection. As a general he was rarely unsuccessful. As a builder of cities he was more a Roman than a Goth. As a legislator he added many new laws to the statute book of Spain.[2] As an administrator he first introduced a regular system of finance into the kingdom, which was maintained almost to our own days. But the true greatness of Leovgild

[1] It is strange how every Visigothic king completely subdued these Suevians, and how they continued ever unsubdued, until their successors, or the guests of their northern descendants, really subdued Spain. (Although in this case the Suevian monarchy actually was destroyed, to be revived no more.—H.)

[2] He reformed and added considerably to the code of Alaric, and thus endeavoured to conciliate the Hispano-Roman part of his subjects from whom he differed in religion.—H.

was his moral courage. In spite of all his political and domestic difficulties, aggravated a thousand-fold by the opposition of the greatest power in his kingdom—already, perhaps, the greatest power in the world—he never flinched from his policy of firm and resolute government, by which he brought peace and union to the greater part of his dominions. He strove, and strove not in vain, to blend into one great people Goths and Suevians and Romans—Spaniards of every tribe and every origin. He administered equal justice to all. His more politic son took a shorter cut to union, and grasping at the shadow, let slip the substance of power. And if Reccared is called the first of the Catholics, Leovgild may fairly be styled the last of the Visigoths in Spain.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GREAT METROPOLITANS.

(587—672.)

I.—*Reccared.*

Reccared succeeded to a kingdom—Arian, Visigothic, German. But the Teutons had not lived for nigh on two hundred years in the most Roman province of the Empire without having themselves become largely Romanised.

In two centuries [B.C. 208—B.C. 19] the native barbarian of Spain had become a loyal Roman citizen, by the immense influence of the metropolis. In two centuries [A.D. 410—A.D. 600] the foreign heretic became a devoted Roman Catholic by the more powerful influence of the Church. And Reccared, who did not possess the lion heart of his father, but who read the signs of the times with a surer judgment, saw that in Spain —ever superbly Roman—the rule of Arianism was doomed, and that it were wisest to accept the inevitable.

The conditions of Gothic society had indeed greatly changed since Atawulf led his free northmen across the eastern Pyrenees. The small freeholders had almost ceased to exist. The great middle class of the nation had sunk to a condition of something like serfdom, if not of actual slavery. And although until the year 652 lawful marriage between Roman and Visigoth was forbidden by law in Spain, there is no doubt that at the time of its legal authorisation under Recceswind, the races were already largely mingled; and further, that the great mass of pure-blooded Visigoths had become profoundly influenced by their Roman neighbours. Reccared indeed assumed the Imperial Roman title of *Flavius,* which was used by all his successors.[1]

[1] We see the Teuton endeavouring everywhere to identify himself with the system he overthrew. The Lombard kings when they renounced their Arianism styled themselves *Flavii.* Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 45; and *ibid.*, pp. 20-23.

The great land-owning nobles, on the other hand, had maintained a good deal of their ancient Gothic independence, with some loss of their Gothic virtue; and had become more powerful than ever; more wealthy and less warlike; more turbulent and less loyal. Independent to the last, and ever aggressively Teutonic, even when most Roman, they defied the power of the kings, whom they elected, and hardly submitted themselves to the bishops, whom they feared.

The clergy, recruited largely from the common folk, found themselves more and more drawn to that form of worship which was at once the religion of the Spanish people and of the Roman world: and the domestic persecution of Leovgild was of a nature to encourage resistance, and to give to the adherents of a powerful and growing communion the cheap and attractive glory of bloodless martyrdom. Leovgild had maintained his position both against his aggressive nobles and his aggressive clerics. But his own son had fallen in the struggle. Reccared was fain to secure a victory over an unconquerable aristocracy by the assistance of an unconquerable Church. It was no doubt a masterpiece of statecraft; it may have been even a political necessity. But it laid the foundation of most of the evils which have for thirteen centuries, in the days of her greatness as in the days of her decline, afflicted and disgraced the kingdom of Spain.[1] Reccared accordingly declared himself a Catholic, put to death Sisibert, the executioner of his rebel but orthodox brother,[2] and summoning a Council or Synod of Arian bishops in January, 587, he induced many of the assembled prelates to embrace the religion of their sovereign. But this obsequiousness was by no means universal, and an invasion of Septimania by the Franks, under Duke Desiderius, is said to have been promoted by a dissatisfied Arian ecclesiastic. Religious animosity was not over scrupulous in the sixth century. The invasion, however, seems to have been easily repulsed, and for the next two years Reccared had leisure to devote himself to the great work of the conversion of the Visigoths to the faith of the Romans in Spain.

The king worked without violence and without haste; patiently, prudently, firmly. He invited both Arian and Catholic prelates to take part in friendly theological discussions

[1] The Visigothic king, in the polite jargon of the present day, had dished his Visigothic nobles. And in less than a century Visigothic kings and Visigothic nobles had alike been swept away.

[2] *Morte turpissimâ perimitur*, John of Biclara, *Chron.*

in his presence. He restored to the Catholic churches the treasure of which they had been deprived in the reign of Leovgild. He showed himself just and liberal, clement and even generous to all. He, of course, chastised the Cantabrians. He received Leander, not only without reproach, but with respect, on his return to Spain from Byzantium.

And at length, the people being well disposed to his person, and prepared as far as possible for the great change, he summoned the Third Council of Toledo, in 589, when, after a good deal of prefatory explanation and argument, he formally announced himself a convert to the Catholic faith, and called upon his entire people to follow his example.[1]

This declaration or Confession of Faith was received with applause; and the Council, under the presidency of Leander, drew up a reply, in which all the members asserted their renunciation of Arianism, and their conversion to Catholicism, and no less than twenty-three several *anathemas* were formulated against those who remained in the ancient faith of the Visigoths. In spite of the opposition of the Arian nobility, abetted by the queen-mother Goswintha, and certain Gothic protestors throughout the country, the great bulk of the people were content at once to follow their king's example; and Spain, if it remained partly Gothic in blood, became entirely Roman in religion.

The proceedings of this ever-celebrated Council were signed by no less than sixty-seven bishops, with only five lay *Palatines* or great officers of state. Leander, the ex-rebel, presided. Leander, indeed, was the hero of the hour, the first of the ecclesiastical rulers of Spain.

Born in the province of Carthagena, between 535 and 540, the son of one Severianus, an Imperial Greek[2] or Roman, settled at New Carthage, Leander was the elder brother of the yet more celebrated Isidore, and is said, on very doubtful authority, to have been the brother-in-law of King Leovgild.[3]

[1] Reccared is said to have sent an embassy to Gregory the Great, soon after the sitting of the Council, to announce his conversion to Catholicism, and to ask for the return of a copy of the treaty concluded between Athanagild and the Emperor Justinian with regard to the Imperial dominion in Spain, which seems to have been deposited at Rome. Gregory refused to give up the papers, but sent instead, probably in 599, a fragment of the true Cross, a link of the chains that had bound St. John the Baptist, and some hairs from the head of St. Peter.

[2] The name *Leander*, like *Isidore*, is of course Greek.

[3] His sister Fulgentia is said to have been the first wife of Leovgild, and the mother of Ermengild and Reccared. Goswintha, the queen of whom we hear so much, was Leovgild's second wife, and the widow of his predecessor King Athanagild.

At an early age, about the year 575, he was raised to the Metropolitan See of Seville, where he was distinguished above all other Churchmen of his day by his zeal, his ambition and his marvellous eloquence. Of the part that he played in the rebellion of Ermengild, of his mission or flight to Constantinople, and his intimacy with the great Benedictine Gregory, the *apocrisiarius* of Pelagius and Benedict, we have already spoken. Leander was essentially a man of action, enthusiastic, restless, reckless. A man of words rather than a man of books: he has contributed nothing to the literature of his times; a man of deeds even more than a man of words: he changed the religion of Spain.[1]

Eighteen months after the Council of Toledo, Leander presided over the first Synod of Seville. To record the various dogmatic decrees of such assemblies would be both tedious and unprofitable. But one of the canons of this provincial Synod casts so strange a light upon the state of society at the time—social, ecclesiastical and moral—that it is worthy at least of passing notice. Ecclesiastics it would seem had been already forbidden to keep women servants in their houses; and Leander and his provincial clergy ordained as a punishment for all such Churchmen as persisted in disregarding this prohibition, that the *servants* of the offenders should be sold as *slaves*, and the proceeds of the sale handed over to the poor. A doubly virtuous supplement to the alms of the Faithful! a terrible punishment for the disobedient Priest!

The affection of Gregory for Leander continued throughout their lives, and in 599 the bishop was gratified by the coveted distinction[2] of the sacred *Pallium* at the hand of the Pope, an honour of which the precise significance is discussed with much acrimony by ecclesiastical historians. But Leander did not live long to enjoy his new position, whatever it may have been; he died at the end of the year 599, or at latest in 600, leaving his bishopric and his supremacy in Spain to his brother Isidore. Their younger sister, Florentina, who was the superioress, or, rather, it must have been, the visitor, of no less than forty convents, survived Leander but two years, and died in 603.

Reccared's public profession and record of orthodoxy did not save the country from another Frankish invasion almost im-

[1] That he was largely instrumental in changing the religion of the Gothic rulers is true; but it must not be forgotten that three-quarters of the population of the country were of Hispano-Roman blood and were opposed to Arianism.—H.

[2] Montalembert, *op. cit.*, ii., 132.

mediately after the meeting of the Council in 589. The Frank was no less covetous of the territories of the Catholic than of the Arian neighbour; and after some fruitless negotiations, in the course of which Reccared secured the neutrality of Childebert and Brunhilda by a handsome subsidy, Gunthram invaded Septimania. If ecclesiastical law was enfeebling the Visigoths, the arm of Reccared was certainly not shortened by his new theology. He marched across the Pyrenees on the first news of Gunthram's appearance on his northern frontier, and inflicted on him, near Carcassonne, so crushing a defeat that no further operations were attempted against Spain by any Frankish power for many years.[1] Against the Imperial troops in the south he was less successful; nor was he spared the inevitable victory over the mountaineers of Cantabria, before his death at Toledo in 601.[2]

The reign of Reccared bridges over, as it were, the vast gulf that lies between the old Visigothic and the new Catholic kingdom—between the Wallias and the Leovgilds of a militant State, and the Sisenands and the Erwigs of a dominant Church; between Alaric thundering at the gates of Rome, and Roderic fleeing before the Saracens on the Guadalete.

II.—*Isidore of Seville.*

Of the eighteen Gothic kings who reigned, if they did not rule, from the death of Reccared to the conquest and occupation of Spain by the Arabs, there is but little to be said. The real sovereigns of the country were the bishops and clergy of Romish Spain. And of all these, the greatest name was that of Isidore of Seville.[3] The youngest brother of the masterful Leander, by whom he was brought up on the death of his parents, Isidore gave early proof of uncommon intelligence, no less than of extraordinary diligence in his studies. Relegated by family prudence, if not by fraternal jealousy, to the seclusion of a monastery, the youth grew up a student, and a recluse—entirely subject to his elder brother—until, on Leander's death in 600, Isidore was called from the cloister to succeed him as

[1] One of his commanders in this Septimanian expedition was *Dux* Claudius, said by Mr. Oman (*Europe*, 476-918, p. 142), to have been "the first man of Roman blood promoted to high rank by a Visigothic king". *Cf.* Romey, ii., 157.

[2] Isidore, *Hist. de Reg. Goth.*

[3] Lucas Tudensis, *Vit. S. Isidor.*; Bolland, tom. i., April, p. 331.

Metropolitan of Seville, where he reigned with a not unkindly rule till his death in 636.

Very different were the characters and dispositions of these two almost equally famous brothers. Leander was eloquent, unscrupulous, ambitious, restless—a man of the world. Isidore was learned, punctilious, contented, gentle—a man of the cloister. Both were devoted to their Church, and jealous of its privileges. Both took their places as presidents of councils and rulers of kings; but Leander was a rebel; Isidore was at least ever loyal to Spain. Isidore has left behind him a complete library of works on almost every subject of study, human or divine—an encyclopædia of early learning.[1] Leander has left nothing behind him but his reputation—and the Catholicism of Spain.[2]

Of the writings of Isidore—*le dernier savant du monde ancien*—as Montalembert not unhappily calls him, the most famous and the most comprehensive was the *Etymologies*, or Origins of Things, one of the most famous books of study of the Middle Ages; the most beautiful was perhaps the Mozarabic Liturgy, the admiration and the study of Ximenes. But unquestionably the most valuable is his History of the Goths, *Historia de regibus Gothorum Wandalorum et Suevorum*, which, though its compass is brief, and its Latinity ungraceful, is not only the best, but in some cases the only authority we have for many important events in Gothic history. Inferior to Julian in literary skill, and to Leander in political and administrative ability, Isidore is undoubtedly the greatest writer, as well as the greatest Churchman, of Visigothic Spain, and one of the worthiest saints in her calendar.

Liuva II., who succeeded his father Reccared in 601 as titular King of the Visigoths,[3] was murdered in 603 by his successor,

[1] Arts, sciences, grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, metaphysics, arithmetic, politics, geometry, music, astronomy, physics, natural history, architecture, painting, military and naval tactics, shipbuilding, and all things on earth, in the sea and in the heavens, are said by Lafuente to have been treated of by Isidore. Lafuente, ii., p. 519.

As to the so-called *Decretals of Isidore*, embodied in the Roman Canon Law by Pope Nicholas I., it is generally recognised that S. Isidore of Seville had no share in their preparation. See Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vol. ii., pp. 373-380.

[2] Montalembert, ii., 204. See Ozanam, *Civilisation Chrétienne chez les Francs*, chapter ix.; Baillet, *Jugement des Savants*, ii., 202; S. de Sacy, *Notices et Extraits*, etc., an. vii., tom. iv., 158-183.

[3] The Visigothic kings never took the title of *King of Spain*; they were always *Reges Visigothorum*.

Witeric, who was in his turn assassinated in 610.[1] Gundemar, the next king, after a reign of two years, died a natural death at Toledo. Sisebut who followed him in 612, is said to have gained numerous battles in the south of the Peninsula over the forces of the Imperial governor Cæsarius, and to have made an honourable treaty of peace with the Emperor Heraclius, securing to the Visigoths a considerable accession of territory.[2] But he is chiefly remembered for his savage edicts against the Jews, who were persecuted even after they had embraced Christianity, and who were fain to emigrate or flee in large numbers to the north of the Pyrenees.

Reccared II. reigned but three months; but to his successor, Swinthila, who sat for no less than ten years on the throne of the Visigoths, is due at least the honour of driving the remnant of the Imperial troops out of the Peninsula. And thus the old Roman territory, reconquered by Justinian, was won back again from Heraclius, busy in the far East with his Persian wars; and Spain, already as Roman as Italy and far more Roman than Byzantium, was finally cut off from the *Imperium Romanum* in 626.[3]

Swinthila was somewhat too independent to please the ecclesiastical rulers of his country; and Sisenand, a bishop's man, compassing his overthrow, invited Dagobert, King of the Franks, to invade Spain in support of his own more pious pretensions. The Franks naturally accepted the invitation, and marched as far as Saragossa; and then, more strangely, finding that Swinthila had been already deposed by Sisenand, they

[1] Witeric was one of the Arian Gothic nobles, and the movement which resulted in the death of Liuva II. and the elevation of Witeric was mainly Arian. Witeric was deposed and killed by a Catholic reaction under Gundemar.—H.

[2] Mariana, lib. vi., cap. ii. The two facts stated are really connected. Sisebut took the field against Imperial encroachment, which nearly reached the banks of the Guadalquivir. After gaining several successes, he made a treaty with Heraclitus, by which the Imperial power was confined in Spain to the Algarves, on condition that Sisebut persecuted the Jews; who it had been foretold would overthrow Heraclitus.—H.

[3] According to George of Cyprus, *Descriptio orbis Romani* (circ. A.D. 600) edited by Prof. Gelzer in 1891, a new province, entitled Mauritania Secunda, has been formed out of the remnants of the old Mauritania Tingatana and the Imperial possessions in Spain, including the Balearic Islands. "It seems probable that this last change was later than 590. In that year we find still a special *magister militum Spaniæ* (Comenciolus, C. I. L., ii., 3420); and we may suspect that Spain's annexation to the prefecture of Africa concerned its military as well as its civil administration, and that the dukes of whom we hear (*e.g.*, the dux of Malaca, 605) henceforward obeyed the prefect at Carthage, as they had before obeyed the master of soldiers at Corduba or at New Carthage." J. B. Bury, in *Eng. Hist. Review*, April, 1894, p. 319.

marched back into their own country,[1] not only without turning upon the friends who had invited them, but without even receiving the stipulated price of their intervention.

During the reign of Swinthila [621-631] the supremacy of the clergy had remained to some extent in abeyance, nor was any Council held in Spain between 589 and 633. But the summoning by Sisenand of the Council of 633, which is known as the Fourth General Council of Toledo, marks an epoch in the history of Spain. For the councillors not only assumed the novel right of confirming the election of Sisenand to the throne of the Visigoths, but they further decreed that the election of all future kings should be subject to the confirmation of the bishops[2] duly assembled in Council. It was only natural that Sisenand, seeking to obtain ecclesiastical sanction of his usurpation, and public recognition of the legitimacy of his succession, should have submitted himself and his claims to the assembled ecclesiastics; and the bishops of 633 were not slow to accept the submission, and declare the legitimacy, of so faithful a son of the Church. But the Council was not content with the exercise of its new power of king-making. It took upon itself the still more novel power of excommunication; and the councillors proceeded in their corporate capacity to declare Swinthila, his mother, his wife, and all his family "extruded from the fellowship of the Catholic Church, and of the whole of Christendom".

King Sisenand reaped the fruits of his subjection to the ecclesiastical authority, to which he had offered so ample a recognition; and he reigned until his death in 636, when he was succeeded by Chintila, who submitted himself, in his turn, not only to initial recognition, but to much subsequent dictation at the hands of succeeding Councils. Chintila, a mild monarch, pleased the priests, persecuted the Jews, and died in peace in 640. Tulga reigned from 640 to 642, when he was relegated to a monastery, somewhat after the fashion of Wamba,

[1] A golden font which had been given by Aëtius to Thorismund after the battle of Châlons is said to have been the price of this Frankish intervention. But Sisenand, finding himself already in authority on the arrival of the assistance thus purchased, refused the promised guerdon; and King Dagobert was compelled to content himself, after much negotiation, with a sum of money, in lieu of the precious relic.

[2] A few laymen, members of the nobility resident at the king's court, were also included in the Councils as *Palatines*, and are supposed to be the *Gardingi*, whose status and attributes have puzzled so many writers upon the period. Dahn, *apud* Mr. Hodgkin, *Eng. Hist. Review*, vol. ii., 223.

to make way for a new king of more vigorous mould, Chindaswinth, a successful conspirator at the age of seventy-nine, who prolonged his vigorous and masterful rule until his death in his ninety-first year. And if he punished the rebellious nobles, and coerced the impatient clergy, and made all Spain feel that the sword of state was once again wielded by a master hand, Chindaswinth was no vulgar tyrant, but the greatest of the Visigothic legislators of Spain.

The Visigothic kings were nothing if not law-givers. The first code is said to have been compiled by orders of Euric, and to have been the foundation of the celebrated *Breviarium Alaricianium*, which was prepared and published by Alaric II. but a short time before his defeat and death at "Poictiers" in 506.[1] This *Breviarium*, though written in Latin, and largely founded upon the Theodosian code—published by Theodosius II. in 439—was intended for the use rather of the Goths than of the Romans in the Visigothic kingdom, and was accompanied by a highly interesting *Interpretatio* or explanation of the Roman law for the benefit of the Romano-Gothic people.

From the death of Alaric to the death of Athanagild little was added to the provisions in the *Breviarium*. But Leovgild was undoubtedly a zealous and intelligent law-giver; and Mr. Dahn is of opinion that the early code known as the *Antiqua* was the work of his son Reccared. Every succeeding king, with or without the intervention of the Ecclesiastical Council, appears to have added something to the *Corpus Juris* until the promulgation of the *Lex Visigothorum*, within half a century of the final destruction of the monarchy in Spain.[2]

If the *Breviarium* is due to Alaric, and the *Antiqua* to Reccared, the *Lex Visigothorum* was mainly the work of Chindaswinth, who put an end at length to the conflict of laws which still existed in his dominions by a fusion of the Roman and the Visigothic systems of jurisprudence, and the publication of the legal unity of the two nations who dwelt on the soil of Spain.[3]

[1] The promulgation of the last extension or edition of the code is said to have been by Egica within less than a dozen years before the end; but Chindaswinth was the true author and publisher of the *Leges Visigothorum*; and, according to Mr. Hodgkin, divides with his son, Recceswinth, the honour of being considered the Visigothic Justinian, (although Egica with the aid of the Fourteenth Council of Toledo drew up and promulgated the great code the *Fuero Guzgo*.—H). *Eng. Hist. Review*, vol. ii., p. 212.

[2] It is sometimes referred to as the *Breviarium Anianium*, from the name of the Latin secretary who prepared it.

[3] A brief account of some of the more salient features of their laws and of those who administered them will be found in the Appendix, *The Laws of the*

The use of the *Breviarium* of Alaric was abolished, and the *Lex Visigothorum*, containing a larger infusion of the Roman elements into the old Gothic code, was pronounced the only code of laws for the united population of Spain. But Chindaswinth, vigorous and clear-sighted as he was, lived too late in the history of his race. Within little over half a century, the Visigoth had ceased to rule in the Peninsula, and the *Lex Visigothorum* had given place to the simpler legislation of the Koran.

Recceswinth, who was associated by his father with him in the administration of the kingdom, succeeded him at his death, and devoted a great part of his attention during his peaceful reign of over twenty years to the promulgation and maintenance of his laws. But Recceswinth was but a poor successor [1] to the bold and masterful Chindaswinth; and the best that can be said of him, perhaps, is that he gave practical effect to his father's declaration of legislative union, by his celebrated decree permitting the lawful marriage of the Roman with the Visigoth in Spain.

Saint Ildefonso, who was raised to the Metropolitan throne of Toledo in 658, was probably more powerful, and is certainly more famous than any of his royal contemporaries. For not only did Ildefonso, the most distinguished of the pupils of Isidore, rule over Spain for ten years, after the manner of his episcopal predecessors, but he is said to have enjoyed the more extraordinary favour of a personal visit from the Blessed Virgin; [2] and he is still venerated, second only in honour to Saint James of Compostella, amongst the patron saints of Spain.

Visigoths, printed at the end of the present volume. For the few lines that I have added to the present chapter upon the preparation and promulgation of the code, I have consulted Montesquieu, *Esprit des lois*, lib. xxviii.; Daroud-Oghlou, *Histoire de la Legislation des anciens Germains* (Berlin, 1845), tom. i., pp. 1-216; Savigny, *Geschichte des romischen Rechts*, vol. ii.; Dahn, *Könige der Germanen*, vol. vi., and *Westgothische Studien*, and finally a most interesting article in the *English Historical Review*, vol. ii., pp. 212-234, by Mr. Hodgkin, to which I am indebted for many valuable suggestions about the Visigothic period generally.

[1] Recceswinth was devout if not moral, *licet flagitiosus, tamen bene monitus*, Isidore of Beja, c. 15.

[2] A legend, says Dunham, received with the fullest assurance of faith, not by the vulgar, but by the most learned and critical, not by the stupid Garibay and the credulous Morales, but by the sceptical Ferreras and the able Masdeu. Dunham, i., 219. The story may be found in the fullest detail in Morales, tom. iii., folio 158 *et seq.*

That Ildefonso should have written a treatise *De Virginitate S. Mariæ* was only becoming; and his *De Viris illustribus*, a continuation of the work of Isidore, is of considerable interest and value.

CHAPTER IX.

CHURCH AND STATE.

(A.D. 672—701).

I.—*Wamba.*

On the death of Recceswinth in September, 672, the choice of the nobles[1] fell upon one of their number, a Goth of gentle, but not of princely birth, well advanced in years, renowned for his prudence, his faithfulness, his military skill—Wamba, perhaps the best known though not the greatest of all the Visigothic kings who reigned in the Peninsula. When the result of the free election was conveyed to Wamba, he declined the honour, and long withstood the entreaties of his electors; and it is said that nothing but threats of personal violence induced him to waive his objections to wear a crown.

The Gothic nobility, "who had acquired the execrable habit of killing their kings," seem to have been equally ready to adopt heroic measures with those who refused to reign! But as soon as Wamba was fairly crowned at Toledo—no ecclesiastical council was summoned to affirm his election by his peers—he showed that he bore not in vain the sword with which he had been so forcibly girt.

Gothic Gaul, or Septimania,[2] the only territory beyond the geographical limits of Spain that at all times acknowledged the rule of the Visigothic kings, was the weak spot in their dominion. The tribes that inhabited the mountains of Cantabria indeed were ever unsubdued; but they were not to be feared at any great distance from their own boundaries. They were,

[1] Or of the prelates assembled with the Palatines in the village of Gerticos near Valladolid, where Recceswinth had died; in accordance with the decrees of the Eighth Council of Toledo, which Recceswinth had summoned.—H.

[2] The old colony of the Septimani or soldiers of the *Seventh* Legion. See Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, iv., 542.

no doubt, a thorn in the side of every ruler of Spain, but they constituted no danger to the monarchy. But the rich and fertile province of Septimania had all Europe as a possible depredator—or as a possible ally—and was ever specially coveted by the neighbouring kings of Frankish Gaul. The original seat of the Visigothic Government had been left far away from the new centre of gravity, by the change of royal residence from Toulouse to Toledo, and was separated after the victory of Clovis from the great bulk of the Visigothic dominion to the south of the scientific frontier of the Pyrenees; and it is a truly remarkable fact that amid the wars and politics of the sixth and seventh centuries, this favoured land of rich cities, of broad rivers, of fertile fields, with its Roman citizens and its Imperial traditions—this Naboth's vineyard of the Gaul—should have remained for three turbulent centuries ever subject to the Visigothic kings at distant Toledo.

Almost as soon as Wamba was crowned, he received the news that one Hilderic, governor of Nismes, had been proclaimed king of the Goths by Gunhild, bishop of Magalona. This northern pretender was supported by a large number of the Jews, who had fled from Spain to avoid persecution, and to whose detestable race and religion Bishop Gunhild showed himself, no doubt, for the time, exceedingly lenient. But the position of the rebels was soon both strengthened and complicated by the arrival of a certain Paul, a Roman *Dux*, or military leader, most probably from Africa, who had been entrusted by Wamba with the leadership of the army despatched against Hilderic in the north. For Paul, instead of overthrowing the rebels, persuaded them to join him in a still larger rebellion; and far from compelling Hilderic to acknowledge Wamba, he compelled him to acknowledge Paul as king of the Visigoths.

"He who will not," says the proverb, "sends; he who will, goes."[1] And it was high time for Wamba to make his appearance in person in Gothic Gaul. But Wamba was at the moment engaged in the time-honoured practice of chastising the Cantabrians. Upon this occasion the chastisement, if not sharp, was certainly short, for it is said to have been accomplished in seven days; and then Wamba marched north-west through Calahorra and Huesca and Barcelona, upon the strong city of Gerona, which yielded immediately on his

[1] Quem quer, vae: quem nao quer, manda—*Portuguese proverb.*

approach. No success could have been more complete. Within a few days of his arrival on the northern slopes of the Pyrenees, most of the Septimanian cities had opened their gates, and acknowledged Wamba as their rightful sovereign.

The combination of the ex-king Hilderic, the rebel bishop, the unhappy Israelites, and pretender Paul from Africa, was probably not popular. Narbonne held out for a few days, but the town was taken by storm, while a large body of troops moved on to besiege Nismes, where the rebels lay strongly fortified. Paul made a stout defence, but the arrival of Wamba himself, with his troops fresh from their success at Narbonne, rendered any further resistance hopeless. The garrison despaired, and the city walls were carried by assault. In the celebrated arena of Nismes, still one of the most interesting and most perfect of Roman remains in southern Gaul, Paul made his last stand. A bishop—not Gunhild—but one Argabad, at length interceded for the rebels, and Wamba was sufficiently generous to spare the lives of the vanquished. The province was quickly pacified; for the rebellion had been personal rather than popular; and though we may be sure the Jews received the very fullest measure of punishment for their adhesion to the losing side, Wamba displayed on the whole a noble clemency; and returned in triumph to Toledo, carrying in his train Paul, who, with shaven head and a leathern crown, set in mockery on his brow,[1] was doomed to a life-long *religious* seclusion in expiation of his treachery and his defeat. Thenceforward for seven years Wamba reigned in peace, and ruled wisely and well. So wisely, indeed, and so fortunately that this brief space of time has been ever known to succeeding generations of Spaniards as the days of good king Wamba.

Among the many measures undertaken by the king for the defence of his kingdom was the fortification of the city of Toledo,[2] and the preparation and equipment of a fleet in the noble harbour of Carthagena. But in spite of all his efforts, and even of his early successes in the field, Wamba found his degenerate Visigothic subjects sadly averse from a military service, and his celebrated law *De his qui ad bellum non vadunt* is a record not only of the vigour of the sovereign, but of the

[1] He apparently suffered the customary punishment of *Decalvation* or scalping. See Appendix on the "Laws of the Visigoths".

[2] The ornamental stones and marble decoration of the Roman circus in the neighbourhood are said to have been used by Wamba—a true *Goth*—in the construction of his new city wall. Mariana, lib. vi., 6.

extraordinary change that two centuries had wrought among his subjects. In case of a hostile invasion, every bishop, duke, or count, every Commander,[1] Vicarius,[2] or Gardingus[3] within one hundred miles of the scene of action was ordered by this law to hasten to the spot with all his followers—slaves, it would seem, as well as free dependents. Failing to render prompt obedience, the great ecclesiastic was to be banished the realm, and his revenues were to be liable to the payment of such a fine as the king might think fit to impose; while the layman, whether a noble or freeman of lower degree, was to lose whatever dignity he possessed, and be reduced to the condition of a slave. All this was sufficiently vigorous, and it is not likely to have increased the popularity of Wamba, more especially with the great ecclesiastics, whose privileges he so little respected. And in this last attempt to revive anything of the old Visigothic spirit in the nation we may see the origin of these clerical intrigues which led to the deposition of "good king Wamba," and the election of the contemptible Erwig in his stead.

Truly, Roman Spain had wrought a marvellous change in her nominal masters, the Visigoths. And the end of their mastery, such as it was, was nigh at hand. The rule of the priest had emasculated the race. The old manly vigour was gone. The sword was despised. The warrior was condemned. Dogma reigned supreme. The people had more law than they could digest; and they had not fighting enough for their rugged constitutions. There was Roman law, and Gothic law, law canon, and law ecclesiastical, the laws of the Councils, and the laws of the Synod.[4] The whole country had become one vast Doctor's Commons.

The Visigoths, who occupied rather than conquered Spain, were distinguished among all other races of the world at that time by two apparently opposite characteristics—their love of fighting, and their regard for written laws—the one evil, the other good. Such was the combination. Yet when the evil was entirely destroyed by the good, the race decayed, the Commonwealth perished.

[1] Thinfaths = Colonel, commander of a thousand; just as the Turkish *Binbashi*.

[2] Vicarius = Lieutenant-Colonel, or Vice-Colonel.

[3] Palatine noble.

[4] See Appendix, "The Laws of the Visigoths".

The Moor was already at the gate. And the Roman and the Visigoth, the Athanasian and the Arian, were soon to flee together before a new enemy, and to be glad to take refuge with the unconquerable Cantabrian mountaineers—those true Spaniards who, after nigh on a thousand years of warfare, remained yet unsubdued to welcome the remnant of their enemies in the day of their distress.

From henceforth Biscay, Asturias and Gallicia were not only the country of the Basques, the Cantabrians, the Celts and the Suevians—they became the mother country of the modern Spanish people. But the end was not yet, although the mutterings of the coming storm [1] might already be heard, and signs of the approaching dissolution were not wanting. The victory of Erwig in the palace of Wamba was but the beginning of the victory of the Moslem in the land of the Visigoth.

The rule of Wamba had not been completely pleasing either to the bishops or to the nobles. His military successes were forgotten; his military legislation remained. His persecution of the Jews had been lukewarm. He is supposed to have meddled, or sought to meddle, with the boundaries of the episcopal sees.[2] And at length it became evident that a more pliant monarch would be more agreeable to those who bore rule in Spain. The integrity, the valour, the moderation of Wamba availed him nothing; and a palace intrigue, as usual, produced an acceptable successor.[3] But the intriguers, impelled by un-

[1] It was in the heyday of Wamba's power that a Saracen fleet, forerunner of those Moorish cruisers so long the terror of the Mediterranean, and the special scourge of Spain, was seen off the southern coast. It does not seem that anything like a serious invasion of the kingdom was contemplated by those early corsairs, although the number of their vessels is said to have been considerable—170 according to one authority, 270 according to another. But they failed to effect a landing at any point of the south-east coast, and many were taken, burned, or sunk by Wamba's ships before they were finally dispersed in 677. (It is at least very questionable whether the Saracens on this occasion did not actually land on Spanish soil.—H.)

[2] See *España Sagrada*, iv., and *post*, section ii. of this chapter.

[3] Ervigius is said, I know not on what authority, by Galliard (*Hist. de la Rivalité de la France et de l'Espagne*, i., 58), to have been the grandson of the son of that son of Ermengild and Ingunthis who was taken to Constantinople after his father's execution. He was in all probability no Goth, but a true Græculus or low Roman, the son of one Ardobastes; and he was born, it is said, at either Byzantium or Carthagena. He is hardly entitled to the Gothic, albeit most evil-sounding, name of Erwig; and he has been usually spoken of by modern writers as *Ervigius*. But as he was an adopted Goth long before he was a usurping king, and more especially as the last Roman or Græco-Roman had left Spain before he was born, it is scarcely worth while to be inconsistent for the sake of a fancy, and I have treated him as an Erwig. Mariana opens one of his chapters (vi., 7) with the words "Flavius Ervigius . . ."

wonted scruples, shrank from the *murder* of their sovereign; and a combination of apothecaries and ecclesiastical lawyers was devised to bring the reign of good King Wamba to a contemptible close.

On Sunday, 14th April, after the celebration of Mass, a potion was administered to Wamba by the aspiring Erwig. The drug took effect. And the king's approaching dissolution being made apparent to the palace, he was invested with the habit of a monk, and his unconscious head was piously shaven, in order that his passage to another world might be rendered more propitious. But Wamba did not die. The cup had contained no poison, but a sleeping draught; and in due time he awoke, a frocked and tonsured ecclesiastic, incapable under a recent law from sitting upon the throne of the Visigoths; and he was fain to retire to the monastery of Pampliega, near Burgos, leaving his crown upon the head of the wily Erwig. It was a contemptible close to a worthy reign, contemptible indeed in every way. For if all our indignation be reserved for Erwig the palatine, and Julian the bishop, we can have but little respect for a Gothic king who could submit to be cozened of his kingdom by a change of costume, and who could abandon his Gothic subjects to the sacrilegious tricksters who had defiled the sacred emblems of the religion of truth in the interests of their own worldly pride and covetousness. Had Wamba, instead of kissing the rod, hanged *Flavius Ervigius* on the walls of his palace, from a gallows higher than that of Haman, and banished Julian as far as the shores of the Euxine, he would have died a greater king, and, perhaps, no worse a Christian, than he did in the livery of fraud in his ecclesiastical prison at Pampliega. The best that can be said of him is that in the supreme moment he obeyed the laws of his country.

The new monarch promptly put himself under the protection of the Church. He summoned a Council, the Twelfth of Toledo, to meet in January, 681, and craving[1] as a royal suppliant the support of the assembled bishops, he was duly recognised, authorised, and accepted as king. The well satisfied Fathers then proceeded to modify the military laws or decrees made by Wamba, to remit many of the penalties inflicted upon State

[1] The prayer of the suppliant was supported by three pieces of documentary evidence: 1. A certificate, signed by the great officers of the palace, of the religious shaving and habiting of Wamba. 2. A deed of abdication signed by Wamba himself. 3. A letter addressed by Wamba to Bishop Julian, President of the Council, praying that Erwig might be anointed king. This was kissing the rod indeed!

offenders by the late monarch; and, finally, to formulate the most complete and savage decree against the Jews in Spain that had yet been issued by King or Council. Erwig was glad to accept the royal dignity on such easy terms; and another Council, the Thirteenth of Toledo, sitting in 683, after reversing all the obnoxious ordinances and decrees which had not been repealed by the former Council, restored to their property and civil rights all the rebels condemned in the former reign. The Council also passed a decree forbidding the imprisonment of ecclesiastics by the royal authority, and proceeded to menace with the greater excommunication all persons whomsoever who should attempt to injure Ervigius, in person or in property, or any member of his family. Finally, the complete repeal of Wamba's military legislation extinguished the last spark of military energy that had been re-kindled in the preceding reign. But the protection afforded by two Councils, and the condemnation of his enemies in this world and in the next, did not serve to reassure the apprehensive Erwig. He adopted Egica, a nephew of Wamba, and accorded to him the hand of his daughter in marriage; and at length after binding him by an oath of special solemnity to do nothing in any way to injure the family of Erwig, the supplanter of Wamba retired, like Wamba himself, into a convent, and Egica reigned in his stead.

Egica convoked the Fifteenth Council at Toledo in 688, not only that it might recognise his own accession, but that it might absolve him from his oath to Erwig. And the Council, which was ready to bind and loose, not only on earth, but in heaven, readily complied with both his petitions. So King Egica reigned in peace, and spoiled the family of Erwig with a quiet mind, even while he published or promulgated the very last edition of the celebrated Laws of the Visigoths.[1] But Egica at the moment of his greatest power was only the second man in his dominions.

Julian, Bishop and Metropolitan of Toledo from 680 to 690, was the last great Churchman of Visigothic Spain.[2] Like the ever celebrated sons of Severianus, Julian was no Goth, though a ruler of Goths, not even of Greek nor of Roman blood, but a Jew, whose parents had been converted to Christianity. He was born about the year 645, and early distinguished himself by his scholarship, his vigour, and his ambition. The historian

[1] See *ante*, chapter viii., p. 93.

[2] See generally, *España Sagrada*, v., 28-96.

and panegyrist of Wamba,[1] he became jealous of the king's independence, and impatient of his legislation; and having succeeded Quiricus as Bishop of Toledo in 680, he is supposed to have been the chief instigator in the treachery of Erwig. As president of the Twelfth Council of Toledo, which he convoked in 681 to approve the immuring of Wamba, and to recognise the usurpation of Erwig, Julian at length found scope for the display of his commanding powers, and taking his place at once as the first man in Spain, he remained practically supreme in Church and State during the reign of two subject kings.

II.—*The Spanish Church.*

The ecclesiastical hierarchy of Christian Spain was composed at this time of metropolitans, suffragan bishops, deans, priests (*Presbiteros*), deacons, sub-deacons, readers, psalmists, exorcists, acolytes, and *Hostiarii* or keepers of the sacred wafer. In the sixth century there were added archpriests, who ranked immediately after the bishop, archdeacons, *Primicieros* or precentors, and sub-deans attached to every cathedral. The title of archbishop was not introduced until as late as 1085.

In the early Christian times the bishops were elected by the people. But from the seventh century, the right was gradually exercised by the king, or in his absence—and no doubt at many other times—by the Metropolitans of Toledo. The five provinces into which the country was ecclesiastically divided, each under the authority of a provincial metropolitan, were not unnaturally made conterminous with the five administrative divisions of Constantine; and Hispalis, the residence of the Imperial vicar, became the seat of the chief metropolitan of the Church of Spain.

But after the removal of the Visigothic capital from Seville by Leovgild at the end of the sixth century, Toledo gradually obtained the pre-eminence in Church and State; and the See having been raised from the rank of a suffragan bishopric to that of a metropolis in 610, it became, in the ambitious hands of Julian, the prime metropolis of all Spain; and the primate who ruled over the kings of the Visigoths asserted his ecclesiastical independence of the Bishop of Rome. Within thirty years the primate and the king were both

[1] In his biographical work, *Liber Historiæ de eo quod Wambæ Principis tempore Galliis extitit gestum.*

swept away by the tide of Moorish invasion, while Gregory sat unmoved on his Imperial hills; and four hundred years later a new archbishop was well content to accept the primacy of Spain from the hands of Urban at the Vatican.[1]

The number of suffragan bishoprics from the end of the fourth century was about eighty, disposed somewhat as follows:—

In the province of *Tarraconensis* there were fifteen: Tarragona, Barcelona, Gerona, Lerida, Tortosa, Vique or Vich, Urgel, Ampurias, Tarrasa, Zaragoza, Tarazona, Huesca, Pamplona, Calahorra and Santa Maria de Oca, afterwards Burgos. In the province of *Carthaginiensis* [afterwards *Toledo*] there were twenty-one: Toledo, Carthagena, Oreto, Cazlona [*Castulo*], La Guardia, Guadix, Acci, Baza, Valencia, Denia, Elche, Felipe de Xativa, Totana, Segorbe, Segovia, Siguenza, Arcos, Alcalá de Henares, Osma, Palencia, Virgi and Bigastro. In the province of *Bætica* there were eleven: Seville [*Hispalis*], Cordoba, Granada [*Illiberis*], Ecija, Cabra, Santiponce [*Italica*], Martos, Niebla, Xerez [*Medina Sidonia*], Malaga and Adra. In the province of *Lusitania* there were fourteen: Merida, Ebora, Coria, Idaña, Estoy, Beja, Agueda, Lisbon [*Olissipo*] Coimbra, Viseo, Lamego, Salamanca, Avila and Caliabra. In the province of *Gallicia* there were eleven: Braga [*Bracara Augusta*], Dumio, Porto, Chaves, Tuy, El Padron [*Iria Flavia*], Orense [*Aquæ Urientes*], Britoña, or *Mondonedo*, Lugo, Astorga and Leon. In the province of *Narbonensis*, to the north of the Pyrenees, there were eight: Narbonne, Agde, Beziers, Magalona, Nismes, Lodeve, Carcassonne and Elne.[2]

The parochial system[3] was not introduced into Spain until

[1] The promulgation of the famous Sixth Canon of the Twelfth Council, proclaiming the primacy of Toledo among Spanish Sees, and the controversy between Julian and Popes Leo and Benedict as to the independence of the Spanish Church are treated of at great length by the authors of the *España Sagrada*, vi., pp. 241-301, and by Masdeu, *España Goda*, xi., 145-167. See also Julian, *Liber apologeticus; the Acts of the* XIV., XV. and XVI. *Councils of Toledo*, and Geddes' *Tracts*, vol. ii.

[2] In the compilation of this list, I have chiefly followed Masdeu, tom. xi., pp. 183-7. But the greater part of tom. iv. of the *España Sagrada* is devoted to the question, and a great many lists and dissertations thereon will be found on pp. 1-270. Gams, in his *Series episcoporum* (1873), a work ever to be depended upon, gives fifty-nine bishoprics in Spain, and seventeen in Portugal, seventy-six in all, at the present day. But many of the ancient sees have ceased to exist, and new ones been added in later years. The provincial archbishoprics of modern Spain, since the Concordat of 1851, are *nine:* Toledo, Burgos, Saragossa, Tarragona, Valencia, Granada, Seville, Valladolid and Compostella. For a list of the bishops *in partibus*, see *España Sagrada*, tom. li.

[3] See Masdeu, xiii., 315-316.

much later times: the *parish* was for long hardly distinguished from the *diocese;*[1] and the *tithes,* which in imitation of the Jewish law were instituted about the fourth century, were payable[2] for a long time, not to the *parson*, but to the bishop, who was subsequently directed by Charlemagne, in a capitulary of the Empire, to divide the amount he thus received into three parts—one for himself and his clergy, one for the poor, and one for the building and repair of churches. The bishop presumably divided the first third between himself and his inferior clergy as he thought fit.[3]

Although monasteries were probably unknown in the Peninsula until early in the sixth century,[4] the celibacy of the secular clergy is certainly a rule of Spanish origin. The thirty-third canon of the Council of Elvira, ere the fourth century was ten years old, forbade, for the first time in the history of the Church, the bishops, priests, and deacons of the Peninsula to live as husbands with their wives. This tremendous dogma, rejected a dozen years later by the greater Council of Nicæa (325), was finally promulgated in Spain by the very first canon of the first Council of Toledo in 400. The judgment of Elvira and Toledo was adopted at Arles and at Mâcon, and accepted by the entire Catholic world.

But apart from this clerical celibacy, the origin of so much regular and irregular immorality for long ages to come,[5]

[1] The question of the ecclesiastical tithes in Spain has given rise to much controversy, and I have myself consulted a large number of authorities, which I forbear to enumerate, without much enlightenment. A Spanish MS. in the British Museum, Egerton Coll., No. 486, has in cap. vi., some very interesting notes upon the point, from which I quote a few lines, literally translated: . . . "as it is certain that the tithes with which the Spanish Church has been endowed since the *Restauracion de España*, are nothing but the profane tribute acquired by the kings, and graciously of their liberality given to the churches, without the necessity of any assent of bishops, or even popes . . ." (par. 2).

In the *Cortes* of Guadarrama (1390), the prelates "were ordered to abstain from demanding the tithes due to the *Ricoshombres*, which shows that the payment of religious tithes is the free offering of the faithful" (par. 10).

"In all the enumerations of the wealth and property of the church—in vineyards, lands, slaves, industrial establishments, etc., no mention is ever made of tithes," pp. 11, 12. A great mass of learning and authorities upon the subject will be found collected in Masdeu, xi., pp. 1-411. As to the temporal power of the Spanish bishops, see Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.*, viii., 368-397; and ix., 68.

[2] Set forth at Heristal in March, 779, cap. No. 7.

[3] Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, ii., 141, 142; Milman, *Latin Christianity*, ix., 5-10.

[4] See authorities collected in Montalembert, ii., 185, 186.

[5] As to the laws or canons regulating the marriage of the early Christian clergy in Spain, and the changes which led to a more or less open concubinage, see Masdeu, vii., 241-243, and H. C. Lea, *Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church*, especially pp. 204, 299, 324. See also *post*, Appendix IV., on Customary Concubinage or *Barraganeria*.

it is certain that from very early times vows of perpetual chastity both by men and women were not uncommon among Christians; and as early as the Council of Elvira penalties are prescribed for devoted virgins who may relapse into a worldly life.[1] The Council of Saragossa (380) declared with greater wisdom that no virgin should be allowed to devote herself to a religious life until she should have attained the respectable age of forty years.[2]

Monasteries are first spoken of in the decrees of the Council of Tarragona,[3] in 516; and until the middle of the sixth century hermits or solitary devotees seem to have been far more common than cœnobites or monastic associations.

The first monastery that was established in Spain is said to have been that of Servitarium, near Cape Martin in Valencia, founded by the African St. Donatus about the beginning of the sixth century.[4] And after the time of St. Emilianus (ob. 570) and St. Martin of Dumium, the Hungarian Metropolitan of Braga (ob. 580), some sixty years later, monasteries became common throughout Spain, and more especially in the north-west.

Emilianus, the most celebrated of all these early founders, is claimed by the Benedictines as joint patron of Spain with St. James. Born a Castilian peasant, about the year 470, he began life as a shepherd, forsook the world soon after reaching man's estate, and lived as a hermit for forty years in the mountainous districts between Burgos and Logroño,[5] chiefly in the neighbourhood of Mount Cogolla. The fame of his sanctity at length reached the Bishop of Tarazona, who ordained him, much against his will, to be priest of Verdejo (Verdejum), one of the many towns that claim the honour of his birth. But his devotion excited the jealousy of his brother clerics, and after a short residence at Verdejo he retired once more, and for the remainder of his life, to the seclusion of an oratory or monastic habitation in the neighbouring mountains. His contemporary, Martin of Pannonia, who became Bishop of Dumium, and after

[1] Conc., *Ill.*, can. 13.

[2] Conc., *Cæsar Aug.*, can. 8.

[3] Masdeu, tom. xiii., pp. 158-161.

[4] Montalembert, *ubi supra*, considers that the rule of St. Benedict was from this time the most popular and the most powerful in Spain; but a learned contributor to the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* thinks that, "on a very careful review of the evidence, it seems most probable that the Benedictine rule was not known in Spain until after the time of the Visigoths".

[5] The exact locality has given rise to fierce conflicts, *España Sagrada*, tom. i., s. 2.

Metropolitan of Braga [580], is said on somewhat doubtful authority to have been a Benedictine,[1] and to have founded a monastery at Dumium towards the end of the sixth century.

But the true glory of early Spanish monasticism is undoubtedly St. Fructuosus, a Goth of royal or noble birth,[2] who attained great celebrity in the early part of the seventh century for his holiness as an anchorite, in the mountainous district of *El Vierzo*, between Astorga and Lugo, where he founded, at the foot of Mount Trago or Foncebadon, and at the confluence (*complutum*) of the little rivers Molina and Sil, a religious house, which was built with the approbation and possibly by the assistance of King Chindaswinth, and was known as the Monastery of Compludo.[3]

The country round about Compludo is one of the most interesting in the history of religion in the Peninsula. Lying embedded amidst lofty mountains, traversed by the old pilgrim road from Leon to Compostella, the sacred valley of El Vierzo, extending some thirty miles from east to west, and five-and-thirty from north to south, became the retreat in the seventh century of the earliest hermits and anchorites of Christian Spain. It is the birthplace of Spanish monachism—the Thebaïd of the Peninsula—and once rivalled the holiest districts of Palestine in the number of its saints and sanctuaries.[4]

Saint Fructuosus, first and chiefest of these sacred heroes followed up his foundation of the mother of Spanish monasteries, by the establishment of a second religious house, the *Monasterium Rufianense*, afterwards the famous San Pedro de Montes near Ponferrada; and yet a third in the immediate neighbourhood—the *Visuniense* (650?). He soon afterwards undertook a

[1] See Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum*, O. S. B., tom. i. The rule of St. Benedict was long almost the only one established in Spain. As late as 1050 the National Council of Coyanza had actually excommunicated the members of any other order who should presume to settle in the country. The prohibition availed but little; and about 1100 the rule of St. Augustine found its way into Castile. Ferreras, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. iii.

[2] S. Isidore, *De Viris Illustribus*, cap. 35, 41, and 45.

[3] *La seule charte authentique qui nous soit restée de l'époque Visigothique est une donation faite en 646 par le roi Chindaswinde au Monastère de Compludo.* Montalembert, *op. cit.*, ii., 205.

[4] *España Sagrada*, tom. xvi. Ford (1878) 205-7. A village in the heart of the mountain still bears the name of Compludo, though every vestige of the once celebrated monastery has long since disappeared. There is a church, well preserved to the present day, at Santiago de Peñalva, near Compludo, the only existing specimen of a Christian church built in the pure Arab style of the tenth century. For a description and plan of this most interesting building see *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1865, pp. 150-156.

pilgrimage into Andalusia, and founded another monastery near Cadiz, of which no trace nor record remains. He was then prevailed upon by Recceswinth to accept the bishopric of Dumium, from which he was translated to the Metropolitan See of Braga at the Tenth Council of Toledo in 656, and he lived to found yet one more monastery, on the road between Dumium and his metropolis, a building which was in existence in the eighteenth century, and was still known as the monastery of St. Fructuosus.

This founder of religious houses is supposed to have died about 660; and the bones of the saint, transported in the twelfth century by pious human hands to Compostella, are venerated with good reason by the pilgrims of Santiago.[1]

[1] St. Fructuosus, like Sertorius, is said to have been accompanied in all his wanderings by a hind or doe. The poor beast was killed by an enemy of the saint, who *genua sua summo cum dolore flectens*, manifested a noble generosity towards the wretched slayer of his pet. It was a charming legend of Christian gentleness in an age of savagery.

CHAPTER X.

"THE LAST OF THE GOTHS."

(701—711).

I.—*The Jews.*

It does not appear that many colonists or exiles of the Hebrew race had settled in Spain before the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus; but from that time the Jews were to be found in great numbers throughout the Peninsula, and they are said to have adopted to a very large extent the Latin language of the country.[1] Their rights and liberties were liberally recognised by the Roman Imperial authorities, more especially under the Emperors Antoninus Pius, and Alexander Severus; and their position was still further ameliorated by the edict of Caracalla, conferring equal civil rights on all the inhabitants of the Empire. Heliogabalus, the Syrian Emperor, distinctly favoured them, perhaps as fellow Orientals; and from his time to that of Constantine, they suffered no persecution or molestation in Roman Spain. With the political recognition of Christianity, their evil days began,[2] and before the fourth century was yet ten years old, a canon of the Council of Elvira forbade all communication between Jews and Christians in the Peninsula.

[1] Although the Spanish title of *Don* is usually supposed to be derived, like the English university nickname, from *Dominus*, it is considered probable by such authorities as Lindo, Gayangos, and others, that it is a survival of the Hebrew *adon*, lord, which is used by Jews, like the English sir, or the modern Greek, *κύριος*, as a mode of address. Lindo, *History of the Jews in Spain and Portugal*, p. 7. *Cf.* also Los Rios, *Les Juifs d'Espagne* (Paris, 1861); and a *Discurso*, by F. Martinez Mariana in the *Mem. de la Real Acad. de Hist. de Madrid*, tom. iii., pp. 317-469; Döllinger, *Studies*, trans. by Miss Warre (1890); *Essay on Jews in Europe;* and Vicent de Lafuente, *Sociedades Secretas de España*, pp. 21-26, where the Jews are counted among the members of secret societies!

[2] Constantine had made conversion from Christianity to Judaism a penal offence, as early as 315; and Constantius attached the penalty of death to all marriages between Jews and Christians. Bernardo Aldrete, *Antiguedades de España*, ii., 8.

But more active persecution was neither preached nor practised.[1]

When the Roman gave place to the barbarian, the Jews were still fairly, if not kindly treated. Neither the early Visigothic kings, nor the Arian clergy, sought to molest them, either as foreigners, or as heretics; and even the Catholic laity, still Roman rather than Romish, suffered their Hebrew neighbours to abide in peace.

But with the *conversion* of Reccared a vast change came over Church and State in Spain. The king was compelled to accept the decrees of the Council of 589, which proclaimed his Catholicity, and which also opened fire upon the Jews in the Peninsula, prohibiting their marriage with Christian wives, their possession of Christian slaves, or the holding by a Jew of any office of State in the kingdom. But even these comparatively mild ordinances were never put in force with any vigour by Reccared himself, or even by his immediate successors upon the throne. Under Sisebut, however, after 612, though no new Council was held, the old decrees were more severely enforced.[2] Many of the Jews were subjected to compulsory baptism. Of those who refused or resisted, many were inhumanly tortured, and a considerable number only escaped outrage by flight across the Pyrenees, into that favoured and favouring country where the contact of Jews and Christians was more close [3] and more friendly than in any other part of Europe, "the happiest resting-place that the Jew ever found in Christendom".[4] Under the valiant Visigoth Swinthila, persecution slumbered. But under the subject Sisenand, the Jews, as might have been expected, were made to feel the full weight of the ecclesiastical arm; and the Fourth Council of Toledo (633) [5] addressed itself seriously to the

[1] See *Codex Theodos*, lib. xvi., tit. 8, 9; *Oxford Essays* (1857), p. 207; Sheppard, *Fall of Rome*, p. 556; and W. D. Morrison, *The Jews under the Romans* (1890), chapter xvii.

[2] As has already been pointed out, the persecution of the Jews by Sisebut was one of the conditions of his treaty with Heraclitus by which the Imperial armies evacuated most of the territory they held.—H.

[3] *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, i., 322; *Oxford Essays* (1857), p. 312.

[4] There was a large population of Jews in Provence, and the exiles were ever well received. Marseilles is called by Gregory of Tours a Hebrew city. See Mr. T. F. Tout, in *Eng. Hist. Review*, vol. ii., p. 160. Nismes had actually received the Hebrew name of Kirjath-Jearim (see Num. xv., 60). Lunel was converted into Yericho, the moon town, and Aix or Aquæ-Sextæ, into Ir Hammayim. *Cf.* 2 Sam. xii., 27. See Joseph Simon, *Histoire des Juifs de Nismes au moylen age* (1886).

[5] Among the canons of the Fourth Council of Toledo (633), it was ordained that (can. 62), "Any baptised Jews that do not avoid the society of Jews shall be

task of extirpating the hated race. If Judaism could have been destroyed by decrees, not a Jew would have remained in the country. Decrees at least could go no further. For it was ordained that all Hebrew children were to be taken from their parents, and educated in convents, or in orthodox Christian families. Mixed marriages were declared void. Every office, even the smallest, was closed to the Jew. And for him who, once baptised, relapsed to the faith of his fathers, no mercy was to be expected or found. Yet the Jews were not extirpated in Spain. The Fifth Council of Toledo was chiefly concerned with its political duty of confirming the election of Chintila, who succeeded Sisenand in 636; and no new decrees were formulated against Judaism. But in the Sixth Council of Toledo (638), two years after the death of Isidore,[1] it was formally declared that no one who was not a Catholic should be *allowed to live* in Spain. The Ninth Council, in 655, placed the converted Jews under the special control of the bishops, and by some canons of the more celebrated Twelfth Council, in 681—the persecution having become less vigorous than was palatable to the spiritual rulers of the country—the entire administration of the anti-Jewish laws was taken out of the hands of the ordinary judges, and entrusted to the ecclesiastical courts.[2]

But the unhappy Jews, deprived of their civil rights, despoiled of their property, robbed of their children, committed to the tender mercy of irresponsible ecclesiastics, scourged, tortured, reduced to slavery, banished, were still present in Spain. If they had been rendered disloyal, they had not been rendered entirely impotent; and in the last decade of the seventh century, as a result of all this legislation and persecution, it was discovered, with equal horror and astonishment, that the Jews were conspiring with their brethren, and even with the Saracens, already in Africa, against the rule of the Visigoth; seeking some alleviation of their miserable condition in a change of masters in Spain. To avert the impending[3] danger, King Egica could do nothing

made slaves, and the Jews associated with them shall be scourged". The various canons and enactments of the Visigothic Councils will be found collected in Lindo, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-28. The Jew convicted of proselytising was condemned (according to Masdeu, xi., 142), to be stoned or burned to death at the hands of his proselytes.

[1] The influence of Isidore was, on the whole, in favour of toleration.

[2] By a decree of the Sixth Council of Toledo (A.D. 638), it was ordained that the whole body of anti-Jewish laws was to be solemnly sworn to by each king on his accession. See *Eng. Hist. Review*, ii., 226.

[3] For a general and very fair survey of the condition of the Jews in Visigothic Spain, see Amador de los Rios, *Los Judios en España* (1871), vol. i., cap. ii.

more reassuring than to convoke a Council, the Seventeenth of Toledo, in 694, and the Council when summoned could do nothing more politic than to re-affirm with obstinate iteration and amplification the savage decrees that ecclesiastical intolerance had suggested in a hundred years of power. No Christian, under the severest penalties, was to shelter a Jew whom the officers of the Church might be pursuing, or refuse to point out his hiding-place. No Jew was to insult the true faith by deed or word *or thought*. The Passover, the Sabbath, Circumcision, were all forbidden; and lest the Jews should secretly observe their festivals, they were to present themselves before the Christian bishop on every Hebrew feast-day. They were to eat the flesh of swine; had not St. Paul said: "To the pure all things are pure?" Their evidence was on no account to be received in a court of law; "for if the liar before men is not to be believed, how much less the liar before God?"[1] Yet the Jews remained unappeased, and continued to look across the southern straits for deliverance from their Christian persecution.

Egica was succeeded in 701 by his son Witiza, of whom little can be said but that he appears to have been a wise and tolerant prince, to have refrained from persecuting the Jews, and to have endeavoured not only to put some bounds to the absolute power of the bishops and inferior clergy,[2] but to check the immorality which was already so common among them. He encouraged the priests to marry, and enjoined them to refrain from concubinage, and he seems to have actually secured the co-operation, in these ecclesiastical reforms, of Sindered, Metropolitan of Toledo. How far he succeeded in his own times we can not now tell, but later generations of Churchmen have taken their revenge for his interference, by blackening his character and representing him as a monster of licentiousness, a heretic, a tyrant, a man who debauched the wives and daughters of his faithful subjects, and questioned the supremacy of the Pope at Rome. It is possible, no doubt, that the king may have been irregular in his private life. Yet it is at least more certain that he redressed many of the grievances that had vexed the people in the time of his father, and showed himself a liberal if not a strictly virtuous monarch. He remitted unjust taxation; he recalled from exile many who had been banished without good cause; and he is said actually to

[1] The laws affecting the Jews in the *Fuero Juzgo*, or code of the Visigoths, lib. xii., tit. 2, will be found in Lindo, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-36.

[2] See Dahn's *Die Könige der Germanen*, vol. v., p. 224.

have burned the bonds which Egica had by force or fraud extorted from many of his subjects.

Contemporary historians speak of him in highly laudatory terms, and it is not until the ninth century that any writer recorded or invented that frightful career of depravity with which his name has been usually associated.[1] The ecclesiastical legend had its rise, no doubt, in the action of the king as regards the irregularities of the clergy, and his offensive humanity as regards the Jews; and the enormity of his wickedness has been complacently enlarged upon by the historical prophets of later days, who seek to explain the ruin of Catholic Spain at the hand of the infidel, by supposing it to be a display of Divine vengeance upon the kingdom of wicked Witiza.[2]

II.—*Roderic.*

How, or when, or where the king died we are not told. That after some wretched rebellion, he divided his dominions with that Roderic of whom we hear so much and know so little, seems at least fairly probable. And Roderic, after the fashion of the times, conspired against and overthrew his colleague,[3] ere he himself reigned sole and supreme, at some time in the course of the year 709.

The extravagance of the legends that have crystallised round the name and the memory of "the last of the Goths" have led some critics to question whether such a personage ever lived at all.[4] Of the existence, however, of the Visigothic king there would seem to be no reasonable doubt. But his amours with the beautiful and virtuous Florinda la Cava, whose legendary surname has a meaning strangely in-

[1] See the continuation of John of Biclara (circ. 720) and Isidore of Beja (circ. 750), who speak most favourably of Witiza. It is in the *Chronicon Moissacense*, or *South Gaulish Chronicle* (circ. 818), that we find the *first note of blame*. Lucas of Tuy (1250) is perhaps the most extravagant of the calumniators.

[2] Dahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-230.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] According to Mr. Dahn, Roderic appears only as a phantom in history. His historical existence is best established by the occurrence of his name in the lists of kings in the MS. of the Visigothic laws. A coin with his effigy is of doubtful authenticity. The inscription on his tomb at Viseu, in Portugal, is undoubtedly false. Between him and Witiza the zeal of the genealogists, who wished to trace back the Spanish kings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries directly to "Don Pelayo" and even to Theodoric the Great, and thereby to outshine the antiquity and legitimacy of the royalty of France and Germany, has interpolated a king, Acausa, or Acosta, who, with his wife and son, was honoured by Spanish patriots for some hundreds of years.

consistent with her legendary character, are no doubt the invention of a later age. That the Visigoths had lost that reputation for chastity,[1] which had so honourably distinguished them from the Romans of Hispania in the early days of their occupation, is undoubtedly true; and that the depravity of the court may have weakened the monarchy, and so contributed to the Moslem success, if it did not actually prompt the invitation to the Moslem invaders, is also abundantly probable. That Count Julian, governor of Ceuta,[2] intrigued with a disaffected Churchman,[3] and with the sons of the dethroned Witiza, for the overthrow of the reigning monarch, is so natural and so characteristic of the times, that even the extravagant embroidery of later legends would hardly induce us to doubt it. That some one of the contending parties should have sought to gain an advantage over the others by inviting the aid of a common enemy, is only what may be read in the authentic history of Spain from the days of the first appearance of the first Vandal on the Pyrenean frontier, if not from the landing of the first Carthaginian at Cadiz.

But the enchanted tower, the ancient guardians, the lovely and distressful damsel, the avenging sire, the milk white steeds, the flight of Don Roderic across the Guadalete, which he could not have reached, and across the Guadalquivir, which he could not have swum, these and a hundred other romantic incidents are the inventions of later days, investing with a halo of chivalry and sentiment the uncertain tale of the decay and destruction of the Visigothic Empire in Spain, and of the triumph of the Moslem in Europe.

[1] Salvian, *De Gub. Dei*, lib. vii., 6. Florinda is almost certainly a mythical personage. The name of *la Cava*, strange to say, would suggest in the Arabic a woman of evil life. That such ladies assisted in the demoralisation and ultimate fall of the Visigothic monarchy is likely enough. *Cf.* Lembke, *Geschichte von Spanien*, part ii., lib. i.; Romey, iii., 31, 32.

[2] For the identification of Julian, see a very learned and interesting disquisition in Dozy, *Recherches*, tom. i., pp. 64-77.

[3] Oppas, Metropolitan Bishop of Seville. He is said by Isidore of Beja to have been a son of Egica and brother of Witiza, and to have headed a party hostile to Roderic, and to have assisted the Moslem invaders with voice and sword. He is afterwards heard of in the north-west in the time of Pelayo. See *post*, chap. xiii. (Spanish chroniclers state that the sons of Witiza and their uncle Don Oppas accompanied Roderic to the battle of Janda, where they commanded the right wing of his army. On the third day of the fight it is said that they and their division retired from the field, and this gave the victory to the Saracens.—H.)

CHAPTER XI.

THE FAILURE OF THE VISIGOTHS.

If the rapidity and the completeness of the barbarian conquest of the Roman provinces, at the beginning of the fifth century, was calculated to excite our wonder, we may learn with even greater astonishment that the conquest of the Visigothic kingdom by the Moslems, at the beginning of the eighth century, was at once infinitely more rapid and infinitely more complete.

The misery and corruption of Roman Spain, the exactions of the taxgatherers, the bankruptcy of the citizens, the slavery of the peasants, the banishment of the soldiery, and above all the enormous numbers of the ever-advancing multitudes of the barbarians—all these things have been alluded to in a former chapter, and suffice to a great extent to explain the success of the earlier invaders. The occupation of Spain by the Visigoths, the gentlest and most humane of all the barbarians, was indeed rather a deliverance than a conquest; for the arms of the amiable Wallia were directed not against the Roman Provincials, but against the terrible Vandals and Suevians and Alans, who had ravaged their country for ten long and shameful years. But even these fiercer barbarians had failed to possess themselves of more than a portion of the province, and a great number of the cities remained in the hands of the Romans, until at the approach of Wallia as an Imperial commander, the gates were open to the Visigothic ally, the harbinger of peace to Roman Spain. And when some fifty years later the Imperial authority gave place to that of the Visigoths under Euric, it was rather a change of Government than a conquest by a foreign power.

Thus to the Visigoths of Spain were given enormous opportunities and ample means of founding a prosperous and an enduring Commonwealth. Treated from their first arrival in the country as friends rather than as foes, they entered into

the peaceful occupation of the richest provinces of the Roman world, and they divided their broad lands[1] with what yet remained of one of the noblest races that was absorbed into the Roman Empire.

For nearly 300 years nine-tenths of the Peninsula remained undisturbed by foreign invasion; and while the rare violations of the frontier[2] were at all times promptly repelled, prudence or weakness forbade retaliation, and the blood and treasure of the country were never at any time wasted in foreign wars. The country, too, enjoyed from the days of Wallia to the days of Roderic the inestimable advantage of political unity. The State was never divided, like that of the neighbouring Franks, into rival and often hostile kingdoms, with their endless civil wars and family disputes, amalgamations, divisions and revolutions. Spain, with its fertile soil, its varied climate, its noble rivers, its extensive seaboard, its inexhaustible mines, and its hardy and frugal population, was the richest inheritance of the Gothic race. Yet, after three centuries of undisputed enjoyment, their rule was overthrown at once and for ever by a handful of marauders from Africa. The Goth had neglected all his opportunities, despised all his advantages, heeded no warnings. He had been weighed in the balance and found wanting; and his kingdom was taken from him—for he had shown himself unfit for power.

Of all the various systems of Government that have been attempted on this earth, theocracy, or more properly hierocracy, is undoubtedly one of the very worst. And in all circumstances and conditions where the priest and the confessor usurp the authority that properly belongs to the magistrate and to the man, disaster is the inevitable result.[3] From the death of Reccared to the death of Roderic, the government of Spain was a theocracy, tempered by revolution.

The military spirit, the personal courage and love of arms

[1] Two-thirds to the Visigoths and one-third to the Romans. *Leges Wisigothorum*, lib. x., tit. 1, 3, 6, 9, and lib. v., tit. 4, 19. See Fustel de Coulanges, *Problèmes d' Histoire* (1891), pp. 289, 99.

[2] Principally in Septimania or the Narbonensis. The invaders rarely crossed the Pyrenees. It is, however, a most remarkable fact that so tempting and so exposed a province as Gothic Gaul should have been so long preserved to the Visigothic monarchy of Spain.

[3] It is only fair to add that the decadence of the Visigoths may be traced even farther back to the elective character of their monarchy which made it impossible for the king to punish the excesses and extortions of the nobles, and threw the power into the hands of the bishops and councils which made such bad use of it.—H.

which had before all things distinguished the Goths of the fifth century, had in the seventh century entirely disappeared. The military system devised by the prudent Wamba, to supply the place of the old national spirit, had been destroyed, almost as soon as it was established, by the Churchmen whose power it threatened. The new national spirit had as yet not been created. The kings, ruled by the bishops, had nothing in common with the people who despised or the nobles who assassinated them. The nobles, inordinately wealthy, idle, dissolute, unwarlike, unrefined, lived lives of luxury and ease, whose aimless monotony was only broken by occasional rebellion. Alaric and Viriatus were both alike forgotten. The Cid had not yet been imagined. Spain was not yet a nation.

The absence of anything like the feudal system made the position of the great landholders entirely false, their wealth without a justification, their estates without a reason, their lives without an object. If the lord had no influence, the labourer had no hope. A slave in fact, if not in name, he found the Gothic serfdom as oppressive and scarcely less demoralising than the Roman servitude. The Christian bondage, indeed, was more odious, in that it was more incongruous.[1] The bishops were among the largest slave-holders in the realm; and baptised Christians were bought and sold without a blush by the successors of St. Paul and Santiago. Kings without power, nobles without influence, a clergy already corrupt, a people not yet free—it was a poor result of three hundred years of dominion. If the Provincials of Honorius were a people of taxgatherers and bankrupts, the subjects of Roderic were a nation of priests and slaves.

Thus had the Roman and the Visigoth alike fallen into decay. The glory of their Imperial dominion, the pride of their Gothic liberty, had alike departed. The successors of the Celtiberians had become a population without patriotism, without part or lot in the welfare of the country in which they lived. Harassed by wars which brought them no glory, and by revolutions which brought them no freedom: abandoned by Gothic kings to Romish ecclesiastics, the great body of the nation was ready to exchange the double yoke of their inglorious

[1] Neither the serf nor the slave could marry without the consent of his lord. If an unauthorised marriage was discovered, husband and wife were separated by force, a provision more savage than that of the older Roman law. See *post*, Appendix to this volume, "The Laws of the Visigoths". See also Muñoz, *Del estado de las personas en los reinos de Asturias and Leon;* and Dozy, *Histoire*, tom. ii., 20-25.

oppressors for the Imperial liberty which they found under the Arab.

The weakest spot in the Visigothic monarchy was the absence of the hereditary right of the kings;[1] and although in many instances a powerful sovereign was able to ensure the succession of one of his sons, the elective principle was too valuable a weapon both in the hands of the nobles and in the hands of the Churchmen, to be suffered to fall into decay. Chosen at first only by the free Visigoths, the kings gradually accepted the position that the approval of the Council was necessary to validate their election, and in the time of such royal puppets as Sisebut, Sisenand, and Chintila, the Council ruled the king: the bishops not only ruled, but constituted the Council. Thus an elective monarchy and a celibate priesthood deprived the State of that stability of government and that regularity of administration which are among the most certain advantages of the hereditary system. Had the kingdom of the Visigoths descended as of right from father to son, the kings would have been independent of the great metropolitans, and the nobles would not have been tempted to flatter the bishops, in the hope of being able to supplant the king.[2] But as things were ordered, the entire power passed into the hands of a great ecclesiastical hierarchy—a priesthood, ignorant and irresponsible, under the orders of a supreme episcopate, ambitious, eager, arrogant, lusting after temporal power.

For the Councils[3] which play so large a part in the domestic history of the times, had nothing of the popular, or even of the aristocratic in their composition, but were merely assemblies of

[1] See Dahn, *op. cit.*, vol. v., *passim.*

[2] Of the thirteen kings who reigned from Alaric to Athanagild, 411-554, no less than eleven died violent deaths; two were killed in battle, nine were murdered by their subjects.

[3] A list of the principal Councils of Visigothic Spain may be useful for reference: Illiberis, 306 (?); Saragossa I., 380; Toledo I., 400; Tarragona, 516; Gerona, 517; Toledo II., 527; Lerida, 546; Valencia, 546; Braga I., 561; Braga II., 572; Toledo III., 580; Narbonne, 589; Seville I., 590; Saragossa II., 592; Seville II., 619; Toledo IV., 633; Toledo V., 636; Toledo VI., 638; Toledo VII., 646; Toledo VIII., 653; Toledo IX., 655; Toledo X., 656; Merida, 666; Toledo XI., 675; Braga III., 675; Toledo XII., 681; Toledo XIII., 683; Toledo XIV., 684; Toledo XV., 688; Saragossa III., 691; Toledo XVI., 693; Toledo XVII., 694; Toledo XVIII., 701 or 702. Of these sixteen assemblies six only included a single layman among their members. The eighth Council of Toledo included 17, the ninth 4, the twelfth 15, the thirteenth 26, the fifteenth 17, and the sixteenth 16, See Montalembert, *op. cit.*, iii., 210-12; Geddes' *Tracts*, vol. ii.; Masdeu, xi., 232, 58; Lafuente, ii., lib. iii., cap. 8; *Eng. Hist. Review* (1887), pp. 209, 232, 234; and *Esp. Sag.*, ii., 197-203, and vi., 50.

Churchmen, together with a few Palatines or officers of the king's court,[1] instituted in the first instance for the discussion of religious and doctrinal questions, and gradually invested, by the personal weakness and doubtful authority of successive monarchs, with immense political and legislative power.

At the opening of the eighth century, Spain had no industry, no commerce, no arms.[2] Not even letters had survived. For the Catholic Church discouraged, if it did not actually prohibit, the study of polite literature.[3] Virgil and Homer, Tacitus and Livy were Pagans and Atheists, and their works were unprofitable and impious. The study of natural science or of medicine, the development of manufactures or of industry, the cultivation of the arts—these were equally unedifying to the devout Catholic. That sublime manifestation of "poetry in stone" so strangely called Gothic architecture, is not only not Visigothic, but it was unknown in Spain for over four hundred years after the destruction of the Goths. And although the great province is still covered with the glorious remains of Roman constructive art, there is scarcely found trace or fragment of the rude architecture of the Visigoths to tell of their dominion in the Peninsula.[4]

Vitoria is the one existing city that was founded by these[5] sojourners of three hundred years, and the very name it bears is anything but Gothic. For strangest, perhaps, of all the many

[1] The Palatine nobles, members of the royal household, and dukes, who formed part of the later councils, were not allowed to vote on ecclesiastical questions; and the common people, who had a right to be present, were there only as witnesses. The Palatine officers were: the *Comes Thesaurorum*, or treasurer; the *Comes Patrimonii*, administrator of the Crown estates; the *Comes Notariorum*, the king's secretary; the *Comes Spartariorum*, captain of the body guard; the *Scanciarum*, the master of the household; the *Cubiculi*, the chamberlain; the *Stabuli*, or constable of the palace; and the *Comes Exercitum*, commander-in-chief.—H.

[2] Dahn, *ubi supra*, p. 225-6.

[3] Hallam, *Middle Ages*, iii., 269, 270, 275; Lecky, *European Morals*, ii., 222; Milman, *Latin Christianity*, ix., 4.

[4] And what there is, is of the poorest and meanest character. See Ponz, *Viaje de España*, vol. i. "Ya que no exista hoy edificio alguno de los construidos por los Godos en nuestro suelo—será por eso imposible formar idea de la architectura en ellos empleada?" José Caveda, *Ensayo sobre la Architectura*, ed. 1849, p. 65.

[5] *Vitoria* is said by Ford to be derived from the Basque *Beturia*=a height. The Latin *Victoriacum* is more obvious. See Marieta, *Tratado de las Fundaciones de Ciudades*, etc. (Cuenca, 1596), pp. 43-52. In any case the name is not Gothic, although the city was almost certainly founded by Leovgild as a permanent military station after one of his *victories* over the Suevi, and is said to have been first named by him after his son Reccared. The Vandals may have given their name to Andalusia. See *post*, Appendix IV.; and Septimania was at one time known as Gothia, but the name did not long endure. See Freeman, *Hist. Geog.*, pp. 90 and 154.

signs of decay and loss of national life, the Visigoths, by the end of the seventh century, had well nigh lost their own language. And thus only may be explained the truly wonderful fact that while every town and river and headland in southern Spain, even at the close of the nineteenth century, recalls the dominion of the long banished and still hated Arab, not a word is to be found in the local nomenclature of Castile, nor yet of the Asturias, to tell the tale of the Visigoth.[1]

When Atawulf first crossed the Pyrenees at the head of the Visigoths, Latin was already the language of the Roman Diocese. When Roderic threw away his crown on the banks of the Guadalete, Latin was still the language of the Visigothic kingdom. The Gothic tongue had been absorbed by the Roman.

The earlier kings, of course, spoke the language of their forefathers, although they must all have been well acquainted with the Latin. But by the end of the sixth century the Imperial language of old Rome was rapidly taking the place of the vernacular of the new masters of the country; and if Gothic was still the mother tongue of Leovgild, Latin was certainly the language of Reccared.[2] The inscriptions during the entire period are in Latin. The works of every writer, it need hardly be added, were composed in the same language. And not only were the writers themselves, without exception, orthodox or Romish ecclesiastics,[3] but only one of the number is even supposed to have been a Goth. This was John of Biclara, who spent the flower of his life—seventeen years at

[1] Garibay remarks shrewdly enough that of the so-called Gothic kings in Spain, who reigned in the ever-growing north-west after the coming of the Moslem, *not one* bore a name that had been borne by any of the Visigothic sovereigns from Alaric to Roderic inclusive. Every name was of Latin origin; and the first Pelayo or *Pelagius* has moreover a distinctly heretical flavour. See Romey, iii., 151. By a strange accident indeed the name "Visigoth" has given rise to our word *Bigot* —a word meaning in the old French *detested foreigner* or *heretic*. To the Catholic Franks, of course, the Visigoths of southern Gaul or Spain were objects of bitter hatred both on religious and worldly grounds. See Henry Bradley, *The Goths*, p. 329. *Cf.* Littré, *Dict.*, *sub* BIGOT. Littré is inclined to favour this derivation. It is worthy of note that *Bigote* in modern Spanish means, not a bigot, but a moustache; and that even in the figurative sense a *hombre de bigotes* is used to signify, not a fanatic, but a strong-minded man.

[2] See Dahn, *ubi supra*, vol. vi., p. 170.

[3] The following are the principal Spanish writers during the Visigothic occupation: Paulus Orosius, 380-420; Idatius, 390-470; Johannes Biclarensis, 540-620; Maximus of Saragossa, 550-619; Isidore of Seville, 560-636; Ildenfonsus, 610-667; Isidore Pacensis, 700-755. The last, more commonly known as Isidore of Beja, is supposed by M. Dozy (*Recherches*, i., pp. 2-16) to have been a native of Cordova, and neither a bishop nor an inhabitant of Pax Julia. But his chronicle is of the utmost value.

least—at Constantinople, and who always speaks of that city as his true capital, the *urbs regia* of his country. From Alaric to Leovgild, no doubt, the German and the Roman tongue strove, like all else that was Roman and German, for the mastery in Gothic Spain. But the issue was never doubtful. The language of the Court and the Church, of the Forum and the Compter, of what refinement and of what industry were still left in the country, the language of every tradition of earthly greatness, and every hope of heavenly happiness, prevailed over its rival; and the Latin, hardly displaced by the Gothic occupation in the days of Honorius, reasserted its Imperial power in the days of Gregory.[1]

But a nation without a national language is doomed; a state without a state language is dead. Latin was the mother tongue of the Romish Church of Spain; but the Visigothic state was speechless. The kingdom, like Wamba, had been shorn and habited by the ecclesiastical power, and the kingdom, like the king, disappeared at the touch of the aggressor.[2]

[1] It should not be forgotten, however, that the Latin-speaking races in the Peninsula were always much more numerous than the Goths; and just as the Normans gradually merged their speech in that of the subject Saxon race in England, the Goths in Spain followed the universal rule of speaking the tongue of the larger number of the inhabitants of the country in which they lived. It must be added also that the Latin had become much modified during the Gothic domination, and had assumed much of the character of modern Spanish before the invasion of Taric, as instance the language of the *Fuero Juzgo* promulgated by Egica.—H.

[2] An exhaustive account of the Visigoths and other *German* races in Spain, treating not only of historical events, but of the political life, domestic quarrels, the immense and baneful authority of the Church, the influence of the Franks, and a hundred other matters will be found in Dahn's great work, *Die Könige der Germanen*, vols. v. and vi., pp. 1-246 and 1-631, which have been my constant guide in the composition of this and the preceding chapters.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MOSLEM CONQUEST.

(711—788).

I.—*Taric.*

The story of the Mohammedan conquest of Spain is in itself a romance. Nor is it surprising that so sudden and so startling an overthrow should have been productive of many and strange legends among the vanquished Visigoths. When the rude discipline of adversity had developed a new spirit in the new nation that was formed in the hospitable mountains of the north-west, the bravery of the sons was attributed to the fathers in many a glowing tale. But Alfonso ruled over a handful of free Spaniards. Roderic had been followed by a mixed multitude of slaves. The romance of the invasion has been sung by Christian poets; yet the glory of the conquest—and it was the glory of easy victory—was wholly on the side of Islam. The hero of the story is the gallant Taric,[1] whose name, less celebrated than that of his contemptible antagonist, lives, and will ever live embedded in that of the great rock on whose shore he first landed in Spain,[2] and which has, for nigh on two hundred years, formed one of the most cherished possessions of Spain's greatest and only rival for the empire of the world.

Nothing could have been less ambitious than the first steps of the Arabs towards the conquest of Spain. Invited or not by Count Julian, a little band of some five hundred marauders, under the Arab Tarif, crossed the straits from Africa in four small vessels, and landed at the spot where the delightful town of Tarifa perpetuates the name and the memory of the leader of the band. Tarif plundered Carteia, or Algeciras, and having

[1] A *Tuerto*, like Hannibal, and Sertorius, and the first Abdur Rahman.

[2] *Gebel Taric*—the hill of Taric=Gibraltar.

explored, without opposition, and with much success in the way of plunder, the surrounding country, he returned to Africa, bringing with him welcome news of the riches and the defenceless condition of the land to the north of the straits. Thus informed and encouraged, Musa, the Vali or governor of Arab Tingitana, gave his consent to another foray, greedy of further spoils. And so it came to pass that in the ever memorable year 711, a little army of Berbers and Arabs, led by a subordinate general, Taric, who had been entrusted with the conduct of the expedition, landed at the foot of the rock of Calpe. King Roderic was in the north of the Peninsula, but he hastened to the defence of his kingdom. The result we all know. An army of sixty thousand men, headed by the sovereign in person, and with every advantage of locality, of supply, of means of transport, was promptly routed by a band of Moslem marauders. Taric saw the greatness of his opportunity.[1] He divided his little army into three bands, and pressed forward to overrun the entire Peninsula of Spain.

The invasion was crowned with the most astonishing success. City after city opened its gates at the summons of the Moor, and in a few months from his victory on the banks of the Guadalete,[2] the kingdom of the Visigoths had ceased to exist.

[1] For an exhaustive review of the various dates assigned to the landing of Taric, see Gayangos, vol. i., pp. 521-2, and notes. Don Pascual sums up as follows: "I may, therefore, advance without fear of contradiction, that the landing of Taric on the rock of Gibraltar, took place on Thursday, 30th of April, A.D. 711 (8th Rejeb, A.H. 92)".

[2] The Guadalete—the Chrysos of the Greeks and Romans—is a little river that flows near the modern town of Xerez. The etymology of Guadalete is very uncertain: Guada, or Wady, is simple enough: but whether *lete* is the Greek *Lethe*, as Lope de Vega and Southey would suggest, or an extraordinary development of *Beker*, by which name, according to Makkari, the river was known to the Arabs, and which survives in the modern *Beger* de la Frontera, a village near the Laguna de Janda, or whether it is simply *leded*=delight, the critics are unable to determine. See Gayangos, i., 524-6, and notes 63, 66, and 67; Dozy, *Recherches*, i., 314-316; Casiri, ii., 183; *España Sagrada*, ix., 53; Lope de Vega, *Jerusalem Conquistada*, lib. vi., 136; Southey, *Don Roderic*, note *ad hoc;* Ford (1878), 330. Don Pascual Gayangos considers that the engagement took place nearer Medina Sidonia than Xerez, *i.e.*, nearer the landing-place of the invader.

Since this chapter and note were written, my attention has been called to a notice of a work *Estudios sobre la invasion de los Arabes en España*, by D. Eduardo Saavedra (Madrid, 1893), in which it is maintained—and according to Señor Riaño, with complete success—that the battle which decided the fate of Spain was fought, not in 711, but in 714, not on the banks of the Guadalete, but on the Barbate, near Medina Sidonia. I have not, unfortunately, been able to procure the book up to the moment of going to press. Anything that Señor Riaño writes is worthy of respect, and I must only refer to his review in *The Athenæum* (No. 3427), of July, 1893.

Taric had been reinforced shortly before the battle by some 5000 Berbers,

A Moorish captain, at the head of but 700 Berbers, surprised and occupied Cordova. Archidona, Malaga, Elvira, all surrendered to the Arab. Taric pressed on to Toledo. The Gothic nobility fled at his approach, and the royal city opened her gates to the invader. Such was the eagerness of submission and treaty, that the governor of Cordova is recorded as the *only* chief who fell, without conditions, a prisoner into the hands of the Saracens.[1]

The bishops disappeared. The people were indifferent. Spain was abandoned to the Arab. It was something more than a conquest. It was a social revolution. The Jews were avenged of their persecutors. The slave was set free. The old things indeed had passed away. All things had as in a moment become new. What was the long struggle of the barbarian hosts three centuries before to the lightning success of this handful of invaders?

In the early summer of 712, Musa, jealous of the splendid and all unexpected success of his lieutenant, crossed the straits with an army of 18,000 or 20,000 men, and marched northwards to join Taric at Toledo. Carmona, Seville and many other cities promptly submitted at his summons. The reduction of Merida alone delayed for a moment the progress of his arms. But honourable terms of capitulation were soon accepted, and Merida enjoyed the clemency of the victors.

The meeting between Musa and Taric is said to have been stormy and acrimonious. But no military jealousy induced the Arab to check in any way the career of conquest upon which his Moorish lieutenant had already entered. Invested with a more ample authority, Taric was suffered to continue his northward march, and he hastened to the siege and capture of Saragossa, no longer to be *Cæsarea Augusta*, but *Medina Saracusta*, at all times a brave and noble city. Thus the wave of Moslem conquest spread unchecked over the country. Not even at remote Astorga did the fugitive Visigoths stand against the invader. The province retained its independence, but the capital submitted at the approach of Taric, in the early spring of 713; while Musa, taking an easterly course, reduced Huesca, Lerida, Tarragona, Barcelona and Gerona. Nor would the Pyrenees have been the limit of Musa's victorious career, had

but his entire force did not exceed 12,000 men. The army under Roderic is variously estimated at 60,000 or 90,000 men. Taric, like so many other invaders, is said to have burned his ships as soon as he had landed on the shores of Spain.

[1] Gibbon, chapter li.

not a messenger from the Caliph met him at Lugo in Gallicia, with orders to repair at once to Damascus. He heard but to obey; and leaving his eldest son, Abdul Aziz, to administer Spain in his absence, the Amir turned his horse's head sadly to the southward, and submitted himself to the will of the Commander of the Faithful.

Abdul Aziz, on the departure of his father, was opposed with but little success in southern Spain by Theodemir, a Christian noble, who had assumed, on the death of Roderic, the title of king of the Visigoths. Completely defeated and driven from his vantage ground among the hills of Murcia, Theodemir fled for refuge to the fortified town of Orihuela. Fortifications he found—but no garrison; walls—but no defenders. None but the women were left in the city, and boldly did these Murcian ladies play their part. Dressed and armed like soldiers, these gallant dames took their places on the battlements; and the advancing Moors, deceived by the brave show of defenders, accorded to Theodemir honourable terms of capitulation. So pleased indeed was Abdul Aziz with the boldness of the stratagem, and at the confidence displayed by Theodemir, who had entered his camp, attended only by a single page, to seek favourable conditions of peace, that he recognised the Gothic chieftain as titular king or governor of all Murcia, a province ever after known to the Arabs as Theodemir's land, or the country of Tadmir.[1]

Abdul Aziz held his court at Seville: and his marriage with the beautiful Egilona, who was certainly a Christian, and who is said to have been the widow of Roderic, gave striking proof of the liberality of his feelings towards the subject race. Egilona was permitted to retain her own religion; and the unaccustomed honour in which she was held by her husband and his courtiers is said to have aroused the indignation of many true believers.

But if the conquerors were considerate to the conquered, the Commander of the Faithful was merciless to the conquerors.

[1] Four hundred years after the death of Theodemir, his territories of Murcia and Carthagena are called by Al Edrisi (154-6) by the name of Tadmir. Bourguignon d'Anville, *Etats formés en Europe*, etc. (1771), tom. iii., p. 174; Gibbon, chap. li.; Gayangos, ii., 30, 31. Casiri causes some confusion by translating Tadmir as if it were the Arabic word *Palmir*, and making Murcia not the land of Theodemir, but the land of palms. The treaty was signed 4 Rajab, A.H. 94—equivalent to 13th April, 713. The boundaries of the Gothic province would seem to have included not only Alicante and Valencia, but Orihuela. See Gayangos, ii., 30, 31; Lafuente, iii., 33, 34.

Fortune has ever been most fickle in the East. Taric the Berber was the hero of the conquest of Spain; and he deserved the gratitude and support of the Caliph; and Taric, though recalled, was not unjustly treated. But Musa the Arab found scant justice and no mercy at the hands of his sovereign. Within a few days of his arrival at Damascus, he was deprived of his command, stripped of his wealth, reviled, beaten, disgraced. Nay, more, the sins of the father were visited upon the innocent son, and the amiable Abdul Aziz met his death in his palace at Seville, at the hands of a dark messenger from Damascus.[1]

In the place of the unhappy Musa, and on the death of his yet more unhappy son, the Caliph appointed Abdur Rahman,[2] the Arab, to be Amir or governor of Spain in 721. This able and vigorous ruler distinguished himself from the first, not only by his strict justice, but by the indulgence that he showed to the conquered Christians. He replaced certain venal and oppressive *Cadis* by judges of probity and honour, and showed himself, we are told, more particularly scrupulous in confirming the Christians in the peaceful possession of their old places of worship. In every department of the state he proved himself honest, vigorous and enlightened. At length having established his government, not without having had to overcome much factious opposition at home, he sought to win greater glory abroad; and he carried his victorious forces across the Pyrenees, and overran the fertile plains of Gaul. A defeat under the walls of Toulouse did not check the onward course of the Moslems, who occupied successively Narbonne, Carcassonne, Beziers, Magalona, Nismes, Lyons; and penetrated even as far as Autun in Burgundy. But the ever famous victory of Charles Martel between Poictiers and Tours, in 732, over a mixed host of Arabs and Berbers, checked for ever the career of Islam in north-western Europe.[3]

[1] Gayangos, ii., 30, 31, and Appendix A.

[2] He must not be compared with the Ommeyad Abdur Rahman, first *Amir* of Cordova, in 755.

[3] The vanity of the Gallic writers has magnified the success of Charles Martel over a plundering expedition of the Spanish Arabs (732), into a marvellous victory and attributed the deliverance of Europe from the Saracen yoke to the valour of the Franks. But it was the defeat of the great army of Saracens before Constantinople by Leo III. (718), which first averted the torrent of Mohammedan conquest; although Europe refuses her gratitude to the iconoclastic hero who averted the greatest religious, political and ethnological revolution with which she has ever been threatened. Finlay's *Hist. of Greece*, ii., 19. See on the same point, Bury, *Later Roman Empire;* Guizot, *Hist. of France*, tom. i., chap. ix., and Ranke, *Hist. of the Reformation in Germany*, i., p. 5.

Abdur Rahman was slain in battle. The Saracens abandoned all their conquests in Gaul. Yet the victors did not venture to pursue the vanquished across the Pyrenees. Nor was the defeat of the Moslems at Tours so disastrous but that in a few months they were able to resume their advance; and their progress was arrested only by renewed dissensions among themselves—not only among the leaders of the Spanish army in Europe, but among the aspirants for the Caliphate in Asia. Another Amir was promptly chosen in the place of Abdur Rahman; and Spain at least prospered under the genial government of the Arab, and continued to flourish in spite of the constant feuds and constant changes of the new rulers of the country.

II.—*The Mozarabs.*

The greater part of the Peninsula had accepted the Moslem empire without striking a blow; and the inhabitants, as a rule, who had peaceably submitted to the inevitable, were suffered to remain in full possession of their lands and property of every description. In the districts conquered by the invaders by actual force of arms, one-fifth part was reserved for the royal treasury, and the remainder was divided among the victorious soldiery. In the towns, as a rule, the inhabitants[1] were left in possession of their houses, on payment of the *jizia,* or the tax that is due by every free non-Moslem subject of a Moslem government, in return for the protection of the state. And in every case the free exercise of their religion was allowed to the conquered Christians.

The expedition of Taric, it must ever be remembered, was not a national, nor even a state enterprise. It was rather a piratical foray, not Arab, but African, hardly approved by the Commander of the Faithful, and undertaken without any preconcerted plan of military operations. The conquest was, in fact, a magnificent accident. It was not a victorious invasion by a great power, but an unexpected occupation by

[1] Dozy, *Recherches*, i., 78-89. The *Mozarabs* were Christians who lived under the rule and protection of the Moslems. Various etymologies have been suggested, most of them very far-fetched. See Gayangos, i., 142 and 420; Viardot, *Essai*, i., 69-70. Dozy and Engelmann, in their excellent *Glossaire*, do not give so clear an explanation as that for which I am indebted to my friend Mr. A. G. Ellis, of the British Museum, *viz.*, that the word is a participial form (tenth conjugation) of the verb-root, *arb*, signifying "One who has become *Arabized*". See also McGuckin de Slane, *Histoire des Berbères*, i., introduction, p. 3.

an army of independent tribes; and the jealousies and rivalries of the tribesmen among themselves, Arabs, Berbers, Africans, Syrians and Egyptians, was one of the necessary evils of the situation. Every good Moslem owed a nominal allegiance to Damascus; but the tribes were really independent, envious and even hostile among themselves, kept together in their enterprise only by the vigorous and lively faith of each individual soldier in God and His prophet, and by the true belief of each individual Moslem in the brotherhood of Islam.

In the first forty years after the coming of Taric and Musa, no less than twenty Amirs bore rule at different times in Spain. The suzerainty of Damascus was ineffective. The supremacy of Africa was disastrous; for Africa was ever a hot-bed of intrigue and sedition; and the Berber or Moorish *marabout* had come to exercise a more potent influence over a credulous people than a tribal chief or even an Arab governor could ever hope to acquire. The Berbers[1] in Andalusia, always closely in touch with their kin across the sea, were quick to feel the influence of every revolution—and revolutions were many in Africa. The Berbers in Europe, moreover, had good cause to be jealous of the share of the spoils of Spain that had been appropriated by their Arab allies. In 741, accordingly, the Moors who were quartered in southern Gallicia, at Merida, at Soria, and in all the central regions of Spain, took up arms and set their faces to go to the southern coast, whence they might take ship, and cross the straits, to join their compatriots in Barbary. The situation was full of peril, and it was faced with courage and skill by the reigning Amir. Yet peace was only attained after a new and general division of the conquered territories, by assigning to each tribe of the contending conquerors the district which most nearly resembled the native land of the tribesmen; an ingenious and most reasonable scheme, which the great variety of soil and climate, of mountain and valley and plain in every part of the Peninsula rendered possible in the new country of the Moslem.[2] In this way the Egyptian contingent was settled in Murcia, which they named *Misr* or Egypt; the men of Palestine found a home in the mountain regions near Ronda and Medina Sidonia,

[1] "The *marabouts*—Moslem saints or missionaries—among the Berbers, were responsible for most of the later changes that took place in north Africa; they set up the *Fatimites*, sent the *Almoravides* victorious through Barbary and Spain, and then put them down by the Almohades." S. Lane Poole, *Moors in Spain*, 54.

[2] Gayangos, ii., 46; Dozy, *Recherches*, i., cap. ii.; Lafuente, iii., 83-5.

which might recall their home in the Lebanon; those who had once pastured their flocks in the valley of the Jordan, were established between Malaga and Archidona, on the banks of the Guadalhorce; the large and important tribes from Yemen obtained grants in the neighbourhood of Seville, Ubeda and Guadix; the Arabs from Palmyra were settled in the north-east of Murcia and the region round about Almeria, while the proud and cultured Syrian of Damascus found a home and an abiding place on the banks of the Xenil, in the rich and beautiful Vega of Elvira,[1] which became famous, beyond all the regions of Spain, as the kingdom or province of Granada.

Spain had been conquered by the Berber Taric, the dark-skinned freedman of the Arab Musa, with his 12,000 African marauders. Musa, the Arab, had been disgraced. His son had been slain; and for a quarter of a century the Peninsula was virtually ruled by the swart and savage Africans, or Berbers, who are known in history by the somewhat uncertain name of the Moors. But the supreme government of the country was in the hands of a nobler race.

In spite of the jealousies of the contending tribesmen and the intrigues of hostile faction, in spite of frequent rebellion and threats of civil war, the Arab ruler did not neglect the arts of peace. The subject population gradually emerged from slavery, and throve greatly under the just and enlightened sway of the Amirs. The taxes were light. The laws were simple. The noble oppressors had fled away to the mountains, where the Arab could not or did not pursue them. The bishops and many of the clergy had followed them in

[1] For the Basque etymology of Illiberis (Elvira), see W. Webster, *Spain*, p. 71. Elvira and Granada (*Garnatha*), appear to have both been called *Damascus* by the early Moslem settlers, that is, if they are not one and the same place. See Abulfeda (ed. Paris, 1848), p. 253. M. Dozy, *Recherches*, tom. i., pp. 328-333, considers that Elvira and *Castella* are the same place.

The etymology of Granada is doubtful. Before the invasion of Spain by the Arabs, a small town of Phœnician origin, known as *Karnattah*, existed near Illiberis (Elvira) and probably on the site of the more modern city of Granada. The syllable *Kar* would, in Phœnician, signify a town. The meaning of *nattah* is unknown. Gayangos, i., 347; Casiri, *Bib. Ar. Hisp. Esc.*, ii., 251; Conde, *Hist. Dom.*, i., pp. 37-51. The supposition that the city owes its name to its resemblance to a ripe pomegranate (*granata*) is clearly inadmissable. As in the case of Leon, the device was adopted in consequence of its appropriateness to an existing name—although the modern city of Granada is probably not older than 1020. Moreover, the Arabic word for a pomegranate is *Romàn;* and *Soto de Roma*, the name of the Duke of Wellington's estate in Andalusia, means the wood of the pomegranates, and an *Ensalada romana* is not a *Roman* but a pomegranate salad. See Pedaza, *Hist. Eccl. de Granada* (1618), fol. 21-22; Romey, *Hist.*, i., 474-5.

their retreat. The Jews, the richest, the most enlightened, the most learned of the old inhabitants of Spain, were not only tolerated, but highly honoured by the new rulers. The Jews, indeed, had probably invited and had certainly welcomed the Arabs into Spain. They had assisted the invaders in their early struggles, and had furnished garrisons for many southern cities when the main body of the Moslem army was pressing forward to occupy the more northern districts. And they were not forgotten by the victors when the Moslem occupation was complete.[1] Yet cruelly injured as they had been by the kings and councils of the Visigoths, the Jews were generous in the hour of their victory; and we hear no word of Christians, lay or ecclesiastic, being persecuted by Jews in the day of their power and their influence at the court of the Moslem. Nor did the Christians suffer in any way, on account of their religion, at the hands of the Moors. Many Romans and Visigoths embraced Islam, aspiring to positions of honour or profit in the State. The slave who pronounced the *Kalmah*[2] secured his immediate freedom; but those who set their Christianity above honour or profit were at liberty not only to maintain their ancient faith, but to profess and follow it in public. Churches were retained by the Christians in every city of the Peninsula; and Mass was celebrated day by day, according to the Gothic ritual,[3] under the protection of the Moslem authorities. The only burden to which the Christian or Mozarab was exposed, from which the True Believer was free, was that of a small annual tribute or poll tax. In every other respect not only perfect toleration but nominal equality was the rule of the Arab in Spain.[4] In the early days of the

[1] Among the public functionaries under the Ommeyad Caliphs of Cordova, we find one who bore the title of *Kátib of protection*, who was charged with the special protection of the persons and interests of Jews and Christians, "and it may be said without exaggeration that, so long as this office existed, no Christian nor Jew ever needed the assistance of the great," Gayangos, ii., 102-111.

[2] In full *Kalimatu'sh shahádat*, the creed of Islam. The entire sentence does not occur in the Koran. But the first clause known as *náfi wa isbát*, the rejection and the affirmation, in verse 21 of chapter xlvii.; and the second clause in verse 29 of chapter xlviii. For the somewhat similar affirmation or declaration of the Hebrews, see Deuteronomy vi. 4.

[3] The Romish Missal did not take the place of the Gothic until over four hundred years later. See *post*, chapter xxii.

[4] See Dozy, *Recherches*, tom. i., pp. 78-89. As to the liberty and prosperity enjoyed by the Spanish Christians under the Moslem Caliphs of Cordova, see Viardot, *Essai*, i., 67-75, where it is justly remarked that our admiration for the tolerance displayed by the Spanish Moslems should be the greater when we

occupation, even when the invader was speeding, sword in hand, throughout the country, the general order to the Moslem soldiery was to spare at all times those who offered no resistance. And the Christian writers are compelled to admit that these instructions were almost invariably carried out. The tardy recognition of the supremacy of the earlier invaders, no doubt, had been more than once visited with hasty slaughter. The over-demonstrative profession of an intolerant Catholicism was to be the signal, in later days, for outbreaks of an enraged Islam. But from the time that the country was fairly settled, the Christian Spaniard not only enjoyed personal and religious freedom, but he attended the public ministrations of his own priests; he was governed, as far as he chose, by his own laws, interpreted by his own judges; and on the whole, the new rule was one of peace, of prosperity and of justice.

III.—*Abdur Rahman.*

From 661 to 750, fourteen Caliphs of the Ommeyad dynasty had ruled the Moslem world from Damascus. Es Seffah, the first of the Abbaside dynasty, which supplanted them, removed his capital to far-famed Bagdad; and the Caliphate continued in his family until the breaking up of the great Mohammedan Empire by the Mongols in 1258. The most distinguished member of the deposed family of the Ommeyads in 744 was the youth Abdur Rahman, a true hero of romance. A fugitive from childhood; ever in danger from Abbaside spies and pursuers, sheltered by wandering tribes, concealed by villagers, he escaped death a hundred times and in a hundred ways, until at length he found himself, not yet twenty-one years of age, a guest rather than a refugee among the Berbers of northern Africa.

Abdur Rahman was a youth of noble stature and bearing, brave, energetic, generous, marked out by fortune for fame. Like Hannibal and Sertorius and Taric, he was blind of an eye; and like Hannibal and Taric and Sertorius, he turned his thoughts towards Spain. The dissensions among the Arab chiefs in the Peninsula, the remoteness of Bagdad, his own more than royal birth and reputation, all were in his favour.

remember that *ils étaient alors dans la première fureur d'une croyance nouvelle; dans le premier enthousiasme de la victoire.*

A discreet envoy from Barbary to Andalusia made the most of his great opportunities; and in September, 755, the young prince, not only invited, but awaited with feverish anxiety, and welcomed with national acclamation, landed near the mouth of the great river,[1] and proceeded to set up his new Government at Seville.

In the early spring of the next year, he had established himself at Cordova, which continued for 400 years to be the splendid capital of the Amirs and Caliphs of Spain. Of the various battles and skirmishes between the Ommeyad prince and his various foes—Abbaside and Yemenite, Berber and Christian—no more need be said but that the Arab did not neglect the arts of war. A powerful and efficient navy was constructed by his orders, and the brave commander of the fleet, Taman ben Alkama, took the title of *Amir el Mar*, the first admiral of Spain.[2]

The uniform success that attended the arms of Abdur Rahman were marked by a single reverse, the loss of Narbonne, which, after forty years of Moslem domination, succumbed in 761 to the assaults of Pepin, the son of Charles Martel, and the father of Charlemagne. Thus was the last of the possessions of the Arab to the north of the Pyrenees re-occupied by the Christians in less than forty years after the first Berber had landed his troops on the southern coasts of Spain.

Thirty-two glorious years are included in the reign of the first Abdur Rahman at Cordova, and in this brief space of time were laid the foundations of the greatness of the Moorish Empire in Spain. When the great Amir died, in 788,[3] the kingdom of Cordova was already one of the most powerful, and certainly by far the most enlightened Commonwealth in Europe.

Abdur Rahman was an autocrat, kind-hearted, judicious, merciful; quick of perception, but never hasty in action; generous in his approbation, refined in his tastes, stern in his anger, untiring in his labour for the State. Impatient of all opposition to his designs, easy of access to the poor and humble, a relentless judge of the rich and oppressive, and a munificent

[1] Wady el Kebir = Guadalquivir.

[2] The ships were built on the lines of vessels procured as models by Abdur Rahman from the Imperial court of Constantinople.

[3] Abdur Rahman, though sometimes spoken of as King, as Caliph, and even as Commander of the Faithful (*Amir al Mouminin*), never assumed any more important title than that of *Amir*.

patron of all arts and sciences, especially of agriculture[1]—he was the patron of a worthy tyrant; and as unlike the later Visigothic kings of Spain as it is possible to conceive or record. If in his royal and autocratic career are found alternate exhibitions of ferocity and of clemency, the noble assuredly predominates over the base. If heads are treacherously cut off, lives are chivalrously spared. If Moslems are massacred, Christians are protected by the impulsive Amir. The arts of peace were his chief delight, the magnificence of Cordova his ruling passion. The foundation of the great mosque, which he did not live to see completed, the building of the palace of Rissafah, the gardens that he laid out, and the aqueducts that he constructed; the luxury and the liberality of his court, the wit and refinement of his courtiers—of all these things we may read, and read with pleasure and advantage, in the glowing annals of the Moslems in Spain. Nay, more, the Christian writers have not failed to recognise his many virtues; and a mediæval archbishop has not hesitated to speak of him as *The Just.*[2]

[1] One of his great works was the embankment of the Guadalquivir for the purpose of irrigation.

[2] The greatness of his contemporary Charlemagne, is, says Lafuente, perhaps inferior to that of this less known Arab *Amir.* Lafuente, iii., 154; Roderic, *Hist. Arab.*, 18.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE KINGDOM OF ASTURIAS.

(711—788.)

I.—*Covadonga.*

Roderic was so far from being "the last of the Goths" that within a few years after his death, we find not one, but two Gothic kings, one in the south-east, and the other in the north-west of Spain. Theodemir, who more immediately succeeded to the battered crown of Roderic, reigned by favour of the Arabs, as a vassal, or tributary king of Murcia, from 711 or 712 until 743, when he was succeeded by a Goth of the name of Athanagild, by whom the subject monarchy was maintained until 755, when on the arrival of the young Ommeyad Amir, Abdur Rahman, the petty and subject principality of the last Visigoth was incorporated in that of the first Arab king of Spain.

But the refuge and hiding place of the Gothic nobility, and the cradle of the future Spanish race, was in the unconquered Cantabrian provinces, where some seven or eight years after the death of Roderic, Pelayo, one of the early heroes of Spanish national story, "the saga-celebrated saviour of Christianity in the Peninsula," is found already reigning over the refugees, and making good his position in his mountain retreat. The rule of the Christians in the Asturias, unlike that of Theodemir in Murcia, was not by the favour of the Moslem, but in spite of their repeated attacks. Pelayo was the independent chieftain, not so much of what was left of the Visigoths on the north-western coasts, as of that band of refugees, Gothic, Roman and Iberian, who, "drawing strength from weakness" and courage from affliction, kept the faith, and laid the foundations of the kingdom of Spain.

The legend of the heroic defence that was made by Pelayo and his little band in the rock-cut cave at Covadonga, has at

least the independent authority of an Arab historian[1] to support it; and although we may find some difficulty in believing every Christian detail, such as that the hero and his *thirty* followers actually destroyed the entire Moslem army of 400,000 men, the position of Covadonga,[2] a natural fastness, no doubt enabled the small band of refugees to inflict severe loss on the unprotected invaders. The good fortune of Pelayo did much to kindle the national spirit, by which, and not by numbers, either of slayers or of the slain, Spain was conquered for the Spaniards: and thus the legend, like many other legends of the past, if critically false, is actually true. If, as we are told, the presence of a great commander may be worth 40,000 men, the prestige of a great victory may well be worth 400,000. What actually took place at Covadonga was probably that the tribesmen and refugees, with every advantage of an inaccessible position and of local knowledge, opposed the advance of the Moslems, much as the Afghans resisted the British army in the Khyber Pass; and that by hurling huge stones and trunks of trees from their rocky vantage ground upon the confused ranks of the Arabs, these early *guerilleros* were able to destroy the hosts of the invaders, and thus to maintain their independence in their mountain refuge.

Nor do the Arabs seem to have made any attempt to retrieve or avenge the fortunes of the day. Well satisfied, no doubt, with their unopposed dominion over the rich plains of the genial south country, they were willing to abandon the bleak and inhospitable mountains to their wild inhabitants and the emboldened refugees whom they sheltered.[3] Be the reason what it may, Pelayo seems to have had peace all the days of his life after his victory at Covadonga in 718. Prudently confining his attention to the development of his little kingdom, he reigned, it is said, for nineteen years at Cangas,[4] and dying in 737, he was peacefully succeeded by his son Favila.

[1] Ibn Hayyan; See Gayangos, ii., 34; Mariana, lib. vii., and Lafuente, iii., 68. *Esp. Sag.*, xxxvii., 79.

[2] Near Cangas de Onis in Asturias. For a graphic description of Covadonga and the neighbourhood, see an article by John Ormsby, *Cornhill Magazine*, 1870, p. 431; and Ford, *Spain* (ed. 1878), 225-7.

[3] The Moorish commander, Al Khama, is said to have been accompanied by Oppas, Bishop of Seville (see *ante*, p. 113), who endeavoured to persuade Pelayo to submit to the superior forces of the invader. *Mariana*, lib. vii., 1. The bishop is supposed to have been slain, as well as Al Khama, in the destruction of the Moslem army.

[4] Cangas, the modern Cangas de Onis. The etymology of the word according to Ford is *Canicas* = *conchas* = the shell-like valley. The town lies about a mile

Pelayo, no doubt, was but a robber chieftain, a petty mountain prince, and the legends of his royal descent are of later date, and of obviously spurious manufacture; but Pelayo needs no tinsel to adorn his crown. He was the founder of the Spanish monarchy. His successor Favila was no hero, but a royal sportsman, whose hands, like those of Gratian, were stained only with the blood of animals,[1] and who was ingloriously killed by a bear when hunting near Covadonga. After his brief reign of only two years, Favila was succeeded in 739, not by his son, but by his brother-in-law Alfonso, who had married Hermesinda, a daughter of Pelayo, and had been named by the elder king as his successor in case of the death of Favila.[2]

Alfonso, in 742, felt himself already strong enough to assume the offensive against the Moslems, and crossing over the mountains that divide the Asturias from Gallicia, he made himself master of Lugo, Orense, Tuy, Braga, Chaves, and other cities of the north-west, now included in the kingdom of Portugal.[3] Emboldened by the success of his arms, he further extended his operations to the south and east, and ravaged many towns and cities, which the weakness of his forces did not permit him to hold, and the smallness of his population did not enable him to occupy. It would seem probable, moreover, that until a national and patriotic spirit was aroused in new Spain, the Christians as well as the Moslems preferred, in many cases, the rule of the Moor to that of the Asturian. Constant forays were the fashion of the day, and Ledesma, Salamanca, Zamora, Astorga, Leon, Simancas, Avila, Segovia, and many less important towns are said to have been harried and sacked by militant Christians. The peaceful inhabitants of both religions must have slept more soundly to the south of the Tagus, than within striking distance of the king at Cangas.

from Villanueva, on the high road from Oviedo to Santander, and was adopted by Pelayo as his capital, and so continued, until it was abandoned for the more important town of Oviedo. Ford (1878), p. 224.

[1] There is a quaint representation of the king's inglorious death over the doorway of the church of San Pedro at Villanueva, said to have been founded by Alfonso I. in 750.

[2] Lafuente, iii., 74, note

[3] It must be remembered that the northern boundary of the modern kingdom of Portugal is the Minho; while that of the old province of Lusitania was the Douro, sixty miles further to the south. But if Lusitania was *shorter*, it was also *broader* than modern Portugal; its eastern boundary extended beyond the cities of Salamanca and Avila, and reached almost as far as Segovia.

No man, indeed, did more to create and foster the new national spirit in Spain than this Asturian Alfonso,[1] who would be bound by no treaty with the infidel, and who, first of Spanish, or indeed of Christian kings, earned for himself the title of the Catholic.[2] It was Alfonso, too, in the course of his eighteen years of growing dominion, who commenced the building of the long line of castles on his southern and eastern frontier which secured the defence and suggested the name of the greatest of the new provinces of Christian Spain. The king died at Cangas in 756, and the angels, we are told, sang celestial psalms over his sepulchre.[3]

Fruela, the eldest son of Alfonso, succeeded, on his father's death in 757, to a kingdom extending by an uncertain tenure of temporary conquest, nominal tribute, and constant encroachment, over Gallicia, the Asturias, Biscay, and Navarre, together with some frontier towns and debatable districts on the borders of the plain country, which were afterwards included in the kingdoms of Leon and Castile. A tributary of Abdur Rahman, Fruela did nothing to extend his Christian territories; but his harsh and savage disposition led to frequent rebellions of his Christian subjects, which were suppressed with conventional severity and unusual success.

Nor did he maintain friendly relations with the Church. Witiza had rendered himself obnoxious to the bishops by his encouragement of clerical matrimony; Fruela incurred their hostility by forbidding it.[4] But by way of compensation, no doubt, for this interference with the ecclesiastical power, he laid the foundation of a magnificent Christian temple, on a spot where some monks had set up a shrine to St. Vincent, around whose sacred walls arose the town of *Ovetum*, the modern city

[1] "The Terrible Alfonso, the manslayer, son of the sword, slew tens of thousands of Moslems. He burned houses and dwellings, *and no treaty could be made with him.*" El Lágí, quoted by Lafuente, iii., 81.

Dunham, quoting Sebastian of Salamanca, *omnes Arabes occupatores civitatum interficiens*, says placidly, ii., 125, "Such an *extermination* of the Mohammedan inhabitants to make room for his Christian colonists was a *just retribution* on the heads of the followers of a *sanguinary Faith*". A strange nineteenth century Christian gloss! If such things can be written in the Cabinet in 1832, it is hardly surprising that the *retributive justice* practised in the mountains should have been somewhat one-sided in 750.

[2] Reccared was, of course, the first Catholic king of Spain; but the first who is known by the distinctive title is this Alfonso.

[3] Sebast. Salmant., 15, in *España Sagrada*, xiii.; Dunham, ii., 126; Dozy, *Histoire*, tom. iii., 24-25.

[4] Mariana, vii., 4.

of Oviedo. Fruela's church unhappily exists no more. Yet Oviedo can still boast of the possession of one of the oldest and most interesting Christian buildings in the Peninsula. The *Camara Santa* is probably the ancient church of St. Miguel, which served as the private chapel of the court of Alfonso the Catholic, and contains the most precious relics in Spain. For if Oviedo is not as holy a city as Compostella, it claims the second place in the roll of sanctity; while in the number, the variety, and the authenticity of its relics[1] it stands perhaps unrivalled in the Christian world.

His constant and edifying exhibition of Christian zeal did not, as Lafuente somewhat naïvely remarks, prevent Fruela from staining his memory with the guilt of an odious fratricide. The blood of a murdered brother, however, cried not in vain for vengeance; and Fruela met his death, in the time-honoured Visigothic fashion, at the hand of an assassin.

His son Alfonso being still of tender age, the crown was passed on to a first cousin, Aurelius, who appears to have lived in peace, if not in amity, with his neighbours, to have paid his tribute, respected his treaties, and to have even permitted some noble Christian damsels to intermarry with the sons of the Moslems.

The laxity of Aurelius in the matter of these mixed marriages is supposed to have given rise to the famous legend of an annual tribute[2] of one hundred Christian virgins exacted by the Arabs of Cordova, and paid *in kind* by the Christian kings. That in any case his conduct was distasteful to the clergy, we can well imagine. Mixed marriages are not often entirely satisfactory, and the Moslem was a man of a hostile race, as well as of a hostile religion.

Aurelius died in his palace at Cangas in 774; and was succeeded, not by Prince Alfonso the grandson, but by Silus the son-in-law of Alfonso I. Of Silus little is known but that he removed his capital from Cangas to Pravia,[3] and that he, like

[1] A list of these precious relics, including *La Cruz de la Victoria*, the cross that is said to have fallen down from heaven at Cangas, and to have been carried before Pelayo at Covadonga, will be found in Ford (1845), p. 699.

[2] Mariana, vii., 4, treats this legend as sober history; and even Dunham is content with the modified criticism that it was not Aurelius but Mauregato who agreed to pay this tribute to the Moslem Minotaur in return for the assistance which enabled him to vanquish his legitimate Christian rival Alfonso.

[3] Pravia is a little town charmingly situated in the valley of the Nalon, five or six miles from the sea coast, thirty from Oviedo, and about as far to the south-west of the port of Gijon, in the Asturias.

Aurelius, was content to live at peace with his Arab neighbours,[1] reigning jointly with his wife Adosinda, as king and queen[2] of Asturias.

King Silus and his more legitimate queen being both well stricken in years, the actual government was entrusted to Alfonso, who would have succeeded to the full honours of the kingdom on the death of Silus in 783, had not his rights been once again invaded by the election of a bastard son of his grandfather Alfonso; and he was compelled to fly the country,[3] while Mauregato reigned in his stead at Pravia.

There is little to tell of domestic interest or of military glory in north-west Spain during the reign of Mauregato. But there is one material enterprise of which Spain was the theatre, and of which the glory was certainly Spanish, that deserves something more than a passing notice—the ever famous expedition of Charlemagne.[4]

II.—*Roncesvalles.*

The invasion of Spain by Christian France in 778, was not much more successful than the invasion of France by Moslem Spain in 733. And it came about, as far as we can learn, in this wise: Charlemagne, engaged in the public administration of baptism to a multitude of Saxons, at the great assembly at Paderborn in 777, was surprised and gratified by the visit of a Moslem envoy from beyond the Pyrenees. Ibn al Arabi was an Abbaside of good position, disaffected to the rule of Abdur Rahman, and the representative or envoy of other rebellious Moslems at Saragossa. The visitor sought the assistance or intervention in northern Spain of the Frank king, promising him the support of the entire Arab or Moorish population in any attempt to overthrow the Ommeyad government of the Peninsula.

[1] *Ob matris causam, pacem habuit*, says the *Chronicon Albidense*. The phrase is one of somewhat doubtful signification.

[2] This tribute to the quasi-legitimate rights of Adosinda, the daughter of Alfonso I., is sufficiently remarkable.

[3] Mauregato—his very name has a *Moorish* flavour about it (his mother was a Moorish slave, H.)—is said to have invoked the assistance of Abdur Rahman, the Amir of Cordova, against his legitimate nephew; and Alfonso was only driven from his Christian throne by the alien forces of the Moslem. The *Maiden Tribute* was supposed to be the price of intervention.

[4] As to my use of this somewhat *old-fashioned* word, see Introduction.

The suggestions of the Moslem are said to have met with the warm approval of the Christian ecclesiastics at the court of Charlemagne, who regarded the proposed expedition as a pious and profitable crusade against the infidel.[1] In any case, the prospect was made sufficiently attractive to the king, who eagerly embraced the opportunity which thus so suddenly presented itself to him of extending his empire, albeit as the ally of the infidel in Spain. And he satisfied his scruples, no doubt, by a pious resolve to turn his Christian forces against both factions of the unbelievers, as soon as he should be fairly established within their territories.

Charlemagne accordingly convoked a great military assembly, or *champ de mai*, in the spring of 778, at Chasseneuil in the Agenois; and having there divided his forces into two armies, he dispatched one by way of Roussillon and the shores of the Mediterranean, under the command of his uncle, Duke Bernard; while he himself crossed the western Pyrenees at Saint Jean Pied de Port, and appeared in due time before Pamplona. The city, occupied entirely by Christians,[2] submitted at once to the Franks, and Charlemagne continued his march to Saragossa, which as promised by the Abbaside envoy, was to be placed in his hands on his arrival.

Duke Bernard meanwhile had been even more fortunate than his master. He had found abundant supplies on his eastward line of march; he had taken hostages for future fidelity from the defenders of the strong fortress of Gerona, and the richer city of Barcelona; and at a short distance from Saragossa he joined his victorious forces with those of his sovereign. The expedition so far had been entirely successful. But as soon as the reunited Frankish armies approached the time-honoured city of Cæsar Augustus, the citizens shut their gates; for Saragossa was governed and defended by the brave *Abdul Melik*—the *Marsilio* of the Romancists—the most loyal of the lieutenants of Abdur Rahman; and in spite of the assurances of the rebel envoy, Charlemagne found no treason within the walls.

Greatly vexed at this unexpected rebuff, the Frankish king spent some weeks in vain attempts to possess himself of the city, and in more successful forays into the neighbouring

[1] Mombert, *Charles the Great* (1888), p. 155. Some of the Spanish chroniclers made Alfonso summon Charlemagne to his aid against the Moslems.

[2] Sebastian of Salamanca, *apud* Dunham, i., 254.

country; and at length, having secured no allies among Moors or Christians, but finding on the contrary that he was exposed to harassing attacks from the forces of both alike, he was compelled to retire disappointed into his own dominions. Having destroyed and pillaged the unoffending town of Pamplona, the Franks pursued their northern course through the defile[1] of Roncesvalles, which lay almost due north of Pamplona, and about forty miles to the east of the sea coast at Irun. On the day of the Assumption, 15th August, 778, the king with his light troops marched first through the pass, and had already proceeded some distance on the northern side of the mountains, when the Basques or Navarrese, naturally indignant at the destruction wrought by their Christian deliverer upon their friendly and equally Christian town, fell upon the troops—heavily laden with the plunder of Spain—and cut to pieces a great part, if not the whole of the rear guard, and possibly of the main body of the army.

The history of this great destruction is very doubtful. The trustworthy materials are very slender. But it is at least certain that many of the military leaders and principal nobles of the invading or retreating army perished at the hands of the sturdy mountaineers, and that not only the spoils of Pamplona, but such booty as had been amassed in the entire expedition, fell into the hands of the victors.[2] How far the Basque forces were aided by Christians from the Cantabrian and Asturian provinces, by early Spanish heroes of Leon, or by Moslems from Saragossa, who may have harassed the retreat of Charlemagne's army, it is impossible to say. The fact of such an alliance or alliances—in itself sufficiently probable—is quite unnecessary to explain the defeat of the Franks, as we now understand it. Nor can we speak with much greater confidence of the prowess or even of the existence of the ever famous Roland in the ranks of the invading or evading army:

[1] Roncesvalles is almost certainly a Basque word; the last two syllables are the *zaval*, which enters into the composition of perhaps a hundred names of places in Navarre and in the Basque provinces, always indicating *a flat level space* which exactly describes the field of battle. *Roscida Vallis*, given without approbation by Ford, is a fanciful and meaningless etymology.

[2] The pass and neighbourhood of Roncesvalles have been frequently described. One of the best descriptions is that of John Ormsby, in Chamber's *Encyclopædia*, ed. 1890, viii., 765. All that we know of Roland is contained in one line of Eginhard's *Vita Karoli* (cap. ix.). His name is said to be Hrnodlandus, but I prefer, as usual, in writing English to call him Roland. See Lafuente, iii., 137; Stappenbeck, *Ueber die Rolands säulen* (Berlin, 1847); and Schumann, *Rolandus Magnus Variis fabulis involutis Explicatus* (Lipsiæ, 1694).

or of that of the no less celebrated Bernardo[1] del Carpio in the ranks of the pursuers.

Taillefer, who sang the song of Roland upon the battle-field of Hastings, and the unknown author whose eleventh century epic, copied by Turoldus, suggested the poems of Pulci, of Boïardo, and of greatest Ariosto, all these have made Roland one of the favourite heroes of the Middle Ages. But in the story, as it is told in the Spanish ballads, it is Bernardo[2] del Carpio, the nephew of the chaste but pusillanimous Alfonso, who is the true hero of Roncesvalles, and who not only repulsed the host of Charlemagne, but caught up the invulnerable Roland in his arms, and squeezed him to death before his army. No carpet knight nor courtier was Bernardo, but a true Cantabrian mountaineer.

Legend, indeed, has been more busy, and possibly more romantic, on either side of the Pyrenees, with *Roncesvalles* than even with the *Guadalete*. But history merely tells us that Charlemagne, wisely no doubt, made no attempt to avenge the loss of his chivalry or of his treasure: but that he left the bodies of his dead Palladins to be buried by the Basques, made good his most inglorious retreat, and scarce drew bridle until he had reached Auxerre.[3]

[1] Even less is known of Bernardo than of Roland. His name is first mentioned in the *Cronica General* of Alfonsos X.; he is said to have been the son of a secret marriage or liaison of D. Sancho of Saldana, with a sister of Alfonso II.

[2] The *Chanson de Roland* has twice been translated into English verse. The best Spanish ballads of Bernardo del Carpio are printed in vol. i. of Wolf and Hofmann's excellent collection (Berlin, 1856), and some ballads of Roncesvalles in vol. ii. of the same work. A reference to the *Morgante Maggiore*, to *Orlando inamorato*, to *Orlando furioso*, and Milton's *Paradise Lost*, may be almost superfluous. The legend of the magic horn of Roland is, of course, referred to by Scott in *Marmion*, canto vi., stanza 33:—

"Oh for a blast of that dread horn
On Fontarabian echoes borne!"

Fontarabia, as a matter of fact, is forty good miles away from Roncesvalles.

[3] Eginhard, *Vita*, etc., cap. xv., and *Annales*, p. 200-5 and 240; *Cf.* Sismondi, *Hist. de France*, ii., 257, 265. Sismondi considers that Roland—if such a person ever existed—was never in the army of Charlemagne at all; but may have distinguished himself under Charles Martel. Archbishop Turpin and Ariosto are not of course authorities for historical facts. As to the Spanish invention of a *second* rout at Roncesvalles in 812, see authorities collected by Sismondi, *Hist. de France*, ii., p. 265.

CHAPTER XIV.

ISLAM.

(787—852.)

I.—*The Mezquita.*

Abdur Rahman I. was succeeded in 787 by his favourite son, Hisham, surnamed the Just, an amiable and virtuous sovereign.[1] A student rather than a warrior, Hisham, in the early part of his reign, showed considerable vigour and even military skill. He valiantly conquered and generously pardoned his brothers, Abdullah and Suleiman, both of whom had taken up arms against him, and he proclaimed a Holy War for the subjugation of the Asturias, which was attended, however, with very poor results. Another expedition, against the Franks of Septimania, was both directly and indirectly more successful, for if it brought no accession of territory to the Moslem, it led to the acquisition of a vast amount of Christian treasure which was devoted to the completion of the great mosque at Cordova. The captives taken at Narbonne were employed in the actual work of the building, and many of the Roman pillars which support the immense roof of the *Mezquita* were brought at the same time from the *Narbonensis*. But in spite of these military and architectural interests, the mind ot Hisham was so much affected, in the sixth year of his useful reign, by an astrological forecast of his early death, that he was led to abandon the cares of State, and to devote himself entirely to good works and religious exercises. And thus on his death, some few months before the expected period, after a reign of only eight years, the kingdom of Cordova was almost as much dominated by sacerdotal or theological influences, as was once the kingdom of Toledo.

[1] *Al Ahdil* the just : and *Al Rahdi* the affable.

Unlike the Gothic kings, however, in peace or in war, Hisham did much to add to the beauties of his capital, and to develop the resources of his country. The bridge that spans the great river, the *Wâdy el Kebir*, over which the Spanish peasant still drives the produce of his fields to the market at Cordova, was constructed by his liberality: and if the foundation of the mosque, in which the Christian of modern Cordova still carries on his splendid worship, is due to the magnificence of Abdur Rahman, the completed work is a monument of the piety of Hisham. If the cry of the Muezzin is heard from the towers of *Aya Sofia*, on the shores of the Bosphorus, the *Te Deum* is sung amid yet more splendid surroundings in the *Mezquita*, on the banks of the Guadalquivir.

Within a few months after the conquest in 711, the new masters of Spain, considerate as we have seen in matters of religion from the very day of their arrival, had entered into a friendly arrangement with the conquered people by which one half of the Christian Basilica at Cordova was used for the worship of the Moslem.[1] For some seventy years this mutual toleration was continued, until the time came when Abdur Rahman I. determined to build on the site so long hallowed by tradition, a mosque for Moslem worshippers, which should compete with the finest temples in the East. He accordingly purchased from the Christians that portion of the Basilica which they had hitherto used for their worship, and then pulling down the whole, he commenced his new and magnificent edifice in 786.

The building as designed by Abdur Rahman, and completed by his son Hisham, was some 360 feet long by 270 feet in width. The general plan was that of the mosque of most sacred Kairwan in Morocco. The walls, of immense thickness, are low, and the roof was probably not raised more than thirty feet above the floor of the mosque. Nor is the height without the building, even where the buttressed towers break the long line of walls, ever greater than sixty feet. Eleven aisles ran north and south within the building of 786, and were formed by long rows of low marble pillars, in number not less than 1200, the pride of the contemporary Arab, and the spoil of the more ancient Roman.[2] The

[1] This arrangement had already been made in the Basilica of St. John, afterwards converted into the great mosque of Damascus, which was destroyed by fire, alas, on the 1st of December, 1893, long after this note was first written.

[2] The number of pillars still standing are 920, of which 834 are of a fine red marble from Cabra, near Cordova; the remainder may have been brought, as tradition relates, from Narbonne, from Italy, from Mauritania, from Egypt, and

central aisle, an alley wider than the rest, led to the *Mihráb*[1] or Holy Place, which was rebuilt by the Caliph Hakam in 965, and remains to this day one of the most beautiful and elaborate specimens of the best age of Saracenic architecture in Spain. The fine mosaics that still decorate the façade—admirable specimens of Roman Byzantine art—were placed there, according to Adzari, a contemporary author, in 965, and were sent by the Emperor Leo, from Constantinople, with a Greek artist, who instructed and superintended the Moslem workmen employed by Hakam.[2] Abdur Rahman III. added a Minar or tower which has since been destroyed, as well as the beautiful Fountain of the Court of Oranges which still remains. The mosque was enlarged by Almanzor, seeking popularity, at the end of the tenth century, by the addition of eight new aisles to the east of the then existing building, which was thus increased to a parallelogram of 420 feet by 375 feet; and the beautiul *Maksurah* or seat of the Caliph, now converted into a Christian shrine known as the chapel of Villa Viciosa[3] was probably added at the same time.

The new *choir*, an immensly lofty Gothic church, built within the *Mezquita*, and for which no less than 200 of the

from the furthest eastern provinces of the Roman world. Of these columns, twenty-one are said by Ford to be of "*marino bigio* (dappled gray), ten of *cipollino*, ten of fluted or channelled white, probably Greek, three of plain white, eight of gray Egyptian granite, and over thirty of uncertain, but foreign origin". Ford (1888), pp. 309-10.

[1] The great mosques of Islam are all built in the form of a parallelogram, of which the longer sides run from north to south. At the north end is a great court or *Patio*, surrounded by cloisters with a fountain in the middle, for the purpose of the prescribed ablutions. Within the building itself, and at the end furthest from the *Patio*, is the *Mihráb*, the most sacred and the most highly-ornamented part of the temple, indicating also the *Kiblah* or direction of the *Kaaba* at Mecca, towards which every good Moslem must turn his face in the act of prayer. Near the *Mihráb* is the *Minbár* or pulpit from which the Imám leads the prayers of the assembled people. See Girault de Prangey, *Architecture des Mores et des Arabes*, pp. 21-49.

[2] See Madrazo, *Cordova;* and Fergusson's *Modern Architecture*, p. 395. During the reign of Alfonso the Learned, in 1275, permission was granted to the dean and chapter of the cathedral to have at all times free of taxes, four Moorish workmen, two of them masons, and two carpenters, who were to be employed exclusively for repairs in the cathedral, with the other artists. This circumstance has undoubtedly contributed to the good preservation of the Moorish remains. See Don J. F. Riaño, *Discurso*, etc., 1869; and Fergusson, *ubi supra.*

[3] Mr. Fergusson places the chapel of Villa Viciosa, circ. 1200. He can hardly have realised the character of the Almohades. Neither *Yacúb ben Yussuf* (1187-1199), *Mohammed ben Yacúb* (1199-1213), nor *Abu Yacúb* (1213-1223), were likely men to have beautified a church, still less to have developed the chapel of Villa Viciosa.

ancient columns were swept away, is the work of Bishop Alfonso Manrique in 1523. Such pious destructiveness might well fill us with indignation; but let us rather marvel that the Inquisition did not consume the whole of the Moslem edifice by fire—and rejoice at their inconsequent apathy. Even the exquisite carving of the stalls hardly assuages the wrath of the artistic visitor, shocked at the incongruous vandalism which has so sadly marred a building unique among the art treasures of Europe. Yet as it stands to-day in mouldering Cordova, the great cathedral which perpetuates the glory of the Moslem in Spain, and which is still familiarly known as *La Mezquita* or the mosque, is one of the most interesting of the temple structures of the world.[1]

Covering nigh upon four acres of ground, it ranks second as regards area among the churches of Christendom, being surpassed only by the vastness of St Peter's at Rome, and the pillars that still remain, the glorious wreck of the 12,000 that once supported the roof, are suggestive of an immense forest of marble, in which the visitor may wander in ever-increasing admiration and amazement, at once at the variety and the regularity of the display.[2]

But the *Mezquita* is far from being remarkable only for its vast size, or even for its artistic beauty. Built upon the site of the old Roman temple of Janus, pulled down centuries before the birth of Mohammed, to give place to a Christian church, the forerunner of that in which the Moslem was first permitted to worship God at Cordova, it perpetuates the memory of many religions and varying traditions of sanctity for over 2000 years. The only place of worship in Europe that may be compared with it, both in antiquity and in similarity of interest, is *Aya Sofia* at Constantinople, of which the first stone was laid by

[1] As a holy place of devotion, it ranked as the third among the temples of Islam, equal it may be to *Al Aksa* at Jerusalem, and inferior only to the Caaba of Mecca itself. The mosque was called *Zeca*, "the house of purification"—the old Egyptian *Sekos*. A pilgrimage to it was held to be equivalent, by the Spanish Moslem, to that of Mecca. There is a well-known Spanish proverb, *andar de Ceca en Meca*, quoted by Cervantes in *Don Quixote*, i., 18, and in Garay's *Collection*, fo. 399. To go from Ceca to Mecca, *i.e.*, to go from one pilgrimage to another—to saunter (a word itself derived from *Sainte terre*). The meaning of A Mint, which is sometimes attributable to *Ceca*, has caused me to err on this point, in a note to *Sancho Panza's Proverbs* (ed. 1892), p. 8.

[2] The remaining pillars are more than 900 in number. The church even as it now stands, is about 420 feet long by 370 feet broad, and covers 157,500 feet of ground. Seville Cathedral, which most nearly approaches it, not only in Spain but in Europe, encloses only 125,000 feet. See *post*, chapter xxvii.

Justinian in 532, on the site of the great Christian temple that had been erected by Constantine 200 years before.

Constructed like the *Mezquita* of the architectual spoils of a more ancient world, St. Sofia passed unharmed by time or siege into the hands of the Moslem in 1453, 200 years after the mosque on the Guadalquivir had been converted into a Christian cathedral. It is strange, indeed, and suggestive of much that may not be here set down, that the oldest of all the mosques of Islam was built as a Christian church, and that the oldest of the great Christian churches of the world was built as a mosque at Cordova; that 500 years before St. Peter's was commenced, 400 years before Milan was completed, the *Mezquita* stood as now it stands, consecrated to the worship of God.

II.—*The Fakihs.*

The great body of Moslem devotees at Cordova, at the end of the eighth century, was largely recruited by Christian *renegades*, who found protection under the just rule of Abdur Rahman, and who acquired under his son Hisham something of the old power and influence that had been enjoyed by the Christian priesthood under the later Visigothic kings. No priest, indeed, is known to the religious system of Islam, but the readers of the Koran, the students of divinity, and the doctors of Mohammedan law, constituted a sacerdotal class, that congregated in ever increasing numbers and ever increasing importance around the great mosque at Cordova.[1] These *Maulvis* and *Fakihs*, the Scribes and Pharisees of Islam, were lodged in the beautiful suburb to the south of the city that was known to the Romans as *Corduba Secunda*; and they recognised as their spiritual chief and leader the learned doctor Malik ben Anas of Medina, the founder of one of the four orthodox schools of Mohammedan theology. Students from Spain constantly repaired to the East to study under this egregious doctor of Islam. And of all his bold and bigoted disciples, few were more learned, none was more zealous than the Berber, Tahia ben Tahia of Cordova, a worthy successor of Leander and Julian.

The greatest theologian and the proudest Moor of Spain or Mauretania, this extraordinary man united many of the characteristics of a modern demagogue with those of a mediæval Pontiff; and he was reverenced and obeyed without question as

[1] Gayangos, i., 899; Dozy, *Histoire*, ii., 56-59.

the leader of the *priestly party* in Moslem Cordova. When Hisham, in 796, fulfilled by his death the predictions of the prophets, the entire power of the new theocracy was devoted to the subjection of his son and successor Hakam. Suleiman and Abdullah, the brothers of the late king, who had been pardoned by Hisham after their rebellion at the beginning of his reign, now rose once more against their nephew; nor did they scruple to send envoys to Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle, entreating his assistance in their rebellion, and promising him their support in the destruction of the Moslem monarchy. But Charles remembered Roncesvalles, and contented himself with dispatching his son Louis to stir up the Christians at a safe distance in Septimania. The rebel envoys returned dissatisfied to Spain, where Abdullah and Suleiman were soon afterwards defeated by their nephew Hakam. Suleiman was killed in battle. Abdullah was once more magnificently pardoned.

But if the rebellion was at an end, the Moslem ecclesiastics were not suppressed. They were roused on the contrary to new and vigorous action. The success of Charlemagne would have, no doubt, justified the reconversion of the renegades to Christianity of a peculiarly intolerant type. The success of the king's uncles would have been a direct victory for the mosque. Smarting under their double disappointment, they were fain to take the matter into their own hands, and to stir up a popular revolt in Toledo. But Hakam was more than a match for the militant clerks. The revolt was suppressed. The rebels were dispersed. No mercy was shown to those who were taken in the city (805). Tahia, foiled once more in his endeavours, now offered the throne, quite after the good old Visigothic fashion, to one Ben Shammas, a cousin-german of the king. But the conspiracy was betrayed by Shammas himself, and many of the conspirators were taken and executed (806). A still more serious insurrection[1] at Toledo in 807 was repressed with still greater severity. Many hundreds of the conspirators were slain by order of the king in the ditch or *fosse* of the castle, and the massacre by which the revolt was terminated was long known and remembered as *the day of the fosse*.

For seven years after this dreadful example there was peace at home in southern Spain. And then the Cordovans, undeterred by the fate of the rebels at Toledo, rose once more at the bidding of the bigots of the day. Tahia returned to the capital

[1] Dozy, *ubi supra*, pp. 77-79.

in the month of Ramadan (May, 814), and the preachers took advantage of the excitement of the populace at the season of the annual fast, to stir up their passions against the civil Government. Hakam was besieged in his palace. The city was in the hands of Tahia and the *Fakihs*. The people, mad with excitement, filled the streets, and demanded the life of the Caliph. The coolness of Hakam saved the fortunes of the day. Assembling within the palace walls a small force of faithful horsemen, he ordered them to cut their way through the crowd, press on to the suburb of Secunda, and to set fire to the houses of the principal ecclesiastics. The orders were faithfully executed. The rebel leaders, hastily returning to save their own property, left the people in confusion, and Hakam, sallying out of the palace gate with his few remaining followers, was able to disperse the mutineers, and joining his forces to those which had done such good service in drawing away the leaders to the suburbs, completely subdued the insurrection, which was afterwards called, from the most striking incident in the struggle, *the day of the suburbs* or of the *Arrabal*.

It was now at least clear to Hakam that an end must be put to this ecclesiastical rebelry. The suburb was razed to the ground; and an immense number of the inhabitants were driven not only out of the city but out of the country. Eight thousand found a home in the rising city of Fez in Morocco, where their descendants were long to be found in the *Andalusian quarter* of the town: while twice as many more were exiled to Egypt, and after a sojourn of some twelve years in Alexandria, found a permanent home in the island of Crete, where they built the town of Candia.[1]

III.—*Ziriab.*

Hakam, the vigorous, died of fever in 821, and was succeeded by his son Abdur Rahman II. This amiable prince, without the superstition of his grandfather, had none of the severity, and little of the independence, of his father. A poet, a musician, a lover of display; generous, mild, and liberal; he

[1] In spite of many attacks they maintained themselves in Egypt until 826, when they were forced to evacuate the country. They sailed for Crete, ill defended by the Imperial troops, and possessed themselves of the entire island; and their *Spanish* Moslem leader, Al Baluti, a native of Cordova, founded a dynasty which enjoyed the dominion of Crete until the year 961, when the island passed once more under the sway of the Roman Emperor at Constantinople. Dozy, *ubi supra*, pp. 76, 77; Gibbon, ch. lii.

devoted the greater part of his time and of his revenues to the embellishment of his capital; and he made Cordova at once the most beautiful and the most magnificent city, the most favoured home of art and science and liberal culture, of the mediæval world.

Tahia, a second Leander, who had fled from the just wrath of Hakam, was welcomed on his return to Cordova by the gentle Abdur Rahman, who abandoned to him the entire government of the State. But in personal influence over the young king, Tahia was fain to accept a divided empire with Ziriab, a poet, musician, and a *virtuoso*, who had been driven from the court at Bagdad by the jealousy of a rival singer, more sure of the favour of the Caliph Haroun al Rashid. Ziriab received a magnificent welcome at the court of Cordova, and made himself in a very short time entirely indispensable to Abdur Rahman.[1] The versatility of his genius, indeed, was so astounding that it could only be explained by the theory of *possession*, for Ziriab not only wrote verses and sang them to the king, he planned palaces, he invented dishes, he designed costumes. His conversation is said to have been brilliant beyond the possibility of description. In architecture, in astronomy, in geography, in literature, in science, in cookery, in all things Ziriab set the fashion, and gave the tone to the court at Cordova. The proportions of a bath, the decoration of a dinner table, the fashion of a head-dress, the reception of an ambassador, the beauty of a slave, the doubtful wisdom of a move at chess, customs and costumes, poems and perfumery—everything was submitted to his judgment, and in all things his opinion was accepted as final. His royal pension or allowances amounted to a yearly income of not less than ten thousand pieces of gold. Nor does his genius as an artist appear to have been more remarkable than his prudence as a favourite. The king was never tired; the ecclesiastics were never offended; the courtiers were never jealous; the people were never indignant. And by a good fortune, unique, perhaps, in the history of courts, this intelligent epicurean retained during his lifetime the affection and respect of the king, of the courtiers, and of the people; and his name was long held in honour by succeeding generations of Spanish Moslems, among those of the most illustrious of the heroes of Cordova.

[1] On le considérait comme un modèle pour tout ce qui concernait le bon ton; et sous ce rapport il devint le lègislateur de l'Espagne arabe. Les innovations qu' il fit, furent hardies et innombrables. Dozy, *Histoire*, ii., 88 and 95. See also Gayangos, ii., 119-121.

Nor did he play his part in life to an uncritical or unappreciative audience. Of the wonderful aptitude of the Cordovans for science and philosophy, of their love of books, and their care for education, of their powers of memory, and of their felicity in repartee, we may read in every contemporary history. Yet their wit and their erudition, their love of science, and their love of literature, were even less remarkable than their wonderful aptitude for poetry.

The mosque asserted its influence only by the prohibition of the study of astrology and natural philosophy; but in every other department, a wide and wise liberality, as well as a generous encouragement of study, distinguished both the Government and the people. The richer citizens, moreover, even when they were illiterate, rewarded poets and scholars with the greatest munificence, and spared neither trouble nor expense in the formation of large collections of books.[1] Of such was the court of the second Abdur Rahman.

But his personal devotion to the gentler arts of life, and even his political submission to the authority of the mosque, did not serve to spare the king from the miseries of internal dissension and civil discord. An insurrection, headed by the irrepressible Abdullah, his great-uncle, was quelled soon after his accession to the throne, and the old rebel was once more pardoned after defeat.[2] The citizens of ever turbulent Merida, intriguing with Louis le Debonnaire[3] were constantly in a state of revolt. Toledo for eight years maintained a species of independence. For seven years there was civil war in Murcia; and a powerful band of brigands ravaged the neighbouring country. At length even the gentleness of Abdur Rahman was roused to action. Toledo was taken by storm on the 16th of June, 837; the brigand chief was slain; the city and the country were pacified and reduced to subjection. The Toledans were treated with a noble clemency; and the king was content to receive the submission of the citizens, who once more owned his sovereignty.

[1] The Caliphs maintained in all the great towns of Egypt, Syria, Arabia, North Africa, and even far-away Persia, Residents whose duty it was to transmit to Cordova copies of all important works either of literature or of science that were to be procured in the country where they resided, as well as to inform the Spanish Moslem Government of any interesting discoveries, or scientific or industrial progress. Viardot, *Essais*, pp. 100, 101; Gayangos, i., 139-167.

[2] He had even assigned to him the government of Tadmir, where he lived peacefully until his death.

[3] *España Sagrada*, xiii., p. 416.

The Spanish historians speak of a second invasion of north-west Spain by the Franks from Aquitania in 823, and a second rout of their forces at Roncesvalles in 824, by the Basques of Navarre, assisted by some troops dispatched from Cordova by Abdur Rahman, whose alliance was sought by the Christians to the south of the Pyrenees, against their still more hated Christian foes to the north. But the whole story is usually considered to be apocryphal.[1] What is more certain is that no less than two embassies were received by Abdur Rahman from the Emperor Theophilus at Constantinople, praying the aid of the Ommeyad Caliph of Cordova against the Abbaside Caliph of Bagdad, Al Mutassim (833-842), who was threatening the Empire in the East.

In the perpetual conflicts with the Christians in the north of the Peninsula, Abdur Rahman was more successful than his predecessors. Neither Alfonso nor Ramiro gained any advantage over the Moslem commanders, and the Christian kings were glad to secure the possession of their frontier provinces by the payment of an annual tribute to Cordova.

Thrice in twenty years did a Frankish army make its appearance in north-east Spain, and thrice was it driven back across the border, while a Moslem fleet assaulted and burned the suburbs, if not the city of Marseilles.

But a more savage invader appeared in this reign off the coast of Lusitania. Some Scandinavian Vikings or Northmen, with over fifty ships, suddenly descended upon the Tagus. They plundered Lisbon, and ravaging the whole of the south-west coasts of the Peninsula, they pursued their course as far as Seville, which they captured and sacked; and then making off with their spoils, they set sail, and disappeared as suddenly as they had come.

[1] See Lafuente, iii., 273-275.

CHAPTER XV.

SANTIAGO.

(788—910.)

I.—*Alfonso the Chaste.*

Mauregato died, after his uneventful reign, in 788; and for the fourth time the legitimate claims of Alfonso were postponed by the electors to those of a more favoured relation; no warrior, but a Churchman, Bermudo, the brother of Aurelius. This royal deacon, for Bermudo had never attained the dignity of the priesthood,[1] was of a kindly and even generous disposition, and the patient Alfonso was gratified with the subordinate, but all-important position of commander of the royal armies at the hands of his more successful rival, until, in 791, Bermudo voluntarily forsook the throne for the cloister; and Alfonso, surnamed the Chaste, at length reigned alone and supreme over the kingdom of Asturias.

The inactivity of the Christian kings, ever since the death of Alfonso the Catholic, had been accompanied by a similar indisposition for raids and forays on the part of the cultivated Moslem, Abdur Rahman. But in 794, Hisham invaded the Asturias with a considerable army, and the new Alfonso showed something of the skill and energy of his grandfather in the field. By a happy stratagem, he drove the Arabs into a mountain defile, where he fell upon them with such vigour with his little force, that a considerable portion of their army was cut to pieces. In the north-east, the Christian arms were less successful; and Narbonne was taken and plundered by the Moslems. But the Christian kingdom of the north-west grew and prospered, and the seat of government was

[1] It was on this ground that the objection to his election, as unlawful, under the old Gothic law of Wamba's time, was overruled in the council. Ramiro of Aragon was afterwards accepted under the same extenuating circumstances.

removed by Alfonso[1] from Pravia to Oviedo, a city founded by his father Fruela, and already one of the most important centres of Christian power and Christian progress in northern Spain.

From Oviedo, Alfonso undertook at least one important expedition to the southward, and possessing himself temporarily, after the fashion of the day, of the whole country as far as to the Tagus, he entered and plundered Lisbon, before the advancing Moslems compelled him to retreat to his mountain home in Gallicia (797).

Flushed with this success, Alfonso sent envoys to Aix-la-Chapelle to solicit the assistance of Charlemagne; but Charles did not trust himself again to the south of the Pyrenees. The dispatch of another embassy, two years later, to the court of the Frank at Toulouse, was no more successful as regards Charlemagne, and was attended with very remarkable results as regards Alfonso. For the Spanish nobles, jealous of any possible foreign interference with their most independent kingdom, took a very decided way of manifesting their political feelings, and locked up their king in a monastery at Abelania, until he had announced his intention of having nothing more to do with Frankish alliances.[2] Then, and only then, was Alfonso released. The nobles went unpunished, and nothing more was heard of Charlemagne in the Asturias.

II.—*Catalonia.*

In the north-east, on the other hand, the armies, if not the presence of the great Frank, played an important part in the early history of Spain. In the first year of the ninth century, a solemn assembly, or *Champ de Mai*, was held by Louis of Aquitaine at Toulouse; and a league of Christian lords was founded for the taking of Barcelona. In the autumn of 801, accordingly, an immense host of Christian soldiers in this early crusade marched over the slopes of the eastern Pyrenees. At first they met with but little opposition. The Moslem troops were for the most part engaged in suppressing revolts in the south; and the Franks soon made themselves masters of Gerona, Cardona, Manresa, and many other cities and fortresses as far south as Lerida, whose lofty citadel commands a rich district

[1] The cathedral at Oviedo, founded by Fruela, was consecrated in 812, in the presence of Alfonso, who appointed a noble Goth, Adulphus, to be the first bishop of the capital city of the Asturias.

[2] *Chron. Albeld.*, 58.

in fertile Catalonia. But the most important town of the *Spanish Marches*, as this newly conquered territory was called by the Franks, refused to open its gates to the Christian invaders. In Barcelona, the celebrated Zaïd held chief command. And Zaïd kept the town for his master at Cordova. The siege was long protracted; but no assistance was received from Hakam. From Lerida, Duke William of Toulouse had made a successful descent upon Tarragona; and a line of Christian troops from the sea to Lerida blocked the way of any relieving army that might be on its way from Cordova to Barcelona. Yet of a relieving army no tidings was heard in the beleaguered city. Messenger after messenger had been sent in vain. At length the heroic Zaïd determined to go himself. He would see Hakam; and he would return at the head of an army that should drive the Christians once more beyond the Pyrenees. The stealthy departure, the midnight ride, the turn of evil fortune at the very moment of successful evasion, the arrest of Zaïd, his exhortation to the citizens to hold the town, when his life was the price of surrender: the final treaty by which the hero was spared, and the garrison, abandoned by their sovereign, marched out of Barcelona with all the honours of war—these are some of the thousand romantic incidents of the early struggles between Christians and Moors in north-eastern Spain.

The fall of Barcelona was the signal for rejoicings all over Europe, and was especially agreeable to the new Emperor. King Louis, after a triumphal entry into the city with great military and religious pomp and splendour, invested Count Bera, a noble Goth, with the government of the city and of the Spanish Marches; and leaving a strong garrison of Franks and Spaniards under his command, retraced his victorious steps into Aquitaine. A considerable number of Christians from all parts of Spain now sought a refuge in this new Marquisate, which was soon the abiding place of a large and thriving Christian population, the ancestors of the modern *Catalans*, the most industrious, and the most turbulent, the richest, and the most restless of all the inhabitants of Spain.

Charlemagne died in 814, and among the various divisions of territory that took place on his death, Septimania was cut off from the kingdom of Aquitaine, and joined to the *Spanish March*, which was raised to the dignity of a quasi-independent *Duchy* or county, with its capital city at Barcelona.[1]

[1] The Spanish March was at first known as Gothia, which, says Lafuente, became modified as follows: Gothia, Gothland, Gothlandia, Gothalania, Catalonia, Cataluña. Lafuente, iii., 88 and 198, 205-208.

In 821, Duke Bera, accused of high treason, and vanquished in trial by battle, was exiled to Rouen, and Bernard, a son of William of Toulouse, was chosen by the Emperor Louis to be his successor. The son of the exile summoned the Moslems to his assistance, and their united forces blockaded Bernard in Barcelona. But on the approach of an Imperial army from Aquitaine, this insignificant revolution melted away. Yet Christian intriguers were ever ready to call in the aid of the nearest Moslem; and the Moslem was ever near. Intrigues, indeed, were rife at the Christian courts. Bernard, the paramour of the Empress, and the reputed father of Charles the Bald, was alternately promoted and degraded by Louis. And thus the Christian power grew weaker in the Spanish Marches, and Abdur Rahman II., the son of Hakam, was able not only to recover Tarragona, but to despatch from that once Imperial port a flotilla which sacked and burned the suburbs of Marseilles.

The history of Catalonia from the time of Charlemagne to the time of the excellent Ramon Berenguer I., a period of over two hundred years, is not only uncertain, but is uninteresting to the student of the national history of Spain. Bera, the Gothic nominee of *Louis le Debonnaire,* who ruled from 801 to 820, was succeeded by a number of counts or dukes more or less dependent upon the successors of Charlemagne in the north, and exposed to the constant attacks of the Moslems on their southern frontier. In 852 the city of Barcelona was taken by the Moors, in whose possession it remained for twelve or thirteen years; and a period of special confusion was closed by the assumption, in 874, of the supreme power by Wilfrid the Hairy, who asserted his independence of his Carlovingian overlord, and made the county of Catalonia hereditary in his own family. In 984 the little State was overrun by the armies of Almanzor; but on the death of that Moslem conqueror in 1002, the southern invaders were finally driven out of the country; and by the year 1035, on the accession of Ramon Berenguer I., or *El Viejo,* the serious history of Catalonia may fairly be said to have begun.[1]

III.—*Compostella.*

Turning our attention once more to Leon, we find that the most remarkable domestic event in the annals of the little

[1] Romey, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. iv., pp. 311 and 496.

kingdom of Alfonso II. was the discovery or manifestation of *Santiago*.

A shepherd, we are told, watching his flock in a wild mountain district in Gallicia, was astonished at the appearance of a supernatural light. The Bishop of Ira Flavia was consulted. The spot, so divinely illuminated, was carefully searched; and in a marble sarcophagus the body of St. James the Greater was revealed to the faithful investigators. The king, overjoyed at the discovery, at once erected upon the ground thus consecrated, a church or chapel dedicated to the Apostle—the forerunner of the noble Cathedral of Santiago de Compostella,[1] and from the first, the favourite resort of the pilgrims of Christian Europe. For it was not only a relic, but a legend had been discovered by the pious doctors of the Church.

St. James, it was said, had certainly preached and taught in Spain during his lifetime. His body, after his martyrdom at Jerusalem in the year of Christ 42, had been placed by his disciples on board a ship by which it was conveyed to the coast of his beloved Spain, miraculously landed in Gallicia, and forgotten for 800 years, until the time was accomplished when it should be revealed to the devoted subjects of King Alfonso the Chaste.[2] The date of the discovery of these precious remains is given by Ferreras as 808, by Morales as 835. But as it was Charlemagne who obtained from

[1] Perhaps *Campo Stellæ*, "the field of the star" that guided the Gallician shepherd to the mysterious spot. Lafuente, however (iii., 218), prefers *Campus Apostoli:* and see an article by the Rev. Wentworth Webster in the *Foreign Church Chronicle*, viii., 200.

[2] See *España Sagrada*, xix., p. 64. The evidence, if evidence it can be called, for any connection whatever of St. James with Spain, consists of a few words in a treatise, *De Ortu et orbitu Patrum*, vii., 9, said to be the work of Isidore of Seville, to the effect that St. James preached the Gospel to the natives of Spain and the West. But the treatise is certainly not the work of Isidore, and is absolutely without any historical value. On the other hand, the negative evidence of the silence of St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, Pope Innocent, and other writers, in places where they might have been expected to refer to the Apostle's visit, is sufficiently remarkable as regards any possible or projected voyage of the Apostle during his lifetime. As to the subsequent miracle connected with his death, his sepulture, and his epiphany in Gallicia, no evidence would avail to prove, or would be accepted to disprove, such matters of national faith in Spain. See Tillemont, *Mem. Ecclésiastiques*, tom. i., pp. 324-333; Geddes, *Tracts*, vol. ii.; Romey, iii., 416-23. One of the most remarkable phases or developments of this legend of St. James, is the *rediscovery* of the sacred body, which had been lost in the sixteenth century, after, and in some way on account of, the destruction of the Spanish Armada by the English; and the promulgation of the entire story as an Article of Faith by the present Pope Leo XIII., in his Letters Apostolic of 1st November, 1884, to which the more curious reader is very respectfully referred. See also *ad hoc*, Fita, *Viaje á Compostella* (Madrid, 1880). For the views of Dr. Döllinger, see Meyrick, *Church in Spain*, pp. 12, 13.

Leo III. the necessary permission or *faculty* to remove the Episcopal See of Ira Flavia to the new town of Compostella, the discovery or *invention* must have taken place at least before 814, the year of the death of the emperor. Whatever may have been the actual date of its first establishment, the mean church with mud walls soon gave place to a noble cathedral, which was finished by the year 874, consecrated in 899, and destroyed by the Arabs under Almanzor nigh upon a hundred years afterwards in 997.[1]

Santiago was as much a political as a religious institution. When Cordova had been made a second Mecca by the astute and liberal policy of Abdur Rahman, the Apostle was *invented*, not only to lead Christian armies against the infidel, as a general, but to attract Christian pilgrims, as a saint.[2]

In later times Clement VIII. (1603) jealous of the pretensions of the Spaniards as regards the Apostle, made some alterations in the words of the Breviary, casting doubts upon the entire story of his coming to Spain. But the vigorous remonstrances of Philip III. induced the Pope to modify his criticisms, and twenty years later the saint was restored by Urban VIII. to his full ecclesiastical honours.[3]

Alfonso II. having died without issue in 842, Ramiro, son of Bermudo the deacon, was chosen to succeed him. A rebellion, as usual, immediately broke out against the newly-elected monarch, but it was speedily put down; and Nepociano and Aldroito, the aspirants to the royal dignity, were deprived of their eyesight, and immured in monasteries, according to precedent in such cases.[4]

[1] The first cathedral was built 874-899, destroyed in 997, and refounded by Gelmirez (1096-1139). The bells, which had been carried away by Almanzor, were hung up, reversed, as lamps in the Mezquita at Cordova till 1236, when St. Ferdinand sent them back to Compostella on the shoulders of Moorish prisoners. The present edifice was raised on the old site under Bishop Pelaez in 1078.

Santiago was made an Archbishopric some time between 1100 and 1130; and Diego Gelmirez was the first archbishop.

[2] The number of visitors to Compostella from the twelfth to the sixteenth century was enormous. The roads of Christendom were thronged with its pilgrims. See Dante, *Paradiso*, xxv., 17. The myriads of stars that traverse the firmament, known to us as the Milky Way, are called in idiomatic Castilian *El Camino de Santiago*. In the single year 1434 no less than 2460 licences are said to have been granted to pilgrims from England alone. Rymer, O., x., xi.

[3] Ford (1855), ii., 607; Masdeu, xiii., 322; *España Sagrada*, xxx., 57, 58.

[4] The tearing out of the eyes, or *exoculation* seems to have been a common Asturian punishment at this time; and thieves as well as pretenders were subjected to it by Ramiro; but "wizards and fortune-tellers" met with a more terrible fate at the hands of the king, by whom they were burned alive. For *Political* offences, *Decalvation*, or scalping, was not uncommon, previous to seclusion or imprisonment in a religious house.

An invasion of the Northmen, or Vikings from Scandinavia, was a more novel, and, perhaps, a more serious danger. But the pirates fared ill in Gallicia. Repulsed at Gijon, and afterwards at Corunna, in 843, they pursued their course to Lusitania and Andalusia, whose richer shores they ravaged with little resistance, and they even made their way up the Guadalquivir as far as Seville.

Ramiro undertook no operation of importance against the Moslem; and although a tremendous victory at Clavijo was invented for him by Archbishop Roderic—whose most pious and glorious details, amplified by the imagination of Mariana, were accepted as history in Spain for close upon a thousand years—it is now universally admitted that the battle is purely a thing of the imagination, and that its popularity is due chiefly to the glowing language of the Jesuit historian, who tells how King Ramiro, in the agony of defeat at the hand of a vast army of opposing infidels, fell into a deep sleep, in which he became aware of the presence of the Apostle St. James, who assured him of victory. The army was quickly informed of this celestial visit, and after the performance of certain religious exercises, the whole host rushed anew upon the foe with shouts of *Santiago y cierra España*, which then and there became the war-cry of the Spanish armies.[1]

The Apostle himself, mounted on a white charger, and bearing in one hand a snow-white banner on which was displayed a blood-red cross, and in the other a flashing sword, took his place at the head of the Christian legions, and led them on to victory. Over sixty thousand Arabs were slain by the Apostle and his followers, and the remnant of the Moslems was pursued as far as Calahorra. The king is further said to have made a vow, on the field of battle, of an annual payment of a certain amount of corn and wine per acre by every Christian landholder in Spain, to be made to St. James, "as also that when any booty was divided, Saint James was to have his share as a horseman."[2]

The falsity of this story, both as regards the vow and the

[1] See generally the *Historia Compostellana*, compiled under the orders of Gelmirez, first Archbishop of Santiago, in the twelfth century, and printed in *España Sagrada*, tom. xx. See also *ibid.*, tom. xiv., p. 459.

[2] Roderic of Toledo, *De Rebus Hisp.*, lib. iv., 13; Mariana, vii., 6; Lafuente, iii., 292-3; Masdeu, vi., pp. 66-8, and p. 166.

As to the apocryphal *Voto de Santiago*, see D. José Perez, *Dissertationes Ecclesiasticæ;* Ortiz, *Discurso historico—legal sobre el pretentido diploma del voto de Santiago: Esp. Sagrada*, xix.; Ferreras, *Sinopsis*, tom. iv.; Masdeu, tom. xii., xvi., and a learned treatise in the *Mem.* of the *Real Acad. de Hist.*, tom. iv., pp.

battle, has been demonstrated with much gravity by various Spanish authorities. Yet the tribute was duly paid to the king, if not to the saint, in Spain, for over a thousand years, and the corn rent of Santiago ceased only to be included in the national income of the kingdom in the reign of Ferdinand VII. King Ramiro, as was becoming in a monarch who was honoured by the special intervention of St. James, was by no means inattentive to his religious duties. He not only burned the fortune-tellers and magicians, but he founded numerous churches, among which that of St. Mary on Mount Naranco, within a mile of the city of Oviedo, remains to this present day.

King Ramiro died in 850, and was succeeded by his son Ordoño, whose greatest military successes were, by a strange chance, distinctly favourable, not to the Christian, but to the Mohammedan power in Spain. One Musa, a renegade Goth, and a rebel Moslem, had by a series of bold intrigues and successful skirmishes, contrived to possess himself of a considerable amount of territory in northern and central Spain, He had defeated the Arab troops in many encounters, and had actually founded a city near Logroño, to which he gave the name of Albaida or Albelda, where he established his capital, and won for himself the title of the Third King of Spain. Master of Tudela, of Saragossa, of Huesca, this bold and indefatigable warrior directed his forays, without respect of creeds or of races, against Moslems and Christians like, against the Count of Alava and the Duke of Barcelona, against Ordoño of Asturias, and even against Charles of France.[1]

Yet among his many adversaries it was to the king of the Asturias that it was given to defeat this powerful chieftain, and by his most authentic victory at Clavijo,[2] Ordoño was delivered from a dangerous neighbour, and Mohammed of Cordova from a successful rebel. Yet the advantage was ultimately all on the side of the Christians. For within ten years after the victory at Clavijo, the sons of Musa had concluded an intimate alliance[3] with Alfonso III., and induced

1-33. This corn rent was actually paid until the year 1835, when it produced about £200,000 a year. See Ford (ed. 1855) ii., 604. (It had been peremptorily abolished by the Cortes of 1812, but like other ancient abuses was restored by Fernando VII.—H.)

[1] Charles the Bald paid great court to Musa, and sent envoys with magnificent presents to secure his good will. See Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., 182-3.

[2] This battle of Clavijo may have suggested the apocryphal victory of Ramiro.

[3] Alfonso actually entrusted the education of his son Ordoño to these *Beni-Casi*. Dozy, *Recherches*, etc., i., 222-226, and ii., 290-300.

the entire population that had owed allegiance to their father to submit themselves to the government of the Christian king.

Nor was Ordoño less successful in defeating another attempt that was made by the northern Vikings to effect a landing on his coasts (851). Repulsed on the shores of Gallicia, these terrible sea wolves continued their career to richer and more defenceless coasts, and ravaging the shores of Lusitania and Andalusia, they pursued their course of plunder as far as Africa and the eastern coasts of the Peninsula, if not of the Mediterranean. Nor were the Lusitanians, thus ravaged from the sea, exempted from attacks on their north-eastern frontiers. Ordoño in one of his marauding expeditions penetrated as far as Lisbon, and actually burned Cintra; and although he was speedily dislodged by the troops of Mohammed, he was able to make good his retreat into the mountain fastnesses of Gallicia, where, as usual, the Moslems were fain to leave him unmolested. But Ordoño was a builder as well as a destroyer, and in addition to many new *castles* along his southern and eastern frontiers[1] he restored and largely rebuilt the cities of Astorga, Tuy and Leon, which remained until the days of Almanzor uninterruptedly in the hands of the Christians.

Alfonso III., the eldest son of Ordoño, succeeded his father in 866, being at that time just eighteen years of age. The private intrigues of a certain Fruela, and the national jealousy of the Basques of Alava drove the young Alfonso for a short time from the throne; but the timely assassination of Fruela, and the delegation of the government of Alava to a popular *Count*[2] secured to Alfonso the enjoyment of his hereditary honours. The young king gave early proof of the vigour and intelligence which characterised his reign, and in less than two years after his accession he had already gained a considerable advantage over the Arabs in southern Gallicia (868).

Up to this time the Vasco Navarrese had owed a slight and uncertain allegiance to the king at Oviedo; and Alfonso, deeming it wiser to recognise, at least, the nominal independence of this proud and warlike people, sought and obtained the hand ot Jimena, daughter of Don Garcia of Pamplona in marriage, as a bond of a personal and political alliance.

[1] Hence, *Castile*=the land of Castles.

[2] Count Vigilez or Velez Ximenez. The difference between counts and kings in these early Christian States was only in name. The title of chief would have been more appropriate to all of them. The *dux* or duke indeed was for a long time considered as of inferior dignity to the *comes* or count.

The Moslem power was now growing weaker under the incompetent Amirs that preceded the great Abdur Rahman an Nasir; and Alfonso III., taking advantage of every opportunity that presented itself, gradually extended and strengthened the Christian dominions in central Spain, and pushed his victorious arms as far south as Lusitania. After an unsuccessful siege of the celebrated border town of Zamora, a truce for three years was agreed upon between Alfonso and the Amir Al Mondhir, and when the fighting was renewed, a Moslem victory at Aybar was balanced by a successful foray of the Christians, who crossed the Guadiana below Merida, and penetrated as far south as the Sierra Morena. A second treaty or truce agreed upon between the king and the Amir in 883, is worthy of notice, if only on the account of the provision that the bodies of the Christian martyr saints Eulogius and Leocricia, should be brought with due respect from Cordova to Oviedo, a condition which was faithfully carried out.

The Christian kingdom of Oviedo by this time comprehended not only the modern province of Gallicia, including a part of the modern kingdom of Portugal as far south as the Douro, with Leon and the Asturias, but a part of what is now Old Castile, as far south as the lines of Zamora, Toro and Simancas. The county of Alava was in alliance with, if not in subjection to, the king at Oviedo, and Count Diego Rodriguez was encouraged and assisted by Alfonso to build the castle, and to found the city, which was afterwards so well known in Spanish history as Burgos, the first town in Castile.

On the frontier, meanwhile, the war went on with ever varying fortune. Zamora was taken and retaken times beyond number. Constant victories were claimed by Christians and by Moslems. But the issue of one particular battle in which the Christians were undoubtedly successful (901)—known as *El dia de Zamora*—inspired Alfonso with such confidence, that he proceeded to march on Toledo. The expedition was unsuccessful: but Alfonso returned with no loss of honour to Oviedo in 902. To harry the infidel was at once the highest Christian duty, and the most profitable political practice of the kings of Leon. But it was not always, even against the infidel, that the Christians were united. For not only was Navarre jealous of Asturias, and Alava impatient of Castile; but intrigues and quarrels were scarcely less common at the sacred city of Oviedo than they were among the Moors and Arabs at Cordova. Alfonso

gained almost as much from the Moslems by judicious treaties as some of his predecessors had done by force of arms; and pre-eminent position that he occupied as a Christian sovereign enabled him to deal, with unusual success, with the ever-ready rebels at home.

Thus he contrived, almost alone of all the Christian sovereigns of the north, to live on good terms, at once with the bishops at Oviedo, and the Caliph at Cordova.[1] If he sent his son to be educated at Saragossa under Ismael, he replaced the modest chapel of Alfonso the Chaste at Compostella, by the magnificent temple that was the admiration of Christendom, until it was destroyed by the mercenaries of Almanzor. If he forebore from forays against the Caliph at Cordova, he richly endowed the cathedral and the clergy of Oviedo. At length in 909, this prudent king, wearied out rather by family feuds than by foreign foes, abdicated in favour of his turbulent sons[2] among whom his inheritance was divided. Garcia took the governorship of Leon; Ordoño, of Gallicia and Christian Lusitania; Fruela, of the Asturias; Gonzalvo, a priest, was made bishop or archdean of Oviedo; while Ramiro, a child of tender years, had no part in the division. For himself, Alfonso kept only the city of Zamora, where, after a pious pilgrimage to the tomb of Santiago at Compostella, he died, within twelve months of his abdication, on the 19th of December, 910, after a long and worthy reign of forty-four years—and was succeeded by his son, Garcia, as first King of Leon.

[1] "On good terms," that is, after the fashion of the day; which did not exclude a little bit of fighting from time to time.

[2] His abdication was the result of a plot fomented by his wife and eldest son, Garcia, aided by Nuño Fernandez, the father-in-law of the latter, Count of Castile.—H.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CALIPHATE OF CORDOVA.

(852—1031.)

I.—*Abdur Rahman an Nasir.*

We have seen with how noble a liberality the Christian worship was tolerated and even encouraged by the early Arab rulers of the Peninsula,[1] a liberality that was not to be attained in Christian Spain for 1150 years, and as yet undreamed of by the gentlest of Roman or Gothic Spaniards. Yet the Christian clergy were not content. The laity for the most part accepted the situation, with philosophy if not with satisfaction. They took advantage of the admirable schools provided by the Arabs. They aspired to important positions in the administration. They copied, as well as they could, the luxury of their new masters. But the priests had no love of knowledge; they despised culture, and they alone of the subject population hated the Moslem with a bitter and deadly hatred. Unwilling to accept with gratitude even the toleration of the Unbeliever, they spared no opportunity of reviling the great Prophet under whose benign laws they were permitted to exist.

Perfectus, a priest at Cordova, having publicly insulted the faith and founder of Islam, was condemned, according to the Mohammedan law, to death; and his execution, in the month of Ramadan 852, was the signal for new ecclesiastical insults. Isaac, a fanatical monk, sought and found martyrdom by his extravagant public abuse of Mohammed. Martyrdom became the fashion. In two months, eleven ecclesiastics trod boldly in the footsteps of Perfectus and of Isaac.

[1] By the laws of Islam, liberty of conscience and freedom of worship were allowed to all under Moslem dominion. The passage in the Koran, "Let there be no compulsion in religion," testifies to the principle of toleration and charity inculcated by Islam. "What wilt thou force men to believe, when belief can come only from God?"—Syed Amir Ali, *Spirit of Islam*, p. 303.

Abdur Rahman was infinitely distressed at the progress of this fatal frenzy; and anxious to avoid further bloodshed, he determined to convoke a Christian Council, to stay, if possible, the tide of religious folly. The Council of Cordova, constituted for the most part, like the Councils of the Visigoths, of Christian bishops, assembled under the presidency of Reccafred, Metropolitan of Seville; and Abdur Rahman, who could hardly have attended in person, was formally represented by a Christian Palatine of the name of Gomez, who laid before the assembled prelates the circumstances that had led to their Convocation. Saul, Bishop of Cordova, who undertook the defence of the martyrs, was unable to approve of any further persistence in conduct which amounted to suicide; and the Council formulated a decree in accordance with this prudent opinion. But the fanatics heeded not the monition of the Council; and they denounced their own bishops as freely as they reviled the Prophet of Arabia. The leading spirit in all these religious suicides was Eulogius, an enthusiastic young priest of Cordova, who, in 851, was found to be implicated in the conversion and flight of two young Moslem ladies. These fair proselytes, after the utmost indulgence on the part of the Cadi, persisted in a bold denunciation of the faith which they had abjured, and were condemned to death on the scaffold. Eulogius, unwilling himself to come forward, was not molested by the authorities. But the mania reached its height when, in September, 852, two monks forced their way into the great mosque at Cordova, at a time when it was full of worshippers, and cried aloud, until they were mercifully arrested: "The Kingdom of Heaven is reserved for the Christians; for you miscreants is prepared the fire of Hell!" The ecclesiastical madmen were saved by the Cadi from the fury of the populace, and after a deliberate and regular trial they were executed with many others according to law.

Abdur Rahman died in September, 852, and was succeeded by Mohammed I., a far less liberal sovereign; and Eulogius, who had about the same time been elected Metropolitan Bishop of Toledo, was convicted once more of participation in the flight and conversion of a Moslem lady, who had adopted the name of Leocritia, under which she was afterwards canonised; and he suffered death, together with his proselyte, in 859. But the force of the folly would seem at length to have spent itself; and the death of Eulogius put an end to the voluntary martyrdoms, although under the cruel and narrow-minded Mohammed,

the Christians were far from enjoying that complete toleration that had distinguished the rule of the first and of the second Abdur Rahman.

But if the Christians were less favoured under the new Amir, the Moslems were no whit more contented. For the rule of Mohammed I. was as inglorious as it was illiberal. If the Christians were ill-treated in the south, the Arab possessions were curtailed in the north, and the power of Cordova was everywhere suffered to decline. The rebellion of the Moslem Musa in the central provinces was even more disastrous than the forays of the Christian Ordoño in the north-west; while throughout the south, rival chiefs and rival tribes acquired an authority, independent of, and even hostile to, that of the Amir at Cordova, which reduced the power of the central government to a phantom. A strange and terrible foe moreover added to the general disorder, for the Vikings once more descending upon the coasts from the savage northern seas, plundered the rich and ill-defended provinces of southern Spain.

But the revolt of Ibn Merwan, in 875, was, perhaps, the most serious to which the Government of the Amir was at any time exposed. For this Ibn Merwan, a renegade captain of the Guards at Cordova, had fled into Gallicia on some palace affront, and assembling a large band of supporters, he had concluded an alliance with Alfonso III. of Leon, and made vigorous war against his former sovereign. Victorious in an important battle, he took prisoner and held to ransom the Amir's favourite general, Hisham, and he inspired the feeble court of Cordova with such terror of his arms that he was actually permitted to harry entire districts in the south-west of the Peninsula without let or hindrance at the hands of the nominal rulers[1] of the country. Nor did some passing successes of the Amir's forces in the north-east of Spain make up for these serious reverses.

But within as well as without, the condition of the Caliphate was most critical. The old Arab aristocracy, the descendants of the heroes of the conquest, were by this time greatly outnumbered by the other Moslem races in the Peninsula, and established as they were, for the most part, at Seville, they owed a very half-hearted allegiance to the supreme Government at Cordova. The Berbers or Moors—the wild, unculti-

[1] My authority for these pages is very largely the second volume of Dozy's, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne.*

vated soldiers of Africa—were more numerous, more intolerant, and even more disaffected than the graceful and polished Arab, and their authority in Estremadura and southern Lusitania was well-nigh independent of the Caliph at Cordova. The renegades or Spanish Moslems who inhabited Algarve were no less hostile to the Ommeyad rulers of the country. Tadmir or Murcia was virtually independent. Toledo was ever in revolt. The central authority at Cordova was daily becoming weaker and less regarded. If the Moslem still possessed the fairest portion of the Peninsula, the Amir had almost ceased to rule. Yet, even in these dark and troubled days, the Arab culture had not quite died out; the Arab refinement had not been entirely destroyed.[1] Excellent schools were maintained at Cordova. The judicial and financial administration were superior, not only to anything in Spain, but probably to anything in Europe. Ambassadors were welcomed from Emperors and Caliphs; and the art and sciences were cultivated in the cities, even when the country was being ravaged by rebels and robbers, and the frontiers were harried by Christians from the Asturias, and more savage pirates from the Baltic.

Mohammed I. died after a long and inglorious reign, in 886, and was succeeded by his son, Al Mondhir, who gave place, in 888, to his brother Abdullah, who reigned without glory, if without special shame, until 912, when he was succeeded by the third and the last Abdur Rahman, the greatest of all the Mohammedan rulers of Spain.

Under the master-hand of this blue-eyed, fair skinned Arab, the amiable, the gentle, the prudent, the accomplished Abdur Rahman *an Nasir*—who first made the title of Caliph of Cordova,[2] no less honourable and no less honoured than that of Caliph of Bagdad—was Moslem Spain once more raised from insignificance and anarchy to a splendour undreamed of by any former sovereign.

The Berber, the Marabout, the renegade, the refugee, all these had vexed Spain for nearly one hundred years. And Spain rose once more to new and greater glory under an Arab Caliph at Cordova. The first care of the young monarch

[1] This was especially the case in Seville at this time under the enlightened Ibn Hajjāj, the practically independent governor, and also in Murcia.—H.

[2] In 929 he was also called *Amir al Momenin*, Commander of the Faithful, a title as familiar to every reader of the *Arabian Nights* as that of the Caliph of Bagdad. It has been corrupted by Spanish writers into *Miramamolin*.

was to restore peace and unity to the Moslem Commonwealth; and his efforts were completely successful. Distracted by constant revolts, and dissatisfied with a fruitless independence, the rebel cities gradually submitted themselves to the arms of one who was bold enough to demand obedience, and strong enough to enforce it. One by one the leading rebels were vanquished and slain; one by one the leading cities were subdued and pacified. The new Caliph was stern, but he was not cruel. His work was at once quietly and thoroughly done. Unconquered in war, he was essentially a man of peace; liberal, refined, magnificent, with an iron will and a generous heart; and after eighteen years of firm and resolute government he found himself, not only the master, but the idol of a united country. Nor was he less successful in his attacks upon the Christians in the north; and his great victory at Val de Junqueras, in 920, over the combined forces of Leon and Navarre, was scarcely overshadowed by the Moslem defeat at Alhandega twenty years later, in 939.[1]

Abdur Rahman *an Nâsir* died in 961.[2] In the course of his long and brilliant reign he had restored the rule of the Moslem in Spain from a condition of anarchy, weakness and disgrace to the highest pitch of power, of glory, and of prosperity. Beloved at home, respected abroad; renowned not only for his liberality, his good taste, and his magnificence, but for his gentleness, his justice, his generosity, his name will ever be associated with the most glorious days of that most glorious empire which was well-nigh the creation of his youth, and became the idol of his maturer years.[3]

II.—*The City of Cordova.*

The most beautiful, the most magnificent, the most luxurious, the most civilised city of mediæval Europe in the tenth century was Cordova. Its markets were always stocked with the richest and most varied products of every country. No

[1] Ramiro II. also defeated the Moslems at Talavera in 950.

[2] Abdur Rahman *an Nâsir lidîn illah*; Defender of the Religion of God, was the title assumed by the Caliph in 929.

[3] Viardot, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Mores d'Espagne* (1833); Dozy, *Histoire*, tom. ii. and iii.; Stanley Lane Poole, *Moors in Spain*; Murphy and Shakspear, *Mohammedan Empire in Spain*; Casiri, ii., 39; Cardonne, i., 338; Gayangos, i., pp. 200, etc., *et seq.*

robe, however costly, says a contemporary writer, no drug, however scarce, no jewel, however precious, no rarity of distant and unknown lands, was wanting in its splendid bazaars.

Even before his arrival, the visitor had some foretaste of the luxury that awaited him, for on all the principal roads leading to the city, the Caliph established *Manzils* or rest-houses—something after the fashion of the *Dâk-Bungalows* maintained by the modern Anglo-Indian Government—for the gratuitous occupation of travellers.[1] Within the city the Caliph had his Palace of Flowers, his Palace of Contentment, his Palace of Lovers, and most beautiful of all, the Palace of Damascus, looking upon gardens watered by the noble Guadalquivir; while the humblest Moslem took his ease in the *Golden Meadow*, in the *Garden of the Waterwheel*, and the *Meadow of Murmuring Waters*.[2] Rich and poor met in the Mezquita, the noblest place of worship then standing in Europe,[3] with its 1200 marble columns, and its twenty brazen doors; the vast interior resplendent with porphyry and jasper and many-coloured precious stones, the walls glittering with harmonious mosaics, the air perfumed with incense, the courtyards leafy with groves of orange trees—showing apples of gold in pictures of silver. Throughout the city, there were fountains, basins, baths,[4] with cold water brought from the neighbouring mountains, already carried in the leaden pipes that are the highest triumph of the modern plumber.

But more wonderful even than Cordova itself was the suburb and palace of *Az Zahra*. For five-and-twenty years the third and greatest Abdur Rahman devoted to the building of his royal fancy one-third of the revenues of the State; and the work, on his death, was piously continued by his son, who devoted the first fifteen years of his reign to its completion. For forty years ten thousand workmen are said to have toiled

[1] Viardot, *Essai*, p. 101.

[2] Gayangos, i., lib. iii., cap. 1.

[3] The *Parthenon* had no worshippers; *St. Sophia* alone could compare with the great temple at Cordova.

[4] "The Arabs of Andalusia are also the cleanest people on earth in what regards their person, dress, beds, and in the interior of their houses; indeed, they carry cleanliness to such an extreme that it is not an uncommon thing for a man of the lower classes to spend his last dirhem in soap instead of buying food for his daily consumption, and thus go without his dinner rather than appear in public with dirty clothes." Of the general rudeness and dirt of their Christian contemporaries the evidence is only too abundant. Gayangos, i., pp. 116, 117.

day by day, and the record of the refinement as well as the magnificence of the structure, as it approached completion, almost passes belief. It is said that in a moment of exaltation the Caliph gave orders for the removal of the great mountain at whose foot the fairy city was built, as the dark shade of the forests that covered its sides overshadowed the gilded palace of his creation.

Convinced of the impossibility of his enterprise, *An Nasir* was content that all the oaks and beech trees that grew on the mountain side should be rooted up; and that fig trees, and almonds, and pomegranates should be planted in their place; and thus the very hills and forests of *Az Zahra* were decked with blossom and beauty.

Travellers from distant lands, men of all ranks and professions, princes, ambassadors, merchants, pilgrims, theologians and poets, all agreed that they had never seen in the course of their travels anything that could be compared with *Az Zahra*, and that no imagination, however fertile, could have formed an idea of its beauties. Of this marvellous creation of art and fancy not one stone remains upon another —not a vestige to mark the spot on which it stood; and it is hard to reconstruct from the dry records of Arab historians the fairy edifice of which we are told no words could paint the magnificence. According to these authors the enclosing wall of the palace was 4000 feet in length from east to west, and 2200 feet from north to south. The greater part of this space was occupied by gardens, with their marble fountains, kiosks and ornaments of various kinds, not inferior in beauty to the more strictly architectural parts of the building.

Four thousand three hundred columns of the rarest and most precious marbles supported the roof of the palace; of these some were brought from Africa, some from Rome, and many were presented by the Emperor at Constantinople to Abdur Rahman. The halls were paved with marble, disposed in a thousand varied patterns. The walls were of the same material, and ornamented with friezes of the most brilliant colours. The ceilings, constructed of cedar, were enriched with gilding on an azure ground, with damasked work and interlacing designs. Everything, in short, that the wealth and resources of the Caliph could command was lavished on this favourite retreat, and all that the art of Constantinople and Bagdad could contribute to aid the taste and executive skill of the Spanish Arabs was enlisted to make it the most perfect

work of its age. Did this palace of Zahra now remain to us, says Mr. Fergusson, we could afford to despise the Alhambra and all the other works of the declining ages of Moorish art.[1]

It was here that Abdur Rahman an Nasir received Sancho the Fat, and Theuda, Queen of Navarre, the envoys from Charles the Simple of France, and the ambassadors from the Emperor Constantine at Constantinople.[2] The reception of these Imperial visitors is said to have been one of the most magnificent ceremonies of that magnificent court. The orator who had been at first entrusted with the speech of ceremonial greeting, was actually struck dumb by the grandeur of the scene, and his place was taken by a less impressionable rhetorician.[3]

Nor was it only material splendour[4] that was to be found at Cordova. At a time when Christian Europe was steeped in ignorance and barbarism, in superstition and prejudice,[5]

[1] There was another palace and city somewhat similar in name, *Az Záhirah*, built by Almanzor between 978 and 981, on the banks of the Guadalquivir, not far from Cordova. In riches and beauty *Az Záhirah* is said to have rivalled even *Az Zahra*, but owing to its having been destroyed by the Berbers during the civil wars on the death of Almanzor, all trace of the city has perished, and even tradition is very uncertain as to the details. Gayangos, i., 232-242.

[2] The Imperial embassy was sent by Constantine VII. in 947. The Caliph is said to have also received embassies from the Duke of the Slavonians, the King of the Alamani, and from Hugo of Franconia. (The appearance of Sancho the Fat of Leon, and his grandmother Theuda, Queen of Navarre, at the Court of Cordova arose out of the deposition of Sancho by Fernan Gonzalez, Count of Castile, in favour of Ardoño IV. (the Bad). Sancho appealed to the Kalif of Cordova who sent him a Jewish physician to cure him of his corpulency, and invited him and Theuda with her son, the King of Navarre, to visit Cordova. On their return to Navarre Abdur Rahman gave Sancho armed aid against the usurper Ordoño IV. and restored him to the throne of Leon.—H.)

[3] Gayangos, ii., 143-145.

[4] Respecting the state of science among the Andalusians, we must own in justice that the people of that country were the most ardent lovers of knowledge, as well as those who best knew how to appreciate and distinguish a learned man and an ignorant one; indeed, science was so much esteemed by them that whoever had not been endowed by God with the necessary qualifications to acquire it did everything in his power to distinguish himself and conceal from the people his want of instruction; for an ignorant man was at all times looked upon as an object of the greatest contempt; while the learned man, on the contrary, was not only respected by all nobles and plebeians, but was trusted and consulted on every occasion. His name was in every mouth, his power and influence had no limits, and he was preferred and distinguished in all the occasions of life. Gayangos, vol. i., lib. ii., cap. iii. And see Renan, *Mélanges*, p. 15.

[5] *Les Espagnols* (*i.e.*, the Christians at this period, says Condé) vivent comme des bêtes sauvages, entrant les uns chez les autres sans demander permission, et ne lavent ni leur corps, ni même leurs habits, qu'ils n'ôtent que lorsque qu'ils tombent en lambeaux. Viardot, *Essais*, i., 191-2.

every branch of science was studied under the favour and protection of the Ommeyad Caliphs. Medicine, surgery, botany, chemistry, poetry, the arts, philosophy, literature, all flourished at the court and city of Cordova. Agriculture was cultivated with a perfection, both theoretical and practical, which is apparent from the works of contemporary Arab writers.[1] The *Silo*, so lately introduced into England as a valuable agricultural novelty, is not only the invention of the Arabs, but the very name is Arabic, as is that of the *Acequia* and of the *Noria* of modern Spain. Both the second and the third Abdur Rahman were passionately fond of gardening and tree-planting; and seeds, roots and cuttings were brought from all parts of the world and *acclimatised* in the gardens at Cordova. A pomegranate of peculiar excellence, the *Safari*, which was introduced by the second Abdur Rahman from Damascus, still maintains its superiority, and is known in Spain to the present day as the Granada Zafari.

Thus, in small things as in great, the Arabs of Cordova stood immeasurably above any other people or any other government in Europe. Yet their influence unhappily was but small. They surpassed, but they did not lead. The very greatness of their superiority rendered their example fruitless. Mediæval chivalry, indeed, was largely the result of their influence in Spain. But chivalry as an institution had itself decayed long before a new-born Europe had attained to the material and moral perfection of the great Amirs of Cordova. Their political organisation was unadapted to the needs or the aspirations of western Europe, and contained within itself the elements, not of development, but of decay. Their civilisation perished, and left no heirs behind it—and its place knows it no more.[2]

III.—*Almanzor.*

The reign of Hakam II., the son and successor of the great Caliph, was tranquil, prosperous and honourable, the golden age of Arab literature in Spain. The king was above all things a student, living the life almost of a recluse in his splendid

[1] Particularly the work of *Abu Zakariah al Awán*, which has been translated by D. José Antonio Banqueri (Madrid, 1802). *Cf.* Viardot, *Essai*, i., 129-131; and Wentworth Webster, *Spain*, p. 45.

[2] L'irrémédiable faiblesse de la race arabe, says M. Renan—*Mélanges*, p. 283—est dans son manque absolu d'esprit politique, et dans son incapacité de toute organisation.

retreat at *Az Zahra,* and concerning himself rather with the collection of books for his celebrated library at Cordova, than with the cares of State and the excitements of war. He sent agents to every city in the East to buy rare manuscripts and bring them back to Cordova. When he could not acquire originals he procured copies, and every book was carefully catalogued and worthily lodged. Hakam not only built libraries, but, unlike many modern collectors, he is said to have read and even to have annotated the books that they contained; but as their number exceeded four hundred thousand, he must have been a remarkably rapid student.[1]

The peaceful disposition of the new Caliph emboldened his Christian neighbours and tributaries to disregard the old treaties and to assert their independence of Cordova. But the armies of Hakam were able to make his rights respected, and the treaties were reaffirmed and observed. Many were the embassies that were received at Cordova from rival Christian chiefs; and Sancho of Leon, Fernan Gonzalez of Castile, Garcia of Navarre, Rodrigo Velasquez of Gallicia, and finally Ordoño the Bad, Pretender to the Crown of Leon, were all represented at the court of *Az Zahra.*[2]

The reign of this royal scholar was peaceful and prosperous; but kingly power tends to decline in libraries, and when Hakam ceased to build and to annotate, and his kingdom devolved upon his son, the royal authority passed not into the hands of the young Hisham, who was only nine years of age at the time of his father's death, but into those of the Sultana Sobeyra and of her favourite, Ibn-Abu-Amir, who is known to later generations by the proud title of *Almanzor.*[3]

Ibn-Abu-Amir began his career as a poor student at the University of Cordova. Of respectable birth and parentage, filled with noble ambition, born for empire and command, the youth became a court scribe, and, attracting the attention of the all-powerful Sobeyra[4] by the charm of his manner and his

[1] Hakam sent 1000 dinars of gold to Ispahan to have the first copy of the celebrated *Anthology of Abulfaraj*, and this celebrated work was actually read, says Renan (*Averroes et l'Averroïsme*, p. 3), in Andalusia, before it was known in Irak.

[2] Ordoño the Bad lived and died a pensioner at the court of the Arab. Dozy, *Histoire*, iii., 95-108, and see also *post*, chap. xvii. of this work.

[3] *Al Manzor al Allah;* "The Victor of God: or, Victorious by the Grace of God".

[4] More accurately, Sobha, the Dawn. M. Dozy calls her Aurora, merely, as he says, because it is more euphonious than her own name. Dozy, *Histoire*, iii., 118. *Cf.* Gayangos, ii., 178 and 476.

nobility of bearing, he soon rose to power and distinction in the palace; and as Master of the Mint, and afterwards as Commander of the City Guard,[1] he found means to render himself indispensable, as he had always been agreeable, to the harem. Nor was the young courtier less acceptable to the Caliph. Entrusted by him on a critical occasion with the supremely difficult mission of comptrolling the expenditure of the army in Africa, where the General-in-Chief had proved over prodigal or over rapacious, Ibn-Abu-Amir acquitted himself with such extraordinary skill and tact, that he won the respect and admiration, not only of the Caliph whose treasury he protected, but of the general whose extravagance he checked, and even of the common soldiers of the army, who are not usually drawn to a civilian superintendent, or to a reforming treasury official from headquarters. The expenses were curtailed; but the campaign was successful, and the victorious general and the yet more victorious *Cadi*,[2] shared on equal terms the honour of a triumphal entry into the capital.

On the death of Hakam,, in September, 976, Ibn-Abu-Amir showed no less than his usual tact and vigour in suppressing a palace intrigue, and placing the young Hisham on the throne of his father. The Caliph was but twelve years of age, and his powerful guardian, supported by the harem, beloved by the people, and feared by the vanquished conspirators, took upon himself the entire administration of the kingdom, repealed some obnoxious taxes, reformed the organisation of the army and sought to confirm and establish his power by a war against his neighbours in the north. The peace which had so long prevailed between Moor and Christian was thus rudely broken, and the Moslem once more carried his arms across the northern frontier. The campaign was eminently successful. Ibn-Abu-Amir, who contrived not only to vanquish his enemies but to please his friends, became at once the master of the palace and of the army. The inevitable critic was found to say that the victor was a diplomatist and a lawyer rather than a great general; but he was certainly a great leader of men, and if he was at any time unskilled in the conduct of a battle, he owned from the first that higher skill of knowing whom to trust with command. Nor was he less remarkable for his true military virtue of constant clemency to the vanquished.

[1] Afterwards *vali al Medina*, or the governor of the city.

[2] The title with which he had been specially invested was that of *Cadi of Africa*.

In two years after the death of Hakam, Almanzor had attained the position of the greatest of the *maires du palais* of early France, and he ruled all Mohammedan Spain in the name of young Hisham, whose throne he forebore to occupy, and whose person was safe in his custody. But if Almanzor was not a dilettante like Abdur Rahman II., nor a collector of *MSS.* like Hakam, he was no vulgar fighter like the early kings of Leon or of Navarre. A library of books accompanied him in all his campaigns; literature, science and the arts were munificently patronised at court; a university or high school was established as Cordova, where the great mosque was enlarged for the accommodation of an increasing number of worshippers. Yet in one thing did he show his weakness. He could afford to have no enemies. The idol of the army, the lover of the queen,[1] the prefect of the city, the guardian of the person of the Caliph, Almanzor yet found it necessary to conciliate the theologians; and the theologians were only conciliated by the delivery of the great library of Hakam into the hands of the *Ulema*. The shelves were ransacked for works on astrology and magic, on natural philosophy and the forbidden sciences, and after an inquisition as formal and as thorough, and probably no more intelligent than that which was conducted by the curate and the barber in the house of Don Quixote, tens of thousands of priceless volumes were publicly committed to the flames.

Nor did Almanzor neglect the more practical or more direct means of maintaining his power. The army was filled with bold recruits from Africa, and renegades from the Christian provinces of the north. The organisation and equipment of the regiments was constantly improved; and the troops were ever loyal to their civilian benefactor. Ghalib, the commander-in-chief, having sought to overthrow the supreme administrator of the kingdom, was vanquished and slain in battle (981). The Caliph was practically a prisoner in his own palace, and was encouraged by his guardian and his friends, both in the harem and in the mosque, to devote himself entirely to a religious life, and abandon the administration of his kingdom to the *Hájib*,[2] who now feeling himself entirely secure at home, turned his arms once more against the Christians on the northern frontiers; and it was on his return to Cordova, after

[1] *I.e.*, Sobha, or Sobeyra, the mother of the young Caliph. Dozy, *Histoire*, iii., 204-7, and p. 177; Renan, *Averroes*, etc., p. 15.

[2] Great Chamberlain.

his victories at Simancas and Zamora in 981, that he was greeted with the well-known title of *Almanzor*.

In 984 he compelled Bermudo II. of Leon, to become his tributary. In 985 he turned his attention to Catalonia, and after a brief but brilliant campaign he made himself master of Barcelona. Two years later (987) Bermudo having dismissed his Moslem guards and thrown off his allegiance to Cordova, Almanzor marched into the north-west, and after sacking Coimbra, overran Leon, entirely destroyed the capital city, and compelled the Christian king to take refuge in the wild fastnesses of the Asturias.

Meanwhile, at Cordova, the power of Almanzor became year by year more complete. Victorious in Africa as well as in Spain, this heaven-born general was as skilful in the council-chamber as he was in the field. The iron hand was ever clad in a silken glove. His ambition was content with the substance of power, and with the gradual assumption of any external show of supreme authority in the State. In 991 he abandoned the office and title of *Hájib* to his son, Abdulmelik. In 992 his seal took the place of that of the monarch on all documents of State. In 993 he assumed the royal cognomen of *Mowayad*. Two years later he arrogated to himself alone the title of *Saíd ;* and in 996 he ventured a step further, and assumed the title of *Málik Karim,* or king.

But in 996 Almanzor was at length confronted by a rival. Sobeyra, the Navarrese Sultana, once his mistress, was now his deadly enemy, and she had determined that the queen, and not the minister, should reign supreme in the palace. Almanzor was to be destroyed. Hakam, a feeble and effeminate youth, was easily won over by the harem, who urged him to show the strength that he was so far from possessing, by espousing the cause of his mother against his guardian. The queen was assured of victory. The treasury was at the disposal of the conspirators. A military rival was secretly summoned from Africa. The minister was banished from the royal presence. The palace was already jubilant.

But the palace reckoned without Almanzor. No Wamba was he, tamely to accept his deposition ; no rude soldier to be vanquished by the wiles of a woman. Making his way into Hakam's chamber, more charming, more persuasive, more resolute than ever, Almanzor prevailed upon the Caliph not only to restore him to his confidence, but to empower him, by a solemn instrument under the royal sign manual, to assume

the government of the kingdom. Sobeyra, defeated but unharmed by her victorious and generous rival, retired to a cloister; and Almanzor, contemptuously leaving to one of his lieutenants the task of vanquishing his subsidised rival in Africa, set forth upon the most memorable of all his many expeditions against Christian Spain (3rd July, 997).

Making his way, at the head of an army, through Lusitania into far away Gallicia, he took Corunna, and destroyed the great Christian Church and city of Santiago de Compostella,[1] the most sacred spot in all Spain, and sent the famous bells which had called so many Christian pilgrims to prayer and praise, to be converted into lamps to illuminate the Moslem worshippers in the mosque at Cordova.

Five years later, in 1002, after an uncertain battle, Almanzor died in harness, if not actually in the ranks, bowed down by mortal disease, unhurt by the arm of the enemy.[2]

In force of character, in power of persuasion, in tact, in vigour, in that capacity for command that is only found in noble natures, Almanzor has no rival among the regents of Spain. His rise is a romance; his power a marvel; his justice a proverb. He was a brilliant financier; a successful favourite; a liberal patron; a stern disciplinarian; a heaven-born courtier; an accomplished general; and no one of the great commanders of Spain, not Gonsalvo de Aguilar himself, was more uniformly successful in the field than this lawyer's clerk of Cordova.

Hisham, in confinement at *Az Zahra*, was still the titular Caliph of the West, but Almanzor was succeeded as commander-

[1] According to the Moslem authorities, he spared the actual shrine of the apostle and placed a guard over it so that it should suffer no injury at the hands of any of his soldiers. According to the Christian view the holy place was miraculously preserved from defilement of infidel hands. See *ante*, chapter xv.

[2] His end was hastened, according to the author of the *Historia Compostellana* and other Christian chroniclers, by his chagrin at the incompleteness of a victory—for Almanzor never knew defeat—at Calatañazor, near Soria, fourteen leagues from Medina Celi, when he was carried on to the field in a litter, being too much broken by illness to be able to mount a horse. Pope Leo XIII., in his *Apostolic Letter* of 1st November, 1884, suggests, at least, that his death was the vengeance of heaven, on account of his pillage of Compostella. Florez, however, fairly points out that Almanzor lived certainly five, and perhaps thirteen years after the taking of Santiago, *España Sagrada*, xix., 7. The relief of the Christians at his death was unspeakable; and is well expressed, says Mr. Poole, in the simple comment of the Monkish annalist, "In 1002 died Almanzor, and was buried in hell," *Moors in Spain*, p. 166.

Calatañazor (Dozy, *Recherches*, i., 211-221), is scarcely a more authentic battle than *Clavijo;* and seems never to have been mentioned by any Arab chronicler. The rise of the legend, as traced by M. Dozy, *ubi supra*, is sufficiently curious. But see Gayangos, ii., 197.

in-chief and virtual ruler of the country by his favourite son, his companion-in-arms, and the hero of an African campaign, Abdul Malik Almudaffar, the Hajib of 991. But the glory of Cordova had departed. Abdul Malik indeed ruled in his father's place for six years. But on his death in 1008,[1] he was succeeded by his half-brother Abdur Rahman, who, as the son of a Christian princess, was mistrusted both by the palace and by the people; and the country became a prey to anarchy.

Cordova was sacked. The Caliph was imprisoned; rebellions, poisonings, crucifixions, civil war, bigotry and scepticism, the insolence of wealth, the insolence of power, a Mahdi and a Wahdi, Christian alliance, Berber domination, Slav mutineers, African interference, puppet princes, all these things vexed the Spanish Moslems for thirty disastrous years; while a number of weak but independent sovereignties arose on the ruins of the great Caliphate of the West.[2]

The confused annals of the last thirty years of the rule of the Ommeyades are mere records of blood and of shame, a pitiful story of departed greatness.

On the death of Hisham II., the Romulus Augustulus of Imperial Cordova, Moslem Spain was divided into a number of petty kingdoms, Malaga, Algeciras, Cordova, Seville, Toledo, Badajoz, Saragossa, the Balearic Islands, Valencia, Murcia, Almeria, and Granada. And each of these cities and kingdoms made unceasing war one upon another.

From the death of Hisham, if not from the death of Almanzor, the centre of interest in the history of Spain is shifted from Cordova to Castile.

[1] According to Dozy—*Recherches*, i., 200-211—Almanzor married no less than two royal princesses of Christian Spain: one a daughter of King Sancho, whether of Castile or of Navarre is uncertain, about 985, and the other Princess Teresa, daughter of Bermudo II. of Leon, in 993. Abdur Rahman, the successor of Abdul Malik, was probably the son of the former marriage.

[2] The Caliphate indeed is said to have come to an end only on the death of Hisham III. in 1031; but the sovereigns from the death of Almanzor had little authority and no merit.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE KINGDOM OF LEON.

(910—1068.)

The brief reign (912-914) of Garcia, the son and successor of Alfonso the Great, is only remarkable for the transfer of the Christian capital from Oviedo to Leon; and his younger brother, who succeeded him at his death as Ordoño II., reigned from 914 to 921 as king of Leon. This Ordoño abandoned the peaceful policy of his greater father, and undertook many expeditions with varying and uncertain success against the Arabs. He plundered Merida, in 917, and routed the Berbers in southern Spain in 918. Yet three years later, at Val de Junqueras (921), near Pamplona, the Christians suffered disastrous defeat. The usual rebellion at home was appeased by the treacherous execution or murder of no less than four Counts of Castile in 922, and was followed by the king's death in 923.

Of Fruela II. (923-925), Alfonso IV.[1] (925-930), and Ramiro II. (930-950), little need be said, but that they lived and reigned as kings of Leon.

To Ramiro, however, is due, at least, the honour of an authentic victory over the Moslem forces of the great Caliph, Abdur Rahman an Nasir (939), at Simancas,[2] and afterwards in the same year at Alhandega.[3]

Ramiro, after the usual rebellion, abdicated, in 950, in favour of his son Ordoño—who had married Urraca, daughter of the principal rebel of the day, Fernan Gonzalez, Count of Castile—and who succeeded his father as Ordoño III.

[1] Alfonso IV. abdicated in favour of his brother Ramiro, 11th October, 930; and retired, having first been fraternally *exoculated*, into the monastery of Sahagun (Dozy, *Recherches*, i., 165).

[2] As to the celebrated battle of Simancas, see Lafuente, iii., 437, and iv., 15, 16.

[3] Dozy, *Recherches*, i., 181-186, discusses, with his usual erudition and acuteness, the situation of Alhandega, the second battle of this well-nigh forgotten campaign—*victoire si éclatante qu'on en parla au fond de l'Allemagne aussi bien que dans les pays les plus reculés de l'Orient.*

But decapitation was a far more certain way of suppressing rebellion than matrimony; and Fernan Gonzalez lived to intrigue against his daughter and her royal husband in favour of Sancha, a younger brother of the king. Ordoño, however, held his own against his brother, and revenged himself on his father-in-law, by repudiating his wife; who, with her personal and family grievances, was promptly *acquired* by Sancho, who succeeded, on his brother's death, to the crown of which he had failed to possess himself by force. But even as a legitimate sovereign, Sancho, surnamed the Fat, was not allowed to reign in peace. He was driven from his kingdom by that most versatile rebel, Count Fernan Gonzalez, and sought refuge at the court of his uncle Garcia of Navarre at Pamplona. Thence, in company with Garcia, and his mother Theuda, he journeyed to the court of the Caliph at Cordova, where the distinguished visitors were received with great show of welcome by Abdur Rahman at Az Zahra; and where Hasdai, the Jew, the most celebrated physician of the day, succeeded in completely curing Sancho of the distressing malady — a morbid and painful corpulency—which incapacitated him from the active discharge of his royal duties.

The study and practice of medicine were alike disregarded by the rude dwellers in Leon; but the Cordovan doctor, surpassing in his success, if not in his skill, the most celebrated physicians of the present day, contrived to reduce the king's overgrown bulk to normal proportions, and restored him to his former activity and vigour, both of body and mind. Nor was the skill of Hasdai confined to the practice of medicine. An accomplished diplomatist, he negotiated a treaty with his Christian patient, by which Sancho bound himself to give up ten frontier fortresses to the Caliph, on his restoration to the crown of Leon, while Don Garcia and Doña Theuda undertook to invade Castile in order to divert the attention of the common foe, the ever ready Fernan Gonzalez.[1]

In due time Sancho, no longer the fat, but the hale, returned to Leon at the head of a Moslem army, placed at his disposal by his noble host at Cordova, drove out the usurper, Ordoño the Bad, and reigned in peace in his Christian dominions. The visit of this dispossessed Ordoño to the court of the Caliph Hakam at Cordova, in 962, is an interesting specimen of the international politics or policy of his age and country.[2]

[1] Dozy, *Histoire*, iii., 80-89.
[2] See Gayangos, vol. ii., lib. vi., cap. vi.

As Sancho had recovered his throne by the aid of Abdur Rahman, so Ordoño sought to dethrone him and make good his own pretensions by the aid of Hakam. The Caliph, already harassed by Fernan Gonzalez, and doubting the honesty of King Sancho, was not ill-pleased to have another pretender in hand, and Ordoño the Bad [1] was invited to Cordova, and received by Hakam in the palace at Az Zahra with the utmost pomp and display. The Leonese prince craved in humble language the assistance of the Moslem, and professed himself his devoted friend, ally and vassal; and he was permitted to remain at the court of Hakam, to await the issue of events in the north. Some few days afterwards a treaty was solemnly signed between the Caliph and the Pretender, and once more the glories of Az Zahra were displayed to the eyes of the astonished barbarian from Leon.

Nor did the fame of these splendid ceremonies fail to reach Sancho in the north-west; and his spirit of independence was considerably cooled by the prospect of a Moslem army, headed by his cousin Ordoño, making its appearance before his ill-defended frontiers. The manœuvre was sufficiently familiar; and the reigning monarch lost no time in disassociating himself from the hostile proceedings of Fernan Gonzalez; and sending an important embassy to Hakam at Cordova, to assure him of his unwavering loyalty, he hastened to announce his readiness to carry out to the letter all the provisions of his recent treaty with the Caliph. Hakam was satisfied. Ordoño languished disregarded at Cordova, despised alike by Moslem and Christian, but unharmed and in safety as the guest of the Arab. Sancho reigned in peace until 967, when he was poisoned by the rebel count of the day, Sanchez of Gallicia. His son, who was known as Ramiro III., an unwise and incapable monarch, reigned at Leon from 967 to 982, without extending the possessions or the influence of the Christians in Spain; and Bermudo II., who usurped the throne, was no match for the fiery Almanzor, who ravaged his kingdom, took possession of his capital, and compelled the Christian court to take refuge in the wild mountains of the Asturias, and once more to pay tribute to the Moslem at Cordova.

Bermudo died in 999; and on the death of Almanzor, three years later, the Christian fortunes under the young

[1] Ordoño IV. was a son of the Alfonso IV. who had abdicated in favour of his brother Bermudo.—H.

Alfonso V., who had succeeded his father Bermudo, at the age of only five, began to mend.[1] Cordova was given up to anarchy. The Moslem troops retired from northern Spain. Leon became once more the abode of the king and his court, and though Alfonso gave his sister in marriage to Mohammed an Amir or Vali of Toledo, he extended his Christian dominion in more than one foray against the declining power of the Moslem.[2]

Alfonso V., who is known in Spanish history as the Restorer of Leon, sought to consolidate his own power, as he certainly exalted that of his clergy, by the summoning of a Council, after the manner of the Visigothic Councils of Toledo. The Council met at the city of Leon on the 1st of August, 1020, in the Cathedral Church of St. Mary.[3] The King and his Queen Elvira presided, and all the bishops and the principal abbots and nobles of the kingdom took their seats in the assembly. And if there was no Leander, nor Isidore, nor Julian to impose his will upon King or Council, the interests of the Church were not entirely overlooked. Of the fifty-eight decrees and canons of this Council, the first seventeen relate exclusively to matters ecclesiastical; the next twenty are laws for the government of the kingdom, the remaining thirty-one are municipal ordinances for the city of Leon.

But Alfonso V. was not exempted from the usual rebellions, and marriages, and assassinations, and executions, which constituted the politics of the day. Garcia, the last Count of Castile, was treacherously slain in 1026; and Alfonso was himself more honourably killed in an attack upon a Moslem town in Lusitania in 1027.

The life of Fernan Gonzalez, the Warwick of mediæval Spain, is almost as much overlaid with romantic legends as that of Roderic or Roland.[4] The lives and deeds of his

[1] Romey, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. iv., pp. 451-2.

[2] There was an invasion of the Northmen in 966-971, and again about the year 1008, when the town of Tuy, at the mouth of the Minho, was destroyed.

In 1018 Catalonia was ravaged by the French Normans, under one Roger; and the taking of Barbastro, in Sobrarbe, from the Moslems in 1064, by the same bold adventurer, was accompanied by the most terrible atrocities. The unhappy town was recovered in the course of the next year by the Arabs under Moctadi, of Saragossa, the first patron of the Cid; and was once more taken by Peter of Aragon in 1101, after which it remained for ever in the power of the Christians. For an account of all these expeditions, see Dozy, *Recherches*, etc., vol. i., 300-315, and 388-390.

[3] As to this most interesting assembly—the first of the great Councils of Spain after the fall of the Visigoths—see *post*, chapter xxxiii., *Constitutional History*.

[4] The monumental tomb at Burgos has "*A Fernan Gonzalez, libertador de Castilla, el mas excelente General de ese tiempo*". *Cf. España Sagrada*, xxvi.;

ancestors, and the origin of his ever-celebrated County of Castile, are involved in the utmost confusion and obscurity; but Fernan Gonzalez himself is at least a historical personage. He married Sancha, daughter of Sancho Abarca of Navarre, and their son, Garcia Fernandez, succeeded him as hereditary Count of Castile.

As early as the year 905, Sancho, a Christian chief of whose ancestors and predecessors much has been written, much surmised, and nothing is certainly known, was king or ruler of the little border state of Navarre. A prudent, as well as a warlike sovereign, he fortified his capital city of Pamplona; and when his son, in alliance with Ordoño II. of Leon, was defeated by the Moslems at Val de Junquera, the Navarrese not only made good their retreat to that celebrated fortress, but succeeded in course of a short time in driving the Moslem out of their country. The grandson of this successful general was Sancho *El Mayor*—or the Great—the most powerful of the Christian princes in Spain (970-1035). Besides Navarre and Sobrarbe he held the lordship of Aragon; in 1026, in right of his wife, Muña Elvira, he became King or Count of Castile; while his successful interference in the affairs of Leon made him virtual master of all Christian Spain outside the limits of the quasi-Frankish County of Catalonia.

Sancho the Great died in 1035, when his territories were divided according to his will,[1] among his four sons; and from this time forth the history of Navarre so far as it is not included in the history of Aragon, of Castile, and of France, is a confused and dreary record of family quarrels, of plots and assassinations, of uncertain alliances, of broken treaties. The marriage of the Princess Berengaria with Richard I. of England, in 1191, failed to secure for Sancho V. the influence that he had hoped to secure; and with Sancho VI.,[2] who died in 1234, the male line of the house of Sancho Iñiguez or Inigo, the founder of Navarre, was extinct. A French prince was chosen by the Navarrese to rule over them. And from the death of Sancho VI. in 1234, to the death of Charles the Bad, in 1387—150 years—the history of Navarre is that of France.

Lafuente, iii., 494-501, and iv., pp. 19, 20. See also a *Disertacion* by Don F. Benito Montego, printed in the *Mem.* of the *Real Acad. de Hist.*, iii., 254-317; and a judicious summary in Romey, *Hist. d'Espagne*, tom. iv., pp. 286-295.

[1] The division was as follows: *Navarre* and *Biscay* to his eldest son Garcia; *Castile* to Ferdinand; *Ribagorza* to Gonzalo; *Aragon* to Ramiro.

[2] He left the kingdom to James of Aragon. But the Navarrese elected a French prince Thibault, Count of Champagne, to be their ruler in his stead (1236).

Bermudo III., who succeeded on the death of his father, Alfonso V., in 1027, as King of Leon, was at once attacked by his powerful neighbours, and the little states were distracted by family quarrels and civil war until the death of Bermudo in battle, in 1037, when the male line of the house of Leon became extinct. Ferdinand I., King of Castile, the second son of Sancho the Great, then succeeded to the kingdom of Leon, and became, after over twenty years of civil war (1058), the most powerful monarch in all Spain. The Moslems offered but an uncertain and half-hearted resistance to his arms. For while the Christians were growing strong, the Moslem Empire was already declining to its fall. And the decay of the Caliphate of Cordova, and the internal dissensions of the Arabs, enabled Ferdinand not only to recover all the territory that had been conquered by Almanzor, but to pursue the disheartened Moslem as far as Valencia, Toledo and Coimbra. Ferdinand confirmed the Fueros of Alfonso V., and summoned a Council at Coyanza (Valencia de Don Juan), over which, with his Queen Sancha, he presided in 1050. All the bishops and abbots, together with a certain number of lay nobles thus assembled *ad restaurationem nostræ Christianitatis,* proceeded to make decrees or canons, after the manner of the Councils of Toledo, of which the first seven were devoted to matters ecclesiastical, and the remainder connected with the civil government of the country.[1] With territories thus recovered and augmented, with cities restored and fortified, Ferdinand determined to excel all his Christian predecessors, and to emulate the noble example of the Arab, by enriching his dominion, not with treasures of art or literature, with schools, with palaces, with manuscripts—but with the bones of as many martyrs as he could collect.

An army was raised for this sacred purpose, and the country of the Moors was once more invaded and harried by the Christian arms. Ibn Obeid of Seville, learning the objects of the invasion, offered Ferdinand every facility for research in his city; and a solemn Commission of bishops and nobles were admitted within the walls to seek the body of Justus, one of the martyrs of Diocletian. But in spite of all the diligence of the Christians, and all the good will of the Arabs, the sacred remains could nowhere be found. At length the spirit of Saint Isidore removed the difficulty by appearing miraculously before the Commission, and offering his own bones in the place of those of

[1] The defeat and death of the disloyal invader, Garcia Sancho of Navarre, at Atapuerca, 1054, helped to consolidate the power of Ferdinand.

Justus, which were destined, said he, to remain untouched at Seville. The Commission was satisfied. And the body of the great metropolitan "fragrant with balsamic odours" was immediately removed to the Church of St. John the Baptist [1] at Leon—to the great satisfaction of both Christians and Moors, in 1063.

It was on the occasion of the return of these blessed relics to the Christian capital that Ferdinand proclaimed the future division of his kingdom. For after all the success that had attended the union of the dominions of Leon and Castile under the sole authority of Ferdinand, who rather perhaps for his sanctity than for his wisdom had earned the title of the Great, the king made the same grievous mistake that his father had done before him, in dividing his united territories at his death (1065) among his sons and daughters. To Sancho, the eldest son, he left the kingdom of Castile; to Alfonso, Leon and the Asturias; to Garcia, Gallicia; to his younger daughter Elvira, the town and district of Toro; and to her elder sister Urraca, the famous border city of Zamora, the most debatable land in all Spain, and a strange heritage for a young lady. Thus Castile and Leon were once more separated; and the usual civil wars and family intrigues naturally followed. Alfonso, though not at first the most successful, survived all his rivals, and was at length proclaimed King of Leon and Castile.

But the successes and glories of Alfonso VI., such as they were, are overshadowed by the prowess of a Castilian hero, whose exploits form one of the most favourite chapters in the national history of Spain—the Christian knight with the Moslem title—Ruy Diaz, The Cid.

[1] The church was dedicated of course to Saint Isidore. Lafuente, iii., 204-208.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CID.

(1040—1099.)

I.

Two years before William of Normandy landed at Hastings, a Castilian knight, a youth who had already won for himself the proud title of *The Challenger*, from his reckless bravery and his success in single combat,[1] is found leading the royal armies of Sancho of Castile against the enemy. The knight was Ruy Diaz de Bivar.[2] The enemy was Alfonso VI. of Leon, the brother of Sancho, who was endeavouring to re-unite the inheritance divided by his father, in the good old mediæval fashion in Spain.

Of noble birth and parentage, a Castilian of the Castilians, Roderic or Ruy Diaz was born at Bivar, near Burgos, about the year 1040. His position in the army of Sancho was that of *Alferez*, in title the standard-bearer, in effect the major-general or second in command.

For seven years Alfonso of Leon and Sancho of Castile had been at war; each seeking to destroy the other; and at length at Golbejara, near Carrion, on the eve of what promised to be a decisive battle, a solemn engagement was entered into by the brothers that whichever of the two were worsted in the encounter should resign his kingdom to the other without further bloodshed. The Castilians, in spite of Sancho and his famous standard-bearer, were defeated at Golbejara; and Alfonso of

[1] In a battle between Sancho of Castile and Sancho of Navarre. See Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., pp. 111, 112.

[2] According to the ballad, *Ese buen Diego Lainez*, he was the illegitimate son of Diego Lainez. But he was more probably of honourable birth, and seventh in direct descent from the Castilian Nuño Rasura, who was also the ancestor of the royal house of Castile. The ballad in question is judged by Mr. Ormsby to be of no greater antiquity than the sixteenth century.

Leon, foolishly trusting his brother's word, took no heed to improve his victory, and his unsuspecting army was overwhelmed the next day by the Castilian troops under Ruy Diaz de Bivar, the author of this exceedingly characteristic, if not entirely authentic, piece of treachery.

It is scarcely surprising that the Cid was not trusted by Alfonso of Leon, when he, in his turn, succeeded to the crown of Castile. But for the moment Alfonso was not only deprived of his throne and of his liberty by his more successful brother, but he was compelled to purchase his life by a promise to enter the monastery of Sahagun.[1] Disregarding this vow, and making good his escape to Toledo, the royal refugee was received with the usual Arab hospitality by El Mamun, the Moslem ruler of the city, who sheltered and entertained him, as he himself admitted, "like a son".

Sancho meanwhile had turned his arms against his brother Garcia, whom he dispossessed of his territories; against his sister Elvira, who met with a similar fate, and, lastly, against his sister Urraca, who withstood him boldly in her city of Zamora. And not only did this time-honoured fortress resist the attack of Sancho and his wily standard-bearer, but the king was slain outside the walls of the city by one of his sister's knights. Alfonso then not only recovered his own kingdom of Leon, but, swearing perpetual friendship with El Mamun of Toledo, he was *elected* King of Castile by the Commons assembled at Burgos; and the defeated refugee of 1071 found himself, in less than two years, the greatest prince in Christian Spain; Alfonso VI. of Leon and of Castile[2]

Yet the legend runs that Alfonso was compelled to undergo the indignity of a public examination, and a triple oath before the knights and nobles assembled at Burgos, to the effect that he had had no share in the murder of King Sancho; and the oath was administered by Ruy Diaz of Bivar, the companion in arms of the Castilian king, sometime the faithless enemy of Carrion, but now the acknowledged leader of the Castilian nobility.

[1] According to another story, it was owing to the intercession of Urraca that he was allowed to go into banishment at Toledo. (Most of the chronicles make him escape to Moorish Toledo from the monastery into which, on the intercession of Urraca, he was permitted to retire.—H.).

[2] There is no evidence, says Mr. Ormsby, for this transaction except the ballads and the account in the *Cronica*, which is certainly taken from them. If there were any true historical foundation for the story, it would have been referred to in the *Genealogia* and the *Gesta*,

Alfonso of Leon may have forgiven the treachery in the field, but he never forgot the insult in the Council. He restrained his indignation, however, and was even induced by reasons of State to grant to the bold Castilian lord the hand of his cousin Ximena[1] in marriage, and to entrust him with the command of an expedition into Andalusia. But the royal favour was of brief duration; and in 1081 we find that Roderic, partly owing to the intrigues of Garcia Ordoñez, and partly to the enduring enmity of the king, was banished from the Christian dominions.

Of all the petty sovereignties that came into existence on the breaking up of the Ommeyad Caliphate of Cordova, that of Moctadir, the chief of the Ben-i-hud of Saragossa, was the most powerful in northern or central Spain; and at the Moslem court of Saragossa, Ruy Diaz with his fame and his followers, was warmly welcomed (1081) by Moctadir as a *Saïd* or *Cid*—a lord or leader of the Arabs.[2] He had been driven out of Castile by Alfonso. He found a home and honourable command at Saragossa. So long as he could make war upon his neighbours, all countries were alike to Roderic of Bivar. Nor was it long before his prowess brought honour and profit to Moctadir, or, rather, to his son and successor, Motamin.[3]

Ramon Berenguer III., Count of Barcelona, was engaged, like other Christian princes of his time, in chronic warfare with his Moslem neighbours; and Motamin, with his Castilian Cid, marching against the Catalans, defeated the Christians with great slaughter at Almenara, near Lerida, and brought Ramon Berenguer a prisoner to Saragossa (1081), where the victorious

[1] July, 1074. Ximena Diaz—I maintain the old spelling—was a daughter of D. Diego Rodriguez of Oviedo, one of the leaders of the Leonese nobility. The story of the marriage of Ruy Diaz with Ximena Gormaz, the Chimène of Corneille, after having slain her father, D. Gomez de Gormaz, "Lozana," as the ballads call him, in single combat, is generally admitted at the present day to be apocryphal.

[2] Moctadir died within a few months of the engagement of the Cid, 1081.

[3] It is sufficiently remarkable that while Ruy Diaz has ever been known to Christian writers by his Arab title of the *Cid* (*Saïd*), he was spoken of by his Moslem contemporaries and chroniclers under his Spanish surname of the *Campeador* (*el Gánbitur*). The title Campeador, which may be translated Challenger, has nothing to do with the Latin Campus: but is derived from the Teutonic *Champh* = a single combat. The verb *Kamfjan* is equivalent to—to do battle; and Kamfjo, Anglo-Saxon *Cæmpa* = a gladiator, athlete or combatant. Hence the mediæval Latin words *campeare*, whence Latin *campeator*, and Spanish *Campeador*, a challenger; as David challenged Goliath to single combat in the face of two contending armies, according to a well-known oriental custom. The Arabic word for a *campeador* is *mobáriz*. See authorities cited by Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., 65, 66, and id., pp. 254-257.

Cid was loaded with presents by the grateful Motamin, and invested with an authority in the kingdom subordinate only to that of the king himself. Two years later (1083) an expedition was undertaken by the Moslems under Roderic, against their Christian neighbours in Aragon. King Sancho Ramirez was completely defeated by the Castilian champion, who returned once more to Saragossa loaded with booty and renown. In 1084 the Cid seems to have paid a friendly visit to the court of Alfonso VI. But although he was apparently well received, he suspected treachery, and, returning to the court of the Moslem, once more took service under the delighted Motamin. His next campaign, undertaken in the following year, was not against any Christian power, but against the hostile Moslems of northern Valencia, and was crowned with the usual success. Motamin died in 1085, but the Cid remained in the service of his son and successor, Mostain, fighting against Christian and Moslem as occasion offered, partly for the King of Saragossa, but chiefly for the personal advantage of Ruy Diaz of Bivar. A stranger national hero it is hard to imagine! Nor were his subsequent proceedings in any degree less strange.

Al Mamun, the host and protector of Alfonso VI., had died in 1075, leaving his grandson, Cadir, to succeed him as sovereign of Toledo. Abdulaziz, the viceroy of the subject city of Valencia, took advantage of the weakness of the young prince to declare himself independent, and placing himself under the protection of the Christians, undertook to pay a large subsidy to Alfonso VI. in return for his recognition and support.[1] The subsidy was punctually paid, and, in spite of a present of no less than 100,000 pieces of gold handed over by Moctadir of Saragossa to Alfonso as the price of Valencia, Abdulaziz retained his hold of the city until his death in 1085. On this, numerous pretenders to the government immediately arose, including Moctadir of Saragossa, a purchaser for value, and the two sons of Abdulaziz; while Alfonso took advantage of the confusion that ensued to persuade Cadir to surrender Toledo, much coveted by the Christian king, and to accept, or more exactly to retain, for himself the sovereignty of Valencia, under the humiliating protection of Castile. Alfonso cared nothing that Toledo was the inheritance of his youthful ally, the home of his old protector, when he himself was a hunted refugee. He cared nothing that the Valencians were hostile to Cadir, and that

[1] Ibn Bassam, *MS. Gotha*, fol. 10, v.; *apud*, Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., 124.

powerful neighbours were prepared to dispute his possession. He cared nothing that Moctadir, who had actually purchased the city from Alfonso himself, was on the way to make good his claim. A treaty was forced upon Cadir by which Toledo was surrendered to Alfonso VI. (1085), and the Christian king was bound to place and maintain the unhappy prince in possession of his own subordinate city of Valencia.

Toledo thus became the capital of Christian Spain; and the evicted sovereign, escorted by a large force of Castilian troops under Alvar Fanez,[1] made his sad and solemn entry into Valencia, despised at once by the citizens of Toledo, whom he had abandoned to the Christian sovereign, and by the citizens of Valencia, where his power was maintained by Christian lances. And costly indeed was this Christian maintenance. Six hundred pieces of gold are said to have been the daily allowance of the army of Castilian mercenaries; and the taxes that were necessitated by their presence only added to the unpopularity of the Government. Many of Cadir's Moslem subjects fled from the city; and their place was taken by his Christian supporters or pensioners, whose rapacity was, if possible, exceeded by their cruelty.[2] But the coming of the Almoravides from Africa gave a new turn to the fortunes of the city. Alvar Fanez and his knights were recalled by Alfonso, and after the defeat of the Christians at Zalaca near Badajoz in October 1086, Cadir found himself threatened with immediate expulsion by his own citizens, supported by Mondhir of Lerida, the uncle of Mostain of Saragossa. In this difficulty he once more sought the protection of Christian lances, and applied for aid to the Cid, who immediately advanced on Valencia.

An intriguer at all times and places, Roderic promised his support to Cadir in return for admission within the walls. He entered into a formal treaty with Mostain that the city should be his, if all the booty were handed over to the Campeador; and he sent envoys to Alfonso to assure him that in all these

[1] A cousin of the Cid; Fanez (contracted from Fernandez), not Fañez, as Duran, Damas-Hinard, and others write it. The word ñ is always spelt in the poem with a single n, Fanez. The comparatively modern ñ, represents the older nn; and *señor*, *mañana*, etc., were formerly written *sennor*, *mannana*.

[2] Elles massacraient les hommes, violaient les femmes, et vendaient souvent un prisonnier Musulman pour un pain, pour un pot de vin, on pour une livre de poisson. Quand un prisonnier ne voulait, ou ne pouvait, payer rançon, elles lui coupaient la langue, lui crevaient les yeux, et le faisaient déchirer par des dogues. *Cronica General*, folio 315, col. 2; *apud* Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., 130, 131. See also pp. 186-7, and 204-214.

forays and alliances he thought only of the advantage of Christendom and the honour of Castile. Mondhir, overawed by the appearance of the allied army from Saragossa, hastily retired from before Valencia, where Mostain and his Christian *Saïd* were welcomed as deliverers by Cadir.

But although the Cid imposed a tribute upon the unhappy Valencians, he failed to give over the city to Mostain, and assuring Cadir of his constant support, as long as a monthly allowance of 10,000 golden dinars was punctually paid,[1] he withdrew himself from the remonstrances of the disappointed Mostain—to whom he continued to protest his continued devotion—on the plea of a necessary visit to his Christian sovereign in Castile, to explain or excuse his position, and to engage some Castilian troops for his army. Mostain during his absence, perceiving that he could not count upon so versatile and so ambitious a *Saïd* in the matter of the handing over of Valencia, entered into an alliance with his old enemy, Ramon Berenguer, of Barcelona; and the Catalans had actually laid siege to the city when the return of the Cid induced them to abandon their trenches, and retire to Barcelona.

If the Cid was a hero of romance, he did not wield his sword without the most magnificent remuneration. At this period of his career (1089-92), in addition to the 80,000 golden pieces received from Ramon Berenguer, he is said to have drawn 50,000 from the son of Mondhir, 120,000 from Cadir of Valencia, 10,000 from Albarracin, 10,000 from Alpuente, 6000 from Murviedro, 6000 from Segorbe, 4000 from Jerica, and 3000 from Almenara.

With such an amount of personal tribute, the Cid cannot, says Lafuente, have been greatly inconvenienced by the action of Alfonso VI. in despoiling him of his estates. Supporting his army of 7000 chosen followers on the rich booty acquired in his daily forays upon eastern Spain, from Saragossa to Alicante;[2] regardless of Christian rights, but the special scourge of the Moslems; no longer a Saragossan general, but a private adventurer, the Cid could afford to quarrel at once with Mostain and with Alfonso, and to defy the combined forces of Mondhir and Ramon Berenguer.

The rivalry between the Cid and the Catalan was ever fierce in eastern Spain. The opposing armies met at Tebar

[1] *Cron. Gen.*, fol. 321, col. 2; *Gesta*, p. 26; Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., 132-137.
[2] Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., pp. 134-141; Lafuente, iv., 402.

del Pinar in 1090, and although the Cid was wounded in the battle, his army was completely successful. Mondhir fled from the field; and Ramon Berenguer was once more a prisoner in the hands of Roderic. Nor was the Christian Count released from a confinement more harsh than was generous or necessary, until he had given good security for the payment of the enormous ransom of 80,000 marcs of gold.[1]

It is not easy, nor would it be fruitful, to follow the various movements of the Cid at this period of his career. His quarrels and his intrigues with Alfonso of Castile, with Cadir of Valencia, with the various parties at the court of Saragossa, with Ramon Berenguer at Barcelona, and even with the Genoese and Pisans, are neither easy nor interesting to follow. But his principal objective was the rich city of Valencia. Alfonso of Leon, ever jealous of his great and most independent subject, resolved to thwart him in his design; and having secured the co-operation of the Pisans and Genoese, who had arrived with a fleet of 400 vessels to assist the Cid, the king took advantage of the absence of his rival on some foray to the north of Saragossa, to advance upon Valencia, and to push forward his operations to the very walls of the city. Ruy Diaz *riposted* after his fashion.

Leaving the Valencians to make good the defence of their own city, he carried fire and sword into Alfonso's peaceful dominions of Najera and Calahorra, destroying all the towns, burning all the crops, slaughtering the Christian inhabitants; and razing the important city of Logroño to the ground. This savagery was completely successful, and met with no reproach. The Cid is one of those fortunate heroes to whom all things are permitted. His excesses are forgotten; his independence admired; his boldness and his success are alone remembered. Alfonso, thus rudely summoned to the north of the Peninsula, abruptly raised the siege of Valencia, and left his Genoese and Pisan allies to make the best of their way back to Italy.

Nor was the king's action at Valencia without a favourable influence upon the fortunes of the Cid. Far from wresting the city from the grasp of Roderic, Alfonso had rather precipitated the crisis which was ultimately to lead to his

[1] Yet when the money was not forthcoming, the Cid showed his generosity by remitting the amount of the ransom and allowing his noble prisoner to go free, after a friendly meal in his company. *Gesta*, *apud* Dozy, *Recherches*, etc., ii., p. 144.

triumphal entry as the independent ruler of the city. Cadir was murdered by a hostile faction within the walls: and the Cid, advancing with his usual prudence, spent some time in possessing himself of the suburbs and the approaches to the city, before the siege was commenced in good earnest, in July, 1093.

The operations were carried on in the most ferocious fashion by the attacking force. Roderic burned his prisoners alive from day to day within the sight of the walls, or caused them to be torn in pieces by his dogs under the very eyes of their fellow-townsmen.[1]

The blockaded city was soon a prey to the utmost horrors of famine. Negotiation was fruitless. Succour came not. Neither Christian nor Moslem, neither Alfonso the Castilian, nor Yussuf the Almoravide, nor Mostain of Saragossa, appearing to defend or to relieve the city, Valencia capitulated on the 15th of June, 1094.

The Moslem commander, Iban Jahaf, was burnt alive. The Moslem inhabitants were treated with scant consideration, and the Cid, as might have been supposed, proclaimed himself sovereign of Valencia, independent of either Christian Alfonso or Moorish Mostain; and at Valencia he lived and reigned until the day of his death, but five years afterwards, in 1099. His rule was often threatened by the Almoravides; but as long as the champion lived they could effect no entry within the walls of his city.

For full three years after his death, moreover, his widow Ximena, and his cousin Alvar Fanez, maintained a precarious sovereignty at Valencia. At length, unsupported by Alfonso of Leon, and unable to stand alone in the midst of the Moslems, they retired to Burgos, carrying with them the body of the Cid embalmed in precious spices, borne, as of old, on his faithful steed Babieca, to its last resting place in Castile. Valencia was immediately occupied by the Almoravides, and became once more a Moslem stronghold; nor did it finally pass into Christian hands until it was taken by James I. of Aragon in 1238. The Cid was buried in the monastery of Cardeña,[2] near Burgos; and the body of his heroic wife, Doña Ximena, who died in 1104, was laid by his side in the tomb.

[1] Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., 130, 131, and 186, 187.

[2] The bones of the Cid were removed from San Pedro de Cardeña in 1842 to the Casa del Ayuntamiento or Town Hall of Burgos, where they may now be seen.

The legend of the marriage of the Cid's daughters with the Infantes of Carrion, of their desertion, and of the vengeance of the Cid upon their unworthy husbands, is undoubtedly an invention of the Castilian minstrels.

The legend of the death of the Cid's son at the battle of Consuegra is also fallacious. There is no evidence that a son was ever born to him at all. But he had undoubtedly two daughters, one of whom, Christina, married Ramiro, Infante of Navarre, and the other, Maria, became the Countess of Ramon Berenguer III. of Barcelona.[1] The issue of Ramon

[1] Neither Masdeu nor Dunham are inclined to admit that the Cid is in any sense an historic personage, and doubt whether such a man ever existed at all. See Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., 70-81. Considering the faith that both these authors have shown in many other directions, this scepticism is all the more remarkable.

The authorities for the life of the Cid are the fourth book of the *Cronica General* of Spain, the work of Alfonso X., which follows partly the Latin chronicles of Lucas of Tuy and Roderic of Toledo; the *Cronica del Cid*, a corrected and slightly expanded edition of the fourth book of the *Cronica General*; the *Cronica Rimada*, which may perhaps hardly count as an authority, being an inferior metrical composition of doubtful date, dealing chiefly with the apocryphal invasion of France; the *Gesta* or *Historia Roderici Didaci campidocti*, certainly older than 1238, and published in 1792 in Manuel Risco's *La Castilla y el mas famoso Castellano* (Madrid, 1792), together with the Santiago *Genealogia* and the original marriage settlement of Roderic, in Latin, 1074, the most entirely authentic document bearing upon the life of the Cid; and, lastly, an anonymous poem in 3744 lines, treating of his life only after his banishment, and entitled *The Poem of the Cid*, based partly upon an Arab contemporary original now lost. Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., 38-60. See also *Cronica del famoso caballero el Cid Ruy Diaz Campeador*, Medina del Campo, 1552, and a different text, with a separate *Genealogia* (Burgos, 1593). Also D. Malo de Molina, *Rodrigo el campeador* (Madrid, 1857).

The edition of the *Poem of the Cid*, with an introduction and a translation by M. Damas-Hinard, in 1859, is a sumptuous but somewhat inaccurate publication. The latest work of any value on the subject is John Ormsby's scholarly and most trustworthy little volume, *The Cid* (London, 1879), to which, as to the author himself, I am under many obligations as regards this chapter. See also John Ormsby's article, *Cid*, in vol. iii. of Chamber's *Encyclopædia*. But the most interesting modern discovery, and one that has greatly modified all previous, conceptions of the character of the Cid, is that made by M. Dozy at Gotha in 1844 in the fragment of the Dhákira of Ibn Bassam, written at Seville, A.D. 1109 (503 Hijrah), that is to say, ten years only after the death of the Cid. Finally, M. Dozy's own work, *Recherches*, tom. ii. *passim*, a masterpiece of erudite and painstaking criticism, has been my constant and valued guide in the preparation of this chapter, and is frequently referred to in the footnotes.

The best collection of ancient Spanish ballads is certainly the *Primavera y Flor de Romances* of Wolf and Hofmann (Berlin, 1856). But the thirty-nine *Ballads of the Cid* therein contained tell us very little of the life of the hero, and treat chiefly of his early life, his duel with the insulter of his father, and his marriage with Doña Ximena, which is the foundation of Corneille's drama. Dr. Döllinger speaks of him as a "faithless and cruel freebooter". See *Conversations*, etc. (ed. Miss Warre), 1890, pp. 247-8.

His career, perhaps, cannot better be summed up than in the words of an Arab contemporary and a foe—Ibn Bassam of Seville—"A Gallician dog, one Roderic, surnamed the *Canbitur* (Campeador) the scourge of the country, raised by the Beni Hud out of obscurity. They delivered over to him divers provinces of

Berenguer III. was a daughter who died childless, but a granddaughter of Ramiro of Navarre married Sancho III. of Castile, whose son Alfonso VIII., was the grandfather both of St. Ferdinand and of St. Louis. And thus in a double stream, through the royal houses of Spain and of France, the blood of the Cid is found to flow in the veins of His Majesty Alfonso XIII., the reigning King of Spain.

II.

To understand or appreciate the position that is occupied by the Cid in Spanish history is at the present day supremely difficult. A mediæval *condottiere* in the service of the Moslem, after he had fought with perfect impartiality against Moor or Christian to fill his own coffers: banished as a traitor by his Castilian sovereign, and constantly leading the forces of the infidel, against Aragon, against Catalonia, and even against Castile, he has become the national hero of Spain. Warring against the Moslem of Valencia, whom he pitilessly despoiled, with the aid of the Moslem of Saragossa, whose cause he cynically betrayed, while he yet owned a nominal allegiance to Alfonso of Castile, whose territories he was pitilessly ravaging; retaining conquered Valencia for his personal and private advantage, in despite of Moslem or Christian kings, he has become the type of Christian loyalty and Christian chivalry in Europe. Avaricious, faithless, cruel and bold, a true soldier of fortune, the Cid still maintains a reputation which is one of the enigmas of history.

The three favourites of mediæval Spanish romance, says Señor Lafuente, Bernardo del Carpio, Fernan Gonzalez, and the Cid, have this at least in common, that they were all at war with their lawful sovereigns, and fought their battles independently of the Crown. Hence their popularity in Spain. The Castilians of the Middle Ages were so devoted to their independence, so proud of their *Fueros*, such admirers of personal prowess, that they were disposed to welcome with national admiration those heroes who sprang from the people, and who defied and were ill-treated by their kings.

the Peninsula, so that he overran the plains like a conqueror, and planted his banner in the fairest cities. His power grew very great, nor was there any district that he did not ravage. Nevertheless this man, the scourge of his time, was in his love of glory, strength of character, and heroic courage, one of the marvels of the Lord." *Apud* John Ormsby in Chamb. *Ency.*, sub. tit.—CID.

The theory is both ingenious and just, yet it by no means solves the difficulty, Ruy Diaz of Bivar, who was one of the proudest nobles of Castile, can scarcely be said to have sprung from the people, nor do we clearly perceive why his long service under Moslem kings, even though he was a rebel against his own sovereign, should have endeared him to the Christian Spaniards, however independent or however democratic. Yet we may learn at least from the character of the hero, ideal though it be, that the mediæval Castilians were no bigots, and that they were slaves neither to their kings nor to their clergy.

The people of Aragon no doubt held their king in a more distinctly constitutional subjection. No Castilian chief justice was found to call the sovereign to order: no privilege of union legalised a popular war in defence of popular liberties. But Roderic took the place of the justiciary in legend, if not in history, when he administered the oath to Alfonso at Burgos; and he invested himself with the privilege of warring against an aggressive king, when he routed Alfonso's forces, and burned his cities, to requite him for his attack upon Valencia.

It is this rebellious boldness which contributed no doubt very largely to endear the Cid to his contemporaries. It is one of the most constant characteristics of his career; one of the features that is portrayed with equal clearness by the chroniclers and the ballad makers of Spain.[1] For the Cid is essentially a popular hero. His legendary presentment is a kind of poetic protest against arbitrary regal power. The Cid ballads are a pæan of triumphant democracy. The ideal Cid no doubt was evolved in the course of the twelfth century; and by the end of the fifteenth century, when the rule of kings and priests had become harder and heavier in Spain, an enslaved people looked back with an envious national pride to the Castilian hero who personified the freedom of bygone days.

The Cid is the only knight-errant that has survived the polished satire of Cervantes. For his fame was neither literary nor aristocratic; but like the early Spanish proverbs, in which it is said he took so great a delight, it was embedded deep in the hearts of the people.[2] And although the memory of his

[1] John Ormsby (*The Poem of the Cid*, Introd., p. 41), also speaks of the anti-royalist spirit that pervades the Cid ballads as a whole, and of their tendency to make the Cid a mouthpiece for democratic sentiments.

[2] *Mas Moros mas ganancia*, "The more the Moors, the greater the booty," was one of his sayings, and it has passed into a well-known national proverb.

religious indifference may not have added to his popularity in the sixteenth century in Spain, it is a part of his character which must be taken into account in gauging the public opinion of earlier days.

From the close of the eighth century to the close of the fifteenth, the Spanish people, Castilians and Aragonese, were if anything less bigoted than the rest of Europe. The influence of their neighbours the Moors, and of their Arab toleration, could not be without its effect upon a people naturally free, independent [1] and self-reliant, and the Cid, who was certainly troubled with no religious scruples in the course of his varied career, and who, according to a popular legend, affronted and threatened the Pope on his throne in St. Peter's, on account of some fancied slight,[2] could never have been the hero of a nation of bigots. The degenerate Visigoths from the time of Reccared the Catholic, to the time of Roderic the Vanquished could never have produced a Cid. Yet, even in the dark days of Erwig and Egica, there was found a Julian, who boldly maintained a national independence against the pretensions of the Pope of Rome. For 1000 years after the landing of St. Paul—if, indeed, he ever landed upon the coast—the Spanish Church was, perhaps, the most independent in Europe. The royal submission to the Papal authority, first by Sancho I. of Aragon, in 1071, and afterwards by Alfonso VI. of Leon, in 1085, in the matter of the Romish Ritual, was distinctly unpopular. Peter II. found no lack of recruits for the army that he led against the Papal troops in Languedoc, and King James I., the most popular of the kings of Aragon, cut out the tongue of a meddlesome bishop who had presumed to interfere in his private affairs (1246). It was not until the Inquisition was forced upon United Spain by Isabella the Catholic, and

[1] This I take to be the true meaning of Strabo's *αὐθάδεια*, so strangely mistranslated moroseness. See Strabo (Bohn's ed.), lib. iii., 4, 5.

[2] Having kicked to pieces the splendid furniture and beaten the Papal chamberlain, he proceeded to threaten to caparison his horse with the rich hangings of the chapel, if the Pope refused him instant Absolution!

> Si no me absolveis, el Papa,
> Seriaos mal contado
> Que de vuestras ricas ropas
> Cubriré yo mi caballo!
> —Wolf and Hofmann, *Cid Ballads*, viii.

The story, says Ormsby, is in reality that of the Count of Cifuentes, who in the time of Henry IV. at the Council of Basle treated the English envoy in the same manner. The story was obviously transferred to the Cid at the time when ballad-manufacture became the rage, in the time of Sepulveda.

the national lust for the plunder of strangers was aroused by the destruction of Granada, that the Spaniard became a destroyer of heretics. It was not until the spoliation and the banishment of Jews and Moriscos, and the opening of a new world of heathen treasure on the discovery of America, that the Castilian, who had always been independent himself, became intolerant of the independence of others. Then, indeed, he added the cruelty of the priest to the cruelty of the soldier, and wrapping himself in the cloak of a proud and uncompromising national orthodoxy, became the most ferocious bigot in two unhappy worlds.[1]

But in the beginning it was not so. And if the Cid could possibly have been annoyed by Torquemada, his knights would have hung up the inquisitor on the nearest tree. No priests' man, in good sooth, was Roderic of Bivar, nor, save in that he was a brave and determined soldier, had the great Castilian free lance anything in common with the more conventional heroes of United Spain.

If history affords no reasonable explanation of his unrivalled renown beyond that which has already been suggested, we find but little in the early poetry to assist us. The Cid ballads impress us "more by their number than their light". They are neither very interesting in themselves, nor are they even very suggestive. Only thirty-seven ballads are considered by Huber to be older than the sixteenth century. *La plupart de ces romances*, says M. Dozy, *accusent leur origine moderne;* and according to John Ormsby they do but little towards the illustration of the Cid, either us a picturesque hero of romance or as a characteristic feature of mediæval history.[2]

The great French dramatist scarcely touches the true history of his hero. The scene of the play is laid at Seville, where no Christian king set his foot for 150 years after the death of

[1] It may be added that however bigoted and intolerant the sovereigns of Spain became after Isabella the Catholic, their motives in the main were political rather than religious, and that full of lip submission as they sometimes were to Rome for their own ends, the struggle to emancipate the Spanish Church from the control of the Pontiff went on without interruption. For many instances of this see "Spain: its Greatness and Decay, 1479-1788," by the writer of this note, and also the "Chronica del Emperador Alfonso VII.," by Prudencio de Sandoval.—H.

[2] To any one about to write a history of morals, the *Poem of the Cid* may be recommended as a curious study, illustrating the peculiar ethics of the Middle Ages. The poet who boasts that no perfidy was ever found in his hero, represents him as pledging for 600 marks, two chests, well weighted with sand, which he declared to be filled with gold. He lamented, no doubt, the necessity which drove him to it, but he never troubles himself about repaying his swindled creditors. John Ormsby, *The Poem of the Cid*, Introduction, p. 44.

Roderic. The title which he accepted from his employer Mostain of Saragossa, is said to have been granted by Alfonso of Leon, after the capture of two imaginary Moorish kings, unknown to history, in an impossible battle on the banks of the Guadalquivir, which was never seen by the Cid. The whole action of the play turns upon the moral and psychological difficulties arising from the purely legendary incident of the killing of *Chimène's* father by her lover, avenging an insult offered to his own sire, and of the somewhat artificial indignation of the lady, until she is appeased by a slaughter of Moors. Corneille's drama abounds in noble sentiments expressed in most admirable verse; but it does not assist us to understand the character of the Cid, nor the reasons of his popularity in his own or in any other country. But certain at least it is that from the earliest times the story of his life and his career took a strong hold upon the popular imagination in Spain, and his virtues and his vices, little as they may seem to us to warrant the popular admiration, were understood and appreciated in the age in which he lived, an age of force and fraud, of domestic treason and foreign treachery, when religion preached little but battle and murder, and patriotism was but a pretext for plunder and rapine. Admired thus, even in his lifetime, as a gallant soldier, an independent chieftain, and an ever successful general, fearless, dexterous, and strong, his free career became a favourite theme with the *jongleurs* and *troubadours* of the next generation; and from the Cid of history was evolved a Cid of legendary song.[1]

It is most difficult at the present day to know exactly where serious history ends and where poetry and legend begin. Yet the Cid as represented to us by M. Dozy, one of the most acute of modern investigators of historic truth, is not so very different from the Cid represented by Southey, or even by earlier and less critical poets, but that we may form a reasonable estimate, from what is common to both history and tradition, of what manner of man he was. The Cid of the twelfth century legends,

[1] And as new ballads were ever demanded on the ever favourite theme, the romancers drew upon their well-trained imaginations for new facts, and they treated the Cid precisely as they had treated Charlemagne. As they invented the journey to Jerusalem, the expedition to Gallicia, the bridge of Mantible, and the Emir Balan for the greater glory of the emperor, so they made Ruy Diaz cut off the head of Count Gormaz, and marry his daughter; they devised an invasion of France, and a victorious entry into Paris! They made the Spanish champion defy the Emperor Henry, and beard the Pope at Rome! John Ormsby, in Chamber's *Encyclopædia, s.v.*, CID.

indeed, though he may be more marvellous, is by no means more moral than the Cid of history. It was reserved for the superior refinement of succeeding generations, and more especially for the anonymous author of the poem of the thirteenth century, to evolve a hero of a gentler and nobler mould; a creature conforming to a higher ideal of knightly perfection. From this time forward we have a glorified Cid, whose adventures are no more historically false, perhaps, than those of the unscrupulous and magnificent Paladin of the legends and romances of the twelfth century, but whose character possesses all the dignity and all the glory with which he could be invested by a generous mediæval imagination. And it is this refined and idealised hero; idealised, yet most real; refined, yet eminently human, that has been worshipped by nineteen generations of Spaniards as the national hero of Spain.

Ruy Diaz—as he lived and died—was probably no worse a man than any of his neighbours. Far better than many of them he was, and undoubtedly bolder and stronger, more capable, more adroit, and more successful.

Seven of the Christian princes of Spain at this period fell in battle warring against their own near relations, or were assassinated by them in cold blood. Garcia of Castile was slain by the sword of the Velas. Bermudo III. of Leon and Garcia Sanchez of Navarre died fighting against their brother, Ferdinand of Castile. Sancho II. of Castile was assassinated by order of his sister Urraca, besieged by him in her city of Zamora. Among the Christian kings of the century immediately before him, Garcia of Gallicia was strangled in prison by the hands of his brothers, Sancho and Alfonso; Sancho Garcia of Navarre was assassinated by his brother Ramon, at Peñalva; Ramon Berenguer II. of Barcelona died by the dagger of his brother Berenguer Ramon; Sancho the Fat, in 967, was poisoned at a friendly repast by Gonzalo Sanchez; Ruy Velasquez of Castile, in 986, murdered his seven nephews, the unfortunate Infantes de Lara;[1] Sancho of Castile, in 1010, poisoned his mother, who had endeavoured to poison him. At the wedding festivities at Leon, in 1026, Garcia, Count of Castile, was assassinated at the church door, and the murderers were promptly burned alive by his friends; Garcia of Navarre, in 1030, as an incident in a family dispute about a horse, accused his mother of adultery. Such was the standard of the eleventh century in the north of the Peninsula.

[1] Mariana, viii., 4, 6, 9, 10.

To judge the Cid, even as we now know him, according to any code of modern ethics, is supremely unreasonable. To be sure, even now, that we know him as he was, is supremely presumptuous. But that Ruy Diaz was a great man, and a great leader of men, a knight who would have shocked modern poets, and a free lance who would have laughed at modern heroes, we can have no manner of doubt. That he satisfied his contemporaries and himself; that he slew Moors and Christians as occasion required, with equal vigour and absolute impartiality; that he bearded the King of Castile and Leon in his Christian Council, and that he cozened the King of Saragossa at the head of his Moslem army; that he rode the best horse and brandished the best blade in Spain; that his armies never wanted for valiant soldiers, nor his coffers for gold pieces; that he lived my Lord the Challenger, the terror of every foe, and that he died rich and respected in the noble city that had fallen to his knightly spear—of all this at least we are certain: and, if the tale is displeasing to our nineteenth century refinement, we must be content to believe that it satisfied the aspirations of mediæval Spain.

CHAPTER XIX.

AVERROËS.

I.—*The Almoravides.*

(1086—1149.)

For ninety years after the death of Almanzor, *Andalus* remained without a master. The Cid was the only national champion, Alfonso was the only national sovereign, in the Peninsula. The strong and generous hand of the Arab ruler no longer held together the discordant elements of Moslem Spain.

The long reign of the last Abdur Rahman had been one of the most brilliant periods in Spanish, or, indeed, in European history. But the very completeness of the success of the greatest of the western Caliphs had in it the seeds of future dissolution. The strength and the weakness of the political system of Islam was alike made manifest under his government. So beneficial and so enlightened a despot—terrible from his absolute power, admirable from his noble designs, beloved from his personal liberality—could brook no rival near his throne in his lifetime, and could find no successor to carry on his splendid government at his death. *An Nasir,* moreover, who was rather the maker than the inheritor of the Caliphate, had but little confidence in the loyalty of the old Arab aristocracy, and he preferred, like Louis XI. of France, or Ferdinand of Aragon in later days, to select his agents from among men of humble birth, whose advancement should depend upon his royal favour alone. Thus, at the end of his fifty years of government, he had well-nigh destroyed the power of the old *Saracen* nobility. No great minister had been permitted to share with the sovereign the burden or the glory of the administration; and the Caliph had been served by irresponsible subordinates, by those Berbers who are usually spoken of as Moors from Africa, by renegades and slaves and foreigners of every nation, Franks,

Gallicians, Lombards, Venetians, and even Greeks, who were known by the general name of *Slavs*.[1] For a commonwealth thus administered, nothing was possible, on the death of the legitimate autocrat, Abdur Rahman, but the upstart autocrat, Almanzor: and after Almanzor—anarchy.

Twenty independent and hostile dynasties rose upon the ruins of the great Caliphate, and each one of them was vexed by rivals, by rebels and by pretenders.[2] Had the Cid been born thirty years sooner, or had the Christian kings and nobles been less completely occupied in cutting one another's throats, the Arab might have been driven out of southern Spain before William of Normandy marched on London from Hastings. Yet as it was, by the year 1086, the Cid Campeador was at the gates of Valencia; Alfonso ruled in the citadel at Toledo; and the Moslem chiefs or kings of Andalusia, fearing for their common safety, were fain to turn their eyes once more across the Straits of Gibraltar to seek a common defender.

Far away in the deserts of Africa, on the slopes of the Atlas Mountains, the defender was found in Yusuf, the bold leader of the Puritan soldiers of Islam, the Berber chief of the terrible *Almoravides*.[3] Invited by Motamid of Seville to assist him in

[1] Dozy, *Histoire*, iii., 58-60; S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, chap. vii.

[2] Yet a great deal of the culture of Cordova was found at some of these little courts. C'est un spectacle charmant, says M. Renan (*Mélanges*, p. 284), celui de ces petites Cours d'Espagne qui succédèrent au démembrement du califat de Cordoue, vraies académies ou présidait une famille patricienne. And according to M. Dozy (*Essai*, etc., ed. 1879, pp. 357, 358), le morcellement de l'Espagne en béaucoup de petits royaumes aprés la chute des Ommiades fut très favorable à l'étude de la philosophie. La plupart des princes qui se rendirent maîtres des différentes provinces étaient fort avancés dans la civilisation: ils protégeaient les arts et les sciences et ne souffraient point qu'on opprimât la conscience.

One of the last of the great pure-blooded Arabs of Spain was Ibn Abbas, the Grand Vizier of the accomplished Zohair of Almeria. At thirty years of age he is said to have accumulated a library of 400,000 MSS. He was killed by some rude and envious Berbers in 1038. See Dozy, *Hist.*, tom. iv., 35.

[3] *Almoravides*, or religious soldiers, is a word of similar origin to *Marabout*, which signifies, according to Littré (*Dict. s.v.*), one who is *bound* to a holy life, as in the Latin *religio*.

From the Arabic root *r.b.t.*, to bind, we have many words of this character, such as *Rábit* = a hermitage or a convent; *Rebáta* = monks; *Murabit* = one bound in a military sense. Thus the dual character of these religious warriors from Africa is fairly conveyed or suggested in the word *Almoravides*, whose exact meaning and origin appears to have puzzled many commentators and critics. See F. A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen und Abendland*, tom. ii., p. 614.

The traditional Arab view of the etymology may be found in the work (*Raudh-al-Kartás*) of the Arab historian, Ibn Abu Zar of Fez. See the edition with Latin translation by C. J. Tornberg (*Annales regum Mauritaniæ*), Upsala, 1843, p. 107; also the French translation by A. Beaumier (Paris, 1860), p. 171. I am indebted for the reference to my friend, Mr. A. G. Ellis, of the British Museum.

his struggle against the Christians, Yusuf crossed over into Spain, and meeting Alfonso VI. at Zalaca near Badajoz, on the 23rd of October, 1086, he routed him with great and historic slaughter. Alfonso escaped with his life,[1] but his army was destroyed; and the victorious Berbers entered and garrisoned Cordova.

Yusuf had come as a Moslem defender, but he remained as a Moslem master. And once more in Spanish history, the over-powerful ally turned his victorious arms against those who had welcomed him to their shores. Yet Yusuf was no vulgar traitor. He had sworn to the envoys of the Spanish Moslems that he would return to Africa, in the event of victory, without the annexation to his African empire of a field or a city to the north of the Straits. And his vow was religiously kept. Retiring empty-handed to Mauretania, after the great battle at Zalaca, he returned once more to Spain, unfettered on this new expedition by any vow, and set to work with his usual vigour to make himself master of the Peninsula.[2] Tarifa fell in December. The next year saw the capture of Seville, and of all of the principal cities of Andalusia. An army sent by Alfonso VI., under his famous captain, Alvar Fanez, was completely defeated, and all southern Spain lay at the feet of the Berber, save only Valencia, which remained impregnable so long as the Cid lived to direct the defence. In 1102, after the hero's death, Valencia succumbed, and all Spain to the south[3] of the Tagus became a province of the great African empire of the Almoravides.

The rule of these hardy bigots was entirely unlike that of the Ommeyad Caliphs of the West. Moslem Spain had no longer even an independent existence. The sovereign resided not at Cordova, but at Morocco. The poets and musicians were banished from court. The beauties of *Az Zahra* were forgotten. Jews and Christians were alike persecuted. The kingdom was governed with an iron hand. But if the rule of the stranger was not generous, it was just, and for the moment it possessed the crowning merit that it was efficient. The laws were once more respected. The people once more dreamed of wealth and happiness. But it was little more than a dream.

[1] Gayangos, vol. ii., lib. iii., chap. vi.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii., lib. vii. But see Lafuente, iv., 373, and Stanley Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

[3] And in the north-east as far as Saragossa. Yet Toledo defied their attacks.

On the death of Yusuf in 1107, the sceptre passed into the hands of his son Ali, a more sympathetic but a far less powerful ruler. In 1118 the great city of Saragossa, the last bulwark of Islam in the north of the Peninsula, was taken by Alfonso I. of Aragon, who carried his victorious arms into southern Spain, and fulfilled a rash vow by eating a dinner of fresh fish on the coast of Granada.

II.—*The Almohades.*

(1149—1235.)

Yet it was by no Christian hand that the Empire of the Almoravides was to be overthrown.

Mohammed Ibn Abdullah, a lamplighter in the mosque at Cordova, had made his way to remote Bagdad to study at the feet of Abu Hamid Algazali, a celebrated doctor of Moslem law. The strange adventures, so characteristic of his age and nation, by which the lowly student became a religious reformer —a *Mahdi*—and a conqueror in Africa, and at length overthrew the Almoravides, both to the north and the south of the Straits of Gibraltar, forms a most curious chapter in the history of Islam ; but in a brief sketch of the fortunes of mediæval Spain, it must suffice to say that having established his religious and military power among the Berber tribes of Africa, Ibn Abdullah,[1] the *Mahdi,* landed at Algeciras in 1145, and possessed himself in less than four years of Malaga, Seville, Granada and Cordova. The Empire of the *Almoravides* was completely destroyed ; and before the close of the year 1149, all Moslem Spain acknowledged the supremacy of the *Almohades.*[2]

These more sturdy fanatics were still African rather than Spanish sovereigns. Moslem Spain was administered by a *Vali* deputed from Morocco ; and Cordova, shorn of much of its former splendour, was the occasional abode of a royal visitor from Barbary. For seventy years the Almohades retained their position in Spain. But their rule was not of glory but of decay. One high feat of arms indeed shed a dying lustre on the name of the Berber prince who reigned for fifteen years [1184-1199] under the auspicious title of Almanzor, and his

[1] Gayangos, vol. ii., p. 521.

[2] Almohades = Unitarians ; from *Wâhid* = One, *i.e.*, the people of the One (God).

great Moslem victory over Alfonso III. at Alarcon in 1195, revived for the time the drooping fortunes of the *Almohades*. But their empire was already doomed, decaying, disintegrated, wasting away. And at length the terrible defeat of the Moslem forces by the united armies of the three Christian kings[1] at the *Navas de Tolosa* in 1212, at once the most crushing and the most authentic of all the Christian victories of mediæval Spain, gave a final and deadly blow to the Mohammedan dominion in the Peninsula. Within a few years of that celebrated battle, one province alone was subject to the rule of Islam. And the history of the kingdom of GRANADA, the noble remnant of a yet more noble empire, is all that remains to be written of the glorious and romantic annals of the Moslem in Spain.

The Almohades were not actually driven out of the Peninsula until 1235, and then not by the Christians, but by the Moslem rulers of the various cities and districts of southern Spain. From 1235 to 1238 an Arab leader, Ibn Hud by name, maintained a doubtful empire in the Peninsula; but in the latter year he too was driven out, to join the Almohades in their native Africa; and the most important Moslem chief left in Andalusia was Mohammed al Ahmar of Granada. Between 1238 and 1260, Ferdinand III. of Castile, and James I. of Aragon, conquered the cities and districts of Valencia, Murcia, Seville and Cordova, as is more particularly set forth in the history of those Christian kings; and Granada was content to purchase peace and independence at the price of an annual tribute.

III.—*The Learning of Cordova.*

(820—1200.)

If the annals of the Spanish *Almohades* are undistinguished by territorial acquisitions, or noble feats of arms, they are illumined by one great name, the last and the most celebrated of the Arab philosophers of the West. From the time of Archimedes to the time of Roger Bacon, full 1500 years, science slumbered in Europe. And if the English friar was, perhaps, the greatest and boldest speculator among the scientific pioneers of the thirteenth century, the names of Raymond Lull in

[1] Alfonso of Castile; Sancho of Navarre; and boldest perhaps of all, Peter II. of Aragon.

Aragon, and Alfonso the Learned in Castile, show Spain in the van of European progress and modern discovery. But long years before the coming of Alfonso or of Raymond, Spain was already preparing the way for the great revival.

The encouragement that was given by the Caliphs at Cordova to men of science, and learning of every kind, the studies of Hisham, the liberality of Abdur Rahman, the richly endowed colleges and universities of Moslem Spain; all these things made Cordova the home of the philosophers, the students, and the experimentalists of mediæval Europe. Almanzor, *batallador* as he was, and *conquistador,* was a collector of books and a patron of bookmen; and even the political anarchy that followed on his death, did not immediately drive away the philosophers from Cordova. It was chiefly, if not entirely by the great Moslem doctors of Arab Spain—even when the political glory of the Caliphate had wholly departed—that after twelve centuries of darkness, the ancient learning was once more brought before the Christian world, and speculation was awakened in mediæval Europe; until at length knowledge was triumphant at the Renaissance, and thought was made free at the Reformation.

And thus it was that in Spain, whose history is associated in men's minds rather with a narrow and intolerant ecclesiasticism,[1] the lamp of learning was kept alight, even in the darkest ages of Papal oppression and Italian ignorance. For within less than half a century from the day that Hildehand triumphed at Canossa, Averroës was born at Cordova.

The immediate successor of Avempace[2] of Saragossa, the friend of Abenzoar of Seville, the disciple of Abubacer of Cordova, Averroës is accounted the greatest doctor of science and philosophy of Moslem Spain—in that he has had the greatest influence upon the world at large; yet he was but prince among many learned peers in the Arab schools at Cordova.

[1] Yet the honour of first seeking to diffuse the superior learning of the Arabs among their Christian contemporaries is due to a Spanish archbishop, Raymond, *Archbishop of Toledo and Grand Chancellor of Castile,* 1130 to 1150. Renan, *Averroës et l'Averroïsme,* p. 201. (As the author has pointed out in a previous page, this narrow and intolerant ecclesiasticism, which was adopted for purely political ends, did not become characteristic of Spain until centuries after the period at present under discussion.—H.)

[2] *Avempace* is the conventional name for Abu Bekr Ibn Yahya, surnamed Ibn Bâja (1080-1138), *Abenzoar* is Ibn Zohr (1072-1162), *Abubacer* is Ibn Tufail, who died in A.H. 581 (A.D. 1185-86).

The studies of Averroës were, no doubt, largely influenced by the writings of *Abu Ali Ibn Sinâ* (Avicenna) who preceded him by a century and a half (980-1037).

High among those forgotten worthies, stands the name of Hasan Ibn Haithem, more commonly known in the West as Al Hazen, a man who was probably born in Spain, and who certainly lived and studied at Cordova in the early years of the eleventh century.[1] Over two hundred years before the time of Roger Bacon, the Christian student who suffered persecution and actual imprisonment for the novelty of his scientific discoveries (1280-1290), Al Hazen lived too late for the patronage of Abdur Rahman or of Almanzor, yet too early for the appreciation of Christian Europe. But his works remained, and his discoveries smoothed the path of future students, ungrateful, without doubt, to the Moslem who went before them; ignorant, perhaps, of the great debt that science owed to the liberality of Islam. His explanation of the physical marvels of the human vision are no less remarkable than his discoveries with regard to the properties of light; his demonstration of the nature of the atmosphere, and his bold but accurate theories of optics,[2] of astronomy, and of physical science generally; while his theory of gravitation was only modified after a lapse of nearly five hundred years by the more splendid genius of Newton.

Abu Bekr Mohammed Ibn Jahya, surnamed Ibn Badja, or the son of the goldsmith, corrupted by the Christians into *Avempace*, was born at Saragossa about the time of the invasion

[1] See Casiri, *Bibl. Arab. Hisp.*, and Bailley, *Astronomie Moderne*, tom. vi., p. 20. Al Hazen's *Optics* and his *Treatise on Twilight*, were published in a Latin translation by Frederic Risner in 1572. The *De Crepusculis* was translated by Gerardus of Cremona. The translator of the *Optica* is uncertain. (There were two contemporary Arab writers of the same name at this time, between whom much confusion exists, namely Ibn al Haithem of Cordova who died in 1063, and Ibn al Haithem of Basrah who died at Cairo in 1038. The writings above mentioned were in all probability the work of the latter, who had apparently no connection with Spain.—H.)

[2] In a book called the *Balance of Wisdom*, sometimes attributed to Al Hazen, the writer discusses those general dynamical principles—supposed to be the monopoly of modern science. He describes minutely the connection between the weight and density of the atmosphere, and how material objects vary in weight in a rare and in a dense atmosphere. He discusses the submergence of floating bodies, and the force with which they rise to the surface when immersed in light or heavy media. He recognises at least the principle of gravitation. He recognises gravity as a force. He knows correctly the relation between the velocities, spaces and times of falling bodies, and has very distinct ideas of capillary attraction. Syed Amir Ali, *The Spirit of Islam* (1890), p. 556. See also Draper, *Intellectual Development of Europe*, vol. ii., pp. 44-48. The *Balance of Wisdom* is the work of a certain Al Khāzinī, about whom very little is known. The book cannot possibly be by Ibn Haithem, as it is dedicated to Abul Hārith Sanjar, the Seljuk ruler of Persia, who reigned A.D. 1117-1157, whereas Ibn Haithem (of Basrah) died in A.D. 1038.—A. G. E.

of the Almoravides. By profession a doctor of medicine, but a poet, a musician, a mathematician, an astronomer; his reputation as a metaphysician extended not only into Christian Spain, but into all parts of Christian Europe. Yet the fame of Avempace might have perished like that of so many of his fellow-students, had it not been for the criticisms upon his philosophy in general, and more especially upon his work entitled *The Conduct of the Solitary,* that were published by his greater successor, Averroës.[1]

IV.—*The Grandson.*

(1126—1198.)

Abu 'l Walid Mohammed Ibn Ahmad Ibn Mohammed Ibn Rosht, whose Arab patronymic is hardly distinguishable in the conventional name by which he is known to Christian writers, was born at Cordova in the dark days of the last Almoravides, in 1126. His father, and more especially his grandfather, were both distinguished members of the family of Ibn Rosht, and had occupied important and honourable positions in the State.

A student from his earliest childhood, of theology, of law, of medicine, of philosophy, Ibn Rosht—the Grandson, as he is styled in Arabian literature, has left but the scantiest records of his way of life. He was commissioned before he was thirty years of age by the celebrated Ibn Tufail to undertake the establishment of certain colleges in Africa, where he probably passed a considerable time. Ten years later we find him occupying the position of Cadi of Seville; and he was afterwards appointed Chief Cadi of Cordova, an office which had been worthily filled by his father and his grandfather.

Meanwhile his writings had already begun to excite attention. He was accused of theological heterodoxy; and after a solemn inquisition, undertaken by order of Almanzor, his heretical doctrines were condemned, and his books were publicly

[1] It would be unjust to omit all mention of the Jewish influence in keeping alive and reviving learning in Moslem Spain. The Jew, Ibn Gebirol or Avinbron, at the end of the eleventh century was acknowledged by Duns Scotus as his master, and Judah ben Samuel the Levite, the famous Spanish-Hebrew poet of the same period, became famous throughout Europe; whilst Maimonides (Saladin's physician), born a Cordovese Jew (1135) was the first, and perhaps the greatest, to European theological philosophers.—H.

burnt at Cordova, while their author suffered the minor penalty of banishment from the court and from the city. But his exile was of no very long duration. The favour and the disfavour of the Berber princes were alike uncertain, and he was permitted to return to Cordova by the generous Almanzor,[1] ere he passed of his own free will into Africa, and died at Morocco in December, 1198.

It is a small record of a great life. But Ibn Rosht enjoyed little reputation among his Arab contemporaries, save as a physician. He founded no school in Islam. His philosophical successors in the east are not Moslems, but the Jewish disciples of Moses Maimonides. His fame is due entirely to the Christian doctors, who admired, misunderstood, discussed [2] and quarrelled over his commentaries. And thus the great Moslem whose translations and speculations were as the seed whose fruit was the reformation of Christendom, was almost without influence in Islam; the great Spaniard was nowhere less honoured than in Spain. The light shone out of Cordova; and Cordova was soon afterwards enveloped in the blackness of darkest night.[3]

It is sufficiently remarkable that Averroës, the translator and preserver of Aristotle, was not even acquainted with the language of the original, and that the Latin translation of his Arabic version which served the Christian doctors of the twelfth century was the translation of his translation of a Hebrew translation of a commentary on an Arab translation of a Syriac [4] translation of the original Greek text! But although Ibn Rosht was ignorant of Greek, and although he was far from being the first translator of Aristotle, he had so great an appreciation of the works of the Stagyrite, that to him is certainly due the credit of introducing the Greek philosopher to western Europe. His own views no doubt were largely affected by the Neo-platonism of the Alexandrian School; yet Aristotle was his master, his

[1] Dozy, pp. 224-25. The sovereign was, of course, the *Almohade* Almanzor—Jacub ben Yusuf (1186-1197).

[2] The celebrity at Cordova of the father and grandfather of Averroës, as well as the comparatively small honour in which the philosophical prophet was held in his own country—Renan, *Averroës*, etc., p. 37—has led to the curious freak of nomenclature by which the most widely celebrated of all the philosophers of Islam was known to his Moslem contemporaries only by his modest family *sobriquet* of "the Grandson" (el Háfid).

[3] The great struggle between Mohammedan learning and morals, and Italian ignorance and crime, may be said to have commenced on the return of Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II., from Cordova, at the close of the tenth century. Draper, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., pp. 5-7.

[4] Renan, *op. cit.*, p. 52

model, the inspirer of all his works. Even in his medical writings, more celebrated by far among his contemporaries than his philosophical commentaries, Averroës is ever the champion of Aristotle against the more popular theories of Galen, especially in what is probably his first work, the celebrated treatise on medical science, which was entitled *Kalliyath* or general survey, written about the year 1162, and translated into Latin under the *canting* title of *Colliget*, and was repeatedly printed in Europe.[1] His abridgement of the *Almegist* or Μεγάλη Σύνταξις of Ptolemy, preceded by nearly half a century the earliest Latin translation of that work, which was made by the order of the Emperor Frederic II.

The total number of his works that can now be identified is sixty-seven; but the destruction of Arabic MSS. by Ximenez after the fall of Granada has rendered copies of the original works of Averroës, as of every other Spanish Moslem writer, extremely rare.

The first printed edition of any of the works of Averroës in the original was that by Müller, published at Munich in 1859, containing three treatises on religious and philosophical questions.[2] But the Latin editions may be counted by hundreds; more than fifty having appeared at Venice alone; and Padua, as may be supposed, lags not far behind her great neighbour. The philosophical writings may be roughly divided into three classes:—The Greater Commentaries, The Minor Commentaries, and the Paraphrases or Analyses; yet they are all of them presentments of the views of Aristotle: and of the acknowledged writings of the Greek master, only the Politics and the History of Animals remain untranslated by his Moslem disciple.[3] To a Scotsman, Michael Scot, who resided and studied at Toledo in the early days of the thirteenth century, is due the honour of first introducing the works of Averroës to the scholars of Christian Europe.[4] William of Auvergne, in the thirteenth century, was the first of the schoolmen to criticise his doctrines, and Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas Aquinas devoted special treatises to his theories. At Oxford, Averroës was soon read and admired, and already, in the days of Roger Bacon, at the

[1] Renan devotes many erudite pages (*op. cit.*, pp. 58-79) to an enumeration of the works of Averroës, which include, beyond the Aristotelian commentaries and translations, original treatises on philosophical and theological and physical subjects, especially on medicine, astronomy, and even on grammar and jurisprudence.

[2] Renan, p. 85. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 62. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 205-208.

end of the thirteenth century, he had become so great an authority in England, that the great Franciscan advised his disciples to acquire so strange and difficult a language as the Arabic[1] for the special purpose of studying in the original the works of the great commentator. Duns Scotus, John of Baconthorpe, and Walter Burley, were all among his admirers and disciples in England. But it was chiefly in the universities of northern Italy, and more especially at Padua, that the works of Averroës were most ardently studied, and that their influence was most chiefly felt, although the Italian students were led by their new enthusiasm into philosophical excesses which the great Cordovan would have been the first to condemn and to deplore.

Before the end of the fourteenth century, Averroism had incurred the deadly hatred of the Church, and the followers of the Spanish Dominic distinguished themselves among all other Christian orders by their attacks upon the studies and students of the Spanish philosopher.[2] And with the view of horrifying the faithful at his philosophy in general, the famous speech was invented for him by some fourteenth century Churchman that "Moses, Christ, and Mahomet were the *three great impostors* who had deluded the human race".

Strangely enough this famous phrase *de tribus impostoribus*, in spite of its inherent absurdity, has been attributed not only to Averroës but to at least a dozen eminent *Christian* writers, including Milton, Servetus, Rabelais, Macchiavelli, Boccaccio, and the Emperor Frederic II.[3] Queen Christiana of Sweden caused all the great libraries of Europe to be searched in the seventeenth century for any authentic record of the phrase, its authorship, or its origin; but the researches were conducted in vain.

In spite of the enormous influence that is attributable to the publications of Averroës, and the philosophical revolution that was brought about by the study of his works,[4] it cannot be said that there was much originality in the philosophy of Arab Spain. Nor was Ibn Rosht more original, though he was possibly more daring than his predecessors. It is by a freak of

[1] Greek was, of course, as yet almost unknown in England, or, indeed, in any part of western Europe.

[2] According to Mr. Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, vol. iii., pp. 565-578, the inquisitors were somewhat chary of interfering with the speculations of the school of Averroës.

[3] See Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos Españoles*, i., pp. 507 and 782.

[4] Renan, 88-90.

fortune that his commentaries on the works of his Greek master were taken by an ignorant and uncritical age for masterpieces of original thought, and were themselves the subject of commentaries, discussions and disputations, as foreign to the Arab, as to the Greek, philosophy. Disregarded in the language in which they were written, and by the people to whom they were addressed, the works of Ibn Rosht, the Grandson, found a wider field than that of the Peninsula. It was upon European Christendom, yet slumbering, in the twelfth century, that the light of reason "flashed forth from Cordova," [1] and the form of Averroës began to assume those giant proportions which, at a later period, overshadowed the whole intellect of Europe.[2]

[1] Lecky, *Rationalism in Europe*, vol. i., p. 48.

[2] See in addition to Renan, *Averroës est l'Averroisme*, so often referred to; Mehren, *Etudes sur la Philosophie d'Averroës* (Louvain, 1888); and Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition*, vol. iii.

CHAPTER XX.

THE RISE OF ARAGON.

(1027—1213.)

I.—*The Inheritance of Ramiro.*

Aragon, in the days of Sancho the Great of Navarre, was but a small tract of country on the southern slopes of the Pyrenees, lying to the west of the little river which gives its name to the modern province, as it did to the mediæval kingdom of Aragon.[1] The eastern portion of the old territory of the Vascones, it was but a poor mountainous district of some twenty-four leagues in length by ten or twelve in breadth, without a single town of importance within its boundaries.

Ramiro, who succeeded, as we have seen, on the death of Sancho the Great, to this slender inheritance, is usually reckoned as the first independent King of Aragon; and by his fortunate forays and bold encroachments upon the territories of his neighbours, Christian and Moslem, he increased both the area and the importance of his little kingdom. His son Sancho was no less enterprising and no less fortunate; and at the time of his death in battle[2] in 1094, he had extended his dominions as far

[1] For an exhaustive treatise on the history and geography of the north-eastern districts of Spain at this time, see D. José Pella y Forgas *Historia de Ampurdán* (Barcelona, 1883), with an excellent map, and many illustrations. Gerona is partly in this district; Figueras entirely so; and Tossa on the coast is the most southerly village.

[2] At this most important battle, St. George is said to have appeared at the head of the Christian chivalry, and his cross was adopted as the arms of Aragon, on a field Argent, with four bloody heads of Moorish chiefs in the four cantons. (It was not at the battle at Huesca where Sancho of Aragon was slain in 1094 that St. George aided the Aragonese host; but at the great fight on the plain of Alcoraz two years afterwards, where Peter of Aragon was pitted against the Moors of Saragossa and a contingent of Castilians under Count de Najera.—H.).

See Appendix V., *St. George.*

After the taking of Huesca, the Aragonese assisted the Cid in his expedition against Valencia.

as the Ebro; and had even threatened the important town of Huesca, which within two years was captured by his eldest son and successor Peter. This Peter the First of Aragon died after an uneventful reign in 1104, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Alfonso, who married Urraca, Queen of Castile and Leon, widow of Raymond of Burgundy,[1] and who may be distinguished by his appropriate title of *El Batallador*.

The number of royal Alfonsos that flourished in Christian Spain at this time is perplexing to the last degree; and a double or doubtful numeration renders their identity still more difficult to ascertain. Alfonsos there were on the thrones of Aragon, of Leon, of Castile, and even of Barcelona. Alfonso the *Sixth* of Leon was at the same time Alfonso the *First* of Castile. Alfonso the *First* of Aragon is sometimes spoken of as Alfonso the *Seventh* of Leon in right of his wife Urraca, while their son Alfonso is usually reckoned as the *Eighth*, though he was really but the *Seventh* of Leon, and only the *Second* of Castile.

Finally Ramon Berenguer, the son of Petronilla, who is sometimes called the *Fourth* and sometimes the *Fifth* of the Ramons of Catalonia, changed his name to Alfonso, out of compliment to his Aragonese subjects, and to the despair of future students of history.

Of all these early Alfonsos none was more unhappy in his domestic relations, none was more enterprising in his military policy than Alfonso *El Batallador*, first of his name in Aragon. He not only drove the Moslems out of the northern provinces of the Peninsula, but he invaded Lerida and Valencia, and even carried his Christian arms into Andalusia.[2] Nor for the most part, were these mere plundering expeditions, such as were too often undertaken by his neighbours in the west. Before he had sat for more than a dozen years upon his insignificant throne, he had actually driven the Moslems out of the important neighbouring city of Saragossa, which became the capital of his dominions (1118). But his disputes with his Christian neighbours; his quarrels with his wife; his wars with her subjects in Castile and Leon, distracted his attention from more fruitful undertakings, and in spite of his military

[1] She was the eldest daughter of Alfonso VI. of Castile and Leon, who died without male issue in 1109. See *ante*, chapter xvii.

[2] Alfonso is said to have traversed Spain, to have approached Cordova, and actually to have reached the sea near the strong Moslem city of Almeria, *ibid.*, pp. 12, 13.

capacity and his many opportunities, he made a few permanent conquests to the south of the Ebro. He occupied Calatayud,[1] but he failed to reduce Lerida. Victorious outside the walls of Valencia (1128) he did not enter the city. Successful at Bayonne, which he besieged and took in 1132, he left his southern frontiers to be harassed by the Moslems; and hastening back to defend his territory in Aragon from many invaders, he was unable to retain any part of all that he had conquered to the north of the Pyrenees. His death without issue[2] shortly after the disastrous battle of Fraga, when he was defeated by Ibn Ghamah in July 1134, put an end to his Imperial pretensions, after a reign of eight-and-thirty years in Aragon.

This childless and defeated *batallador* bequeathed his kingdom by will to the two great orders of religious knighthood, the Templars, and the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; but his testamentary disposition was wholly disregarded by the Aragonese. Not one but two kings were elected by hostile factions, in the place of the deceased monarch; and it was not until their rival claims had been more or less amicably adjusted by the elevation of Ramiro the Monk[3] from the cloister to the throne, that the Grand Master of the Templars arrived (1140) in Spain to take possession of his inheritance. But the foreigner found neither subjects nor soldiers, and was glad to content himself with the establishment of some commanderies in Aragon, and the grant of certain legal privileges to his disappointed Order, in the kingdom which he had come to acquire.

The royal monk, having married a princess of the House of Aquitane, was blessed with a daughter, Petronilla,[4] who was destined not only to continue the direct line of the House of Aragon, but to bring honour and happiness to two nations. Her infant hand was granted to Ramon Berenguer the *Fourth* or the *Fifth*[5] count of neighbouring Catalonia, and Ramiro,

[1] After the battle of Daroca in 1120.

[2] Don Pascual de Gayangos, in his most admirable edition of the *Chronicle of James I. of Aragon*, says (Introduction, p. xiii.) that he left "no heir to his crown but a daughter". I find no mention of the lady in any other authority.

[3] He is said to have been only in deacon's orders. A similar excuse, it may be remembered, was made for the election of Bermudo in 788.

[4] Petronilla was but two years old at the time of her marriage, an early entry into the field of politics. She is called by Don Pascual de Gayangos, *op. cit.*, p. 15, the *niece* of Ramiro the monk; the word is perhaps a euphemism for the *daughter* of an ecclesiastic.

[5] The name and numeration of the Ramon Berenguers of Catalonia is even more uncertain than that of the Alfonsos of Castile and Leon. Fortunately they were not by any means as numerous!

having resigned his sovereign rights in a solemn assembly of the Estates of Aragon at Balbastro, in 1137, to this most worthy son in-law, retired once more to the cloister, having contributed not a little, by his modest patriotism, to the advancement of the true interests of his country.[1]

Ramon and Petronilla reigned happily and successfully for five-and-twenty years. In war and in politics they were equally fortunate. The important cities of Lerida and Fraga were added to the Christian possessions; and when Ramon died, in 1162, on his way to meet the Emperor Frederic and do homage for the County of Provence, the Moslem had no possessions within the limits of Aragon or Catalonia.

The virtuous Petronilla survived her husband eleven years, till 1173, but she gave up her regal title and authority in her own dominions after her husband's death, to her son, who is known in history as Alfonso the *Second,* of the united kingdom of Aragon[2] and County of Barcelona.

II.—*Catalonia.*

The little County of Barcelona or Catalonia, which came into existence, as we have seen, after the victories of Louis of Aquitaine in the early years of the ninth century, has no history, certain, or worthy of our attention, until the days of Ramon Berenguer I., *el viejo* (1035-1076), whose victories over the Arabs were even less remarkable than the vigour and success of his domestic policy. The first undisputed master of all Catalonia, he introduced a modified form of the feudal system among the barons and knights, and as a supplement or complement to the old Gothic laws of the *Fuero Juzgo*[3] he formulated the celebrated *Usages* of Catalonia, which were

[1] During the war which Ramon Berenguer waged against Raymond V. of Toulouse, he sought and obtained, in 1153, the alliance of Henry II. of England, who claimed the Duchy of Aquitaine as the inheritance of his wife Eleanor, the repudiated Queen of Louis VII. of France. And Ramon Berenguer dying when his son Alfonso was still of tender years, constituted Henry II. guardian of his kingdom, and of his successor. (Ramon Berenguer modestly called himself Prince —not King—of his wife's realm of Aragon.—H.)

[2] His father left by will to his younger brother Peter, Cerdagne, Carcassonne, and Beziers.

[3] The *Fuero Juzgo* was not, as is sometimes stated, abolished by this early Parliament. Its authority was fully maintained, except in such particulars as it was modified by the newer code.

promulgated at the Council of Gerona, and confirmed, in 1068, by the *Cortes* of Barcelona, one of the earliest Councils, at which no bishop was present, and which was a true popular and political assembly. This Ramon Berenguer acquired, moreover, by marriage and treaty, considerable possessions beyond the Pyrenees, and, at the instance of Pope Alexander II., he restored or rebuilt the cathedral at Barcelona. The wisdom ot Ramon Berenguer the elder was not perpetuated in his children, nor did he himself display it in the disposition of his dominions at his death; for he divided his kingdom between his two sons, Ramon Berenguer II., surnamed *cap d'estopa,* or the flaxen-headed, and his younger brother, Berenguer Ramon; and the succession was only settled, after five years of domestic strife, by the assassination of the elder of those princes by the younger in 1081. The fratricide found no favour with the Catalans, and after a brief period of sovereignty the new monarch fled to the Holy Land, and was succeeded by his infant nephew, the son of his flaxen-haired brother, who reigned for nearly fifty years as Ramon Berenguer III. (1082-1131). By his marriage with Douce, Countess of Provence, by treaty, and by inheritance, this prudent sovereign extended his dominions on either side of the Pyrenees, and making head against the Arabs on his southern frontier, he actually carried his victorious arms across the sea to Majorca, which was taken and occupied by the Catalans in 1100.[1]

This Ramon Berenguer III. is known in history by the honourable title of the *Consolidator of the Realm.* He reigned over both Barcelona and Aragon with infinite advantage to the Commonwealth; and was succeeded by his son, Ramon Berenguer IV., a still greater consolidator, for whom was reserved the happy honour of uniting the sovereignties of Aragon and Catalonia by his marriage with Petronilla, the daughter of Ramiro the Monk, as has been already related.

With dominions thus extended, and at peace with all his neighbours, Ramon Berenguer was able to offer substantial assistance to his Christian neighbours in their wars against the Moslems. His son, Ramon, who assumed, in 1161, the name of Alfonso—surnamed *The Chaste*—and who peacefully inherited the double crown of Catalonia and Aragon, was undistinguished in history; and, dying in 1196, was succeeded by his son, Peter, who played a more conspicuous part, not

[1] The occupation did not long endure, and the Balearic islands soon afterwards fell again into the hands of the Moslems.

only in Aragon and in southern Spain, but in Languedoc, and even in Italy.

His first public step of interest or importance was a journey to Rome in 1203, undertaken at the instance of Innocent III., that he might receive his crown at the hands of the Pope, and submit to the issue of a Papal Rescript constituting Aragon a Fief of the Holy See, and the "perpetual property" of the successors of St. Peter; and he at the same time undertook for himself and all future kings of Aragon, to pay tribute, as well as to do homage, to the Pope, for his dominions. This wholesale political surrender was, however, a more practical admission of the supreme power of the Vicar of Christ on earth than was agreeable to the Aragonese;[1] and while it raised the indignation of the king's subjects at Barcelona and Saragossa, it does not seem to have procured for him any special favour, spiritual or temporal, at Rome. An assembly of the States' Council at Saragossa, in 1205, protested against the king's action as derogatory to the honour of the nation, and pronounced his surrender null and of no effect. Nor was the stipulated tribute ever paid.[2]

But a greater figure than that of Peter the Catholic of Aragon was now looming darkly on the northern frontiers of Spain.

[1] Zurita, *Anales de Aragon*, t. i., f. 91. The king was gratified with the title of The Catholic, for having placed his kingdom under the patronage of the Holy See. Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos Españoles* (1880), tom. i., p. 421.

[2] Lafuente, v. 191.

CHAPTER XXI.

DOMINIC.

(1170—1221.)

Dominic de Guzman was born at Calaroga,[1] near Osma, in Old Castile, in 1170. His birth and childhood were attended with the usual miraculous portents common to all mediæval saints, and at the age of fifteen he proceeded to the University or High School of Palencia, an institution which afterwards attained so great a reputation in the more famous city of Salamanca. After an uneventful academic career of nearly ten years, Dominic returned to Osma, where he enjoyed the protection of the bishop of the diocese; and, having entered into religion under the rule of St. Augustine, he was soon raised to the dignity of sub-prior.

At length, after ten years more of earnest work at Osma, Dominic was introduced to the great world beyond the frontiers of Spain, having been chosen by his patron the bishop to accompany him as his secretary on a diplomatic mission to Limoges, to negotiate the marriage of Alfonso VIII. of Castile with a princess of the House of Hugues de Lusignan, Count de la Marche.[2] And it was on his way through Languedoc, struck, it is said, by the very scant respect that was paid to the clergy, compared with the homage to which he was accustomed in Castile, that the young ecclesiastic found his true mission, which

[1] Not at Calahorra, in Aragon, as is sometimes said. *Calaroga* was only a village, some sixty miles due north of Madrid, in an out of the way part of Castile. Calahorra, the Roman *Calagurris*, the birth-place of Quintilian and Prudentius, has always been a busy and important little town.

[2] It is sometimes said, but on very doubtful authority, that this mission was to Copenhagen. It would have been hard to have accomplished the three journeys which the envoys undertook, had their road extended from Castile to Denmark, in less than a year. Père Jean de Rechaac, Baillet, Fleury, Touron, and Miss Drane, are all in favour of the more manageable journey to *Limoges*, in the Marches of the Limousin. The double or doubtful signification of the word *Marches* has no doubt puzzled the chroniclers.

was not that of negotiating foreign marriages, but of preaching to foreign heretics.

Up to the time of the election of Innocent III., in 1198, the suppression and persecution of ecclesiastical heresy had occupied but a small share of the attention of the leaders of the Catholic world. For as yet ecclesiastical heresy can hardly be said to have existed. A Council, indeed, had been convoked at Lerida, in 1194, by Cardinal Gregory of Saint Angelo, as legate of Pope Celestine III.; and Alfonso II. of Aragon, yielding to the solicitations of the ecclesiastics, had given orders for the banishment of heretics from his kingdom, for the confiscation of their goods, and the infliction of severe penalties upon all who should shelter them.[1] Three years later Peter II., at the Council of Gerona, confirmed and reiterated the decrees of Lerida; yet no serious steps seem to have been taken to put them into execution in Spain.

But with the accession of Innocent, the policy and temper of the Papacy became aggressive and uncompromising in the highest degree; and the commission that was granted by this most vigorous of Pontiffs on the 29th of May, 1204, to Arnold of Citeaux, with Pierre and Raoul de Castelnau, is generally considered to be the origin of the Inquisition in Europe. These apostolic legates were to take measures for the restoration of heretics to the Catholic faith. They were to hand over to the secular power—after preliminary excommunication—those who failed to submit themselves; and they were to enter into possession of all the worldly goods of such obstinate heretics, in the name of the Church. Their authority was made independent of the local bishops. They were to take their instructions direct from Rome. The King of France, moreover, and all the princes and barons of the realm were ordered to render active assistance to the three legates or *Inquisitors of the Faith,* whenever and howsoever it should be demanded.[2]

But in spite of these tremendous powers, the legates met with but little success. The heretics were obstinate. The bishops were unfriendly. The princes were indifferent. Yet one stranger was found to attach himself devotedly to the cause of the disappointed Abbot of Citeaux. The young enthusiast from Osma became at once his disciple and his critic, his friend, his champion and his supercessor. Aroused, not

[1] Llorente, *Hist. de la Inquisition*, etc., i., ch. ii.

[2] Manrique, *Annales de Citeaux* (1204), liv. ii., No. 6, and (1205, chaps. i., ii.).

only to thought, but to action, by the storm that he saw brewing around him, the sub-prior of the quiet monastery in Castile perceived the gravity of the situation, while bishops and legates were too blind or too careless to see the danger that was looming in the distance. To bring the *World* back again within the pale of the *Church*; this was the dream of Dominic. And his zealous indignation was stirred up at the sight of the lordly prelates and the luxurious *Legati pro Pontifice*, too proud to approach the common people save with fire and sword, no less than at the contemplation of the idle and useless monks hidden in the seclusion of their cloisters. The work of Dominic was to be done by a complete reversal of the practice of the older monasticism, by the enlisting of an army of spiritual soldiers who should sally forth to meet the foe on his own ground. Least of all were the heretics to be converted by legates in silk attire, rich, luxurious, epicurean, faithless. Their splendid retinues, their pomp of priestly power were indeed most distasteful to the Spanish ascetic, who, in the humble guise of a poor brother in Christ, addressed himself at once to the work of his life, observing at least the letter, if he failed to perceive the true spirit, of the Gospel injunctions to the first missionaries of Christianity.

Nothing could be more unlike the splendour of a Pontifical legate than the conversation of the bare-footed apostle who begged his daily bread as he preached his religion from door to door. But even thus, devoted, earnest, self-denying, sincere, enthusiastic, Dominic failed to convert the early Protestants of Languedoc. The people were as heedless of the strange sub-prior as they had been of the teaching of their own clergy. They had become impatient, not only of their local priests, but of the control of Innocent at Rome. A tempest was, indeed, brewing over religious Europe; and the first mutterings of the storm were heard in Languedoc. But if Dominic was unable to shake the faith of the Albigensian heretics, his visit to Languedoc had results which shook the world. Before the Sub-Prior of Osma had been a year in the south of France he had established at *Prouille*, between Fanjeaux and Montreal, near Carcassonne, a convent for nuns (1206); and shortly afterwards, a brotherhood or company of preaching friars, who were spoken of as "the companions of Dominic."[1]

[1] The first religious house actually founded by Dominic was in 1214 at Toulouse. The building was presented by Pierre Cellain, a citizen of the town.

Yet were the results not immediately felt; and the assassination of Pierre de Castelnau by the over-zealous Provençals, resenting his denunciations of their sovereign Raymond VI. of Toulouse, brought the earliest stage of the Papal intervention to a disastrous conclusion. But Rome had not said its last word. The dead legate was beatified as a martyr.[1] Raymond of Toulouse was excommunicated as a heretic. His subjects and his territories were given over to the secular arm. In March, 1208, Pope Innocent called upon the faithful in Europe to undertake a crusade, for the conversion, by fire and sword, of those unhappy dwellers in Languedoc, whose subsequent fate has made their name famous in history as that of the Albigenses.[2]

Peter of Aragon, as the nearest neighbour of the unfortunate Raymond of Toulouse, was called upon at once by Simon de Montfort, the commander of the Papal troops, and by the unhappy heretics whom he threatened with destruction, to carry his forces across the Pyrenees.[3] But Peter maintained a timid neutrality which pleased neither the persecutor nor the persecuted. He had, indeed, affianced his more distinguished son, James of Aragon, to a daughter of Simon de Montfort. But he had himself married (in 1204) Maria, the daughter and heiress of the Count of Montpellier; and wishing, perhaps, like the Scottish nobles of the eighteenth century, to have a relation in either camp, he had also given his sisters, Doña Lenora and Doña Sancha, in marriage to two Counts of Toulouse, Raymond VI., and his son, who succeeded him in 1222, as Raymond VII. Desirous, no doubt, of withdrawing from the neighbourhood of so embarrassing a contest, he offered his services to Alfonso of Castile in his expedition against the infidel, and turned his steps towards Andalusia, while his more distinguished countryman[4] took his place in the van of the Crusaders as the spiritual delegate of Arnold of Citeaux.

[1] Manrique, tom. iii. (1208), chap. ii.

[2] Inhabitants of the district of *Albigeois*, south of the Cevennes, and condemned at the Council of Lombes or *Albi*, in Languedoc, in 1176. Albi is capital of the modern department of the *Tarn*.

[3] Simon de Montfort was not chosen leader of the *Papalini* until 18th June, 1209, *after* the massacre of Beziers and Carcassonne. The Duke of Burgundy must share with the Papal Legate, Milo, the honours of those memorable acts of faith. It is uncertain whether Dominic was present on either occasion. But he certainly approved of what was done. Drane's *Life of St. Dominic* (1891), 78, 79.

[4] Manrique, *Annales de Citeaux*, tom. iii. (1210), ch. iv. It is true that Calaroga is many miles from the frontier of Aragon. But Peter and Dominic were, at least, both of them Spaniards.

Disappointed at the failure of his personal efforts for the conversion of the heretics, Dominic was content to hand over to the material sword of Simon de Montfort [1] and his pitiless Papal troops, the unhappy people who were unconvinced by the moral sword of his preaching. But not even then did he relax his own personal efforts. The cross and the sword moved side by side. The tongue and the lance should each be in the service of the Faith. If Dominic was merciless, he was sincere; if he was bigoted, he was enthusiastic; if his methods were odious, his aims were noble; if his religion was inhuman, he was yet a true man. Of such are the rulers of the world.

Lacordaire and other admirers of the great founder of the Dominicans are much concerned to prove that the saint was not present at, and had nothing whatever to do with, the wholesale slaughterings that were ordered or approved by Innocent. The preacher it is said, was never an executioner. This tenderness for the bodies of heretics is very modern; this indirect censure of a Pope is hardly orthodox; nor is it possible to acquit Dominic of active participation in the Papal work of what he believed to be praiseworthy destruction. His hands, no doubt, were stained with no Christian blood. He may not even like Arnold of Citeaux [2] have shouted to the massacre. But his chosen work was the "examination and conviction" of the heretics, in cold blood, before they were handed over to the executioner. And his parting words to the people among whom he had so long laboured for the Faith, tell, at least, of no tenderness for the bodies of the obstinate heretics. "For many years," said he to the unconverted Albigenses, "I have spoken to you with gentleness, with prayers, with tears, but according to the proverb of my country, where the benediction has no effect, the rod may have much. Behold now I rouse up against you princes and prelates, nations and kingdoms, and many shall preach by the sword." [3] And by the sword assuredly did many preach, aye, and by the faggot too, under the patronage of *Santo Domingo,* in the days that were yet to come.

[1] *Le glaive matériel . . . le glaive moral.* Lacordaire, *Vie de St. Dominique,* p. 122.

[2] *Fertur dixisse,* "*Cædite Cædite, novit Dominus qui sunt ejus!*" See an article by Lord Acton in *Eng. Hist. Review* (1888), p. 738. Such sayings are rarely authentic, and can never, of course, be proved.

[3] *MSS. de Prouille Monuments du Couvent de Toulouse,* par. P. Percin, p. 20, No. 47, and Drane, *Life,* etc., p. 181.

Peter of Aragon, in the south of Spain, was at once bolder and more fortunate than he had been in his own dominions; and in the great Christian victory at *las Navas de Tolosa*, he may claim an honourable share. Inspired apparently by this great success, he returned to Aragon, and abandoning his neutral attitude as regards his persecuted neighbours in Languedoc, he boldly took the field against Simon de Montfort,[1] and fell, sword in hand, outside the blood-stained walls of *Muret*. Thus it was that the king who began his reign with a most servile self-abasement before the ecclesiastical power, for which his memory even in Spain has justly been held in contempt, gave his life for the unhappy victims of ecclesiastical tyranny, slain by the emissaries of the self-same Pope who had received his homage, and had even honoured him with the title of *The Catholic*, less than ten years before.

If Dominic was not present at Beziers, he was certainly found on the field of blood at Muret,[2] holding aloft a gigantic crucifix to animate the courage of the soldiers. And if the Spanish king drew the sword on the side of liberty within sight of his own Pyrenean mountains, the Spanish priest marched with uplifted cross in the ranks of the persecutors, and shared with de Montfort and Bishop Fulques of Toulouse,[3] the honour of participation in that sacred massacre, which is characterised by Lacordaire as one of the finest acts of faith that man has accomplished on this earth.[4] One of the greatest, no doubt, it may have been; but it was very far from being the last of those *Acts of Faith* with which the name of the Dominican is so dreadfully associated in Spain; for Peter of Aragon was but the first of the many tens of thousands of Spaniards who have died, innocent of any earthly crime, under the uplifted cross of the Brothers of the Inquisition.[5]

Two years after Muret, Dominic took the great resolution

[1] Simon de Montfort was killed at the siege of Toulouse in 1218.

[2] This crucifix is still preserved in the Church of St. Sermin at Toulouse (whither it was removed from the house of the Inquisition in 1791). Three or four holes are pointed out as made by the heretic arrows.

[3] The Bishop of Toulouse had armed himself with a fragment of the True Cross, which he brandished aloft to cheer on the Papal soldiers to the massacre. Drane, *Life of St. Dominic*, p. 144.

[4] Cette bataille mémorable comptera tojours parmi les *beaux actes de foi* qu'ont fait les hommes sur la terre. Lacordaire, *Vie de St. Dominique*, p. 89.

[5] Twenty thousand heretics are said to have been killed in the massacre at Muret, while only one Catholic knight and eight common soldiers were slain. Drane, p. 145.

of his life. He would establish a new Order; an Order of preachers, not of ascetics; of brothers, not of monks; of men of action in the world, not of hermits in the desert. The sanction of Rome was required for so revolutionary a scheme; and Dominic made his way from Provence to the Vatican.

The great Council of Lateran had just assembled. Five hundred bishops and eight hundred priors and abbots were collected in Imperial Rome.[1] Innocent, the most powerful Pontiff since the death of Hildebrand, if not since the death of Diocletian, presided over the august assembly. Yet was there one among them, but not of them, whose greatness was as yet unknown to the Church or to the world, a man whose name and whose work would endure when they and theirs were long forgotten —the bare-footed Spanish friar from Toulouse.

Before the formal opening of the Council (1215) the Pope had issued to Dominic an apostolic brief, by which the convent of Prouille was placed under the protection of the Holy See, and all former grants that had been made to it were fully confirmed. But when the plan for the foundation of the new Order was laid before Innocent, the novelty and vastness of its design induced him to hesitate. The Church still possessed only the more ancient forms of monasticism, for the Franciscans were not as yet fully established as a religious order; and the scheme of Dominic included a much wider field than had opened itself to any earlier Christian founder.

The Church was somewhat jealous of innovation, and the Council, moreover, had formally decreed that no new Orders should be established or permitted. The language of the canon was at once so precise and so recent that it was impossible entirely to disregard it. But Dominic was not a reformer to be baffled by Councils. Innocent was not a ruler to be tied by decrees. The importance of the scheme was made apparent to the clear-sighted Pontiff, and on the strength of a celestial vision the canon was happily evaded.

Dominic was permitted to establish his new Order—but it was to be considered as a mere offshoot of an old one; and he was authorised to select any one of the ancient rules that should appear best fitted[2] for his purpose. He selected the

[1] See Manrique, *op. cit.*, tom. iii., chap. iii.; Monteiro, *Historia de la Santa Inquisiçao de Portugal*, tom. i., par. i., liv. i., chap. lvii.; Llorente, *ubi supra*, chap. ii., art. 4, and the *Collection royale des Conciles*, tom. xxviii., 3.

[2] Drane, pp. 156-164.

rule of the Augustinians. But he made it entirely his own.[1] And the order of Dominic has played a part in the history of the Church and of the world greater by far than that which has fallen to the share of all the other followers of Augustine.

In the autumn of 1217 the great friar turned his back upon Languedoc for ever, and took up his abode in the Imperial city. Innocent had died in 1216, and Dominic, recognised by his successor Honorius as the master spirit of the Catholic Church, found his place at the capital of the world.[2]

If the Spanish friar was the most powerful man in Rome, the influence of the Spanish philosopher Averroës, who had died but ten years before the massacre at Beziers, was beginning to make itself felt throughout Christendom. From Spain had come at once the man of dogma that was confirming the Church, and the man of liberty that was disturbing the world. And the speculations of the Cordovan doctor found no bolder, no more determined, no more powerful opponent than the priest of Osma. Yet if in later days Averroës would have been astounded at the theories of the Italian Christian Averroists, Dominic might have been shocked at the practices of the Spanish Dominican inquisitors.

The progress of human thought is no more certain than the progress of fleets or of armies. Yet when the wretched strife of petty chieftains, the wholesale slaughter of Moslems or of Christians shall cease to interest the world; when the bandits and cutthroats of the growing north, and the poets and castle builders of the dying south; when the Ferdinands and the Alfonsos, the Hakams and the Hishams, and the greatest An Nasir himself are all forgotten, as the extinct and uninteresting forces of a dead past; the ever-enduring struggle between the spirit of persecution and the spirit of religious liberty, between the spirit of Dominic[3] and the spirit

[1] As to the addition of certain rules of the Premonstratensians, see Père Denifle, in the *Athenæum*, 30th April, 1892, p. 559.

[2] The last branch of his Order was founded by Dominic in 1219, as the *Third Order of Penitence*, or *The Militia of Christ*, whose members were specially charged with the duty of assisting in the work of the Inquisition, and who came in time to be known by the hated name of *Familiars of the Holy Office*. See Llorente, tom. i., chap. ii., art. 4; Castillo, *Hist. de St. Dominic*, pt. i., chap. xlix.; Monteiro, *op. cit.*, pt. i., chap. xxxvi.; Paraino, *Origine de l'Inquisition*, lib. ii., tit. i., chap. iii.

[3] Dominic died at Rome in 1221, and was canonised by Pope Gregory IX. in 1233. As to whether the institution of the *Rosary* is due to Dominic, as is generally asserted, the curious in such matters may consult Drane, *op. cit.*, pp. 120,138, where an entire chapter is devoted to the subject, and many appropriate references collected.

of Averroës, will compel every student of human progress to turn to the history of Spain, and to read of the *Càdi* annotating his Aristotle on the banks of the Guadalquivir, of the friar from Osma bearing aloft the crucifix at Muret, and dictating to Innocent at Rome.[1]

[1] See generally Molimir, *Histoire de l'Inquisition dans le midi de la France dans le xiii. and xiv. Siècles.* Paris, 1881.

CHAPTER XXII.

IMPERIUM ROMANUM.

The Gothic Missal.

(1064—1252.)

Until the twelfth century the Christian principalities of Spain had been less subject to the control or intervention of the Pope at Rome than any of the other kingdoms of western Europe.[1] Isidore and Julian had manfully asserted the independence of their Church in the days of Visigothic Christianity; and the petty and distant kingdoms of Leon and Navarre, of Gallicia and the Asturias, perpetually exposed to the inroads of the Moslem, had scarcely attracted the attention, and could never have aroused the jealousy, of the Holy See. The kings who fought for the extension of their own territories were engaged in a crusade against the infidel which was pronounced on Papal authority to be as meritorious as the weary and dangerous pilgrimage to fight the Saracen in Syria. And as long as the Moslem was practically supreme in the Peninsula, the Popes interfered very little in the spiritual or temporal affairs of the struggling Christians of Spain.

But towards the end of the twelfth century, the condition of affairs both at the capital and in the Spanish provinces had entirely changed. And in 1064, Alexander II. despatched a cardinal legate to the court of Aragon, with orders to denounce the ancient Gothic Ritual and Breviary—the Mozarabic, as it was familiarly called—which had been in use in Spain since the time of Reccared, and which had been revised both by Isidore and Julian;[2] and to prescribe the use of the Italian

[1] As to the tardy and unwilling acceptance of Papal supremacy by the Church in Spain, see an interesting *Dissertation* by Geddes, printed in vol. ii. of his *Tracts*.

[2] Masdeu, tom. xiii., p. 280.

Mass Book[1] and Formularies in its stead. Great opposition on the part of the king, the people, and even the clergy was offered to the change; but by the year 1071 Rome had prevailed and the old ritual of Christian Spain was supplanted by that of Italy. Alexander was the first Pope since the Moslem conquest who had interfered in the affairs of the Peninsula. The Pope who succeeded him was not a man to abandon any of the pretensions of his predecessors. Gregory VII. had assumed[2] the tiara in 1073; and Cæsar once more ruled the world from Rome. Alexander had required the change of Breviary. Hildebrand laid claim to the absolute property of the whole of Spain.[3] In his brief addressed *To the Princes of Spain*, he says "You are aware, I believe, that from the earliest times the kingdom of Spain was the special patrimony of St. Peter, and although Pagans have occupied it, yet the right remains, and it belongs to the same master. Therefore, Count Eboli de Rocayo, whose fame is known to you, goes forth to conquer the land in the name of St. Peter, under the conditions that we have stipulated. And if any one of you should undertake a similar task, he shall take care in the same manner and in no other, to pay to St. Peter that which is due."[4] These were bold pretensions, and Alfonso VI. was not the man to resist them. But Hildebrand, content with his prompt acquiescence, made no further demand upon the king's obedience than that of his acceptance of the Italian in place of the Mozarabic ritual in the churches[5] of

[1] See Meyrick, *The Church in Spain* (1892), pp. 342-350. The Gothic Ritual of Spain had been solemnly approved by Pope John X. at Rome in 923. *Esp. Sag.*, iii., 117. It was largely at the instigation of the French monks of Cluny that the change was ultimately insisted upon. But see Masdeu, xv., 252-266. The Gallican Church, having lost its own ritual, was jealous of the greater independence of Spain. From the earliest times the influence of the Cluniac monks in Spain was very great. Hildebrand, it must not be forgotten, was himself a monk of Cluny.

[2] It was Damasus II. that first caused himself to be crowned with a tiara, in 1048. Boniface VIII. encompassed the tiara with a crown in 1294; Benedict XII. added a second in 1334, and John XXIII. a third in 1410.

[3] Lafuente, iv., 333-4. Not only was the Roman substituted for the Gothic liturgy, but the whole system of Roman canon law as contrasted with that of the old codes and councils was imposed upon the Spanish Church, *Hist. Compostell.*, i., 2-12. It is remarkable, says Mr. Meyrick on this point, that the *False Decretals* which were brought into the Church in the ninth century, under the name of the Spanish Bishop Isidore, were not recognised or acknowledged in Spain until the middle of the eleventh century. This is proved by the *Coleccion Escurialense de Sagrados Canones y Decretales* drawn up about 1050. Meyrick, *ubi supra*, pp. 303, 4.

[4] *Esp. Sag.*, xxv., 132; Masdeu, xiii., 280.

[5] It was in the *Capilla de San Victorian*, in the Benedictine Convent of La Peña, near Jaca—once the capital of Aragon—that on the 13th of March, 1071,

Leon and Castile. Alfonso, at the request of his French wife, Constance of Burgundy, and her ecclesiastical protégé, Bernard, afterwards Archbishop of Toledo, was quite ready to give his consent; but the Castilians, ever jealous of Papal aggression, were even less disposed than their neighbours to accept the change; and the king was unable or unwilling, in the first instance, to do more than submit the question to the ordeal of trial by battle—a strange method of deciding a theological controversy.[1] Two champions accordingly appeared and fought in public; and the Knight of the Gothic Missal, Don Juan Ruiz de Matanzas, slew the champion of the Italian, and remained unhurt[2] and victorious. A pair of bulls, not of the *sealed* but of the *horned* variety, were next entrusted with the solution of the difficulty;[3] and the national *toro* slew the Roman *toro* in the arena at Toledo, to the joy of religious and tauromachian Castile. But the Pope was not satisfied. The queen was not convinced. Yet delay is ever acceptable in Spain; and for seven years nothing further was done in the matter.

But Hildebrand was not to be baulked by push of horn, lance, nor even by Castilian procrastination. And at length by the Pope's orders a Council was held at Burgos under the presidency of his legate, Cardinal Ricardo, which formally decreed the abolition of the Spanish Service Book in Castile. Nevertheless the Castilians were not satisfied; and before the Italian Ritual was introduced into the Metropolitan Cathedral of Spain, it was thought fit once more to appeal to the verdict of Heaven. Once more the lists were set outside the city of Toledo, and in the sight of an immense concourse of people, a copy of the Gothic and a copy of the Roman Missal were cast together into a fire. The book that remained unconsumed was to be pronounced acceptable to the Almighty. The pious experiment was once more unfavourable to the foreigner. For the Roman Mass Book was burnt to ashes, while the Gothic resisted the flames. But Alfonso tossed the victorious volume

says Richard Ford, *Spain* (ed. 1878), p. 524, the *first Roman Mass* was celebrated in the Peninsula. Cardinal Hugo de Candido, legate of Pope Alexander II. was the celebrant, and King Sancho Ramirez was present in person. See *Hist. de San Juan de la Peña*, by Juan Briz Martinez (Zaragoza, 1620).

[1] On the wager of battle generally, see H. C. Lea, *Superstition and Force*, (1886), especially p. 244.

[2] *Esp. Sag.*, iii., 173; Masdeu, xiii., 279-287.

[3] Watts, *Spain*, p. 159.

back into the fire,[1] and the will of the Pope was done. The people made no resistance. And Spain became once more, after the lapse of nearly seven centuries, the obedient Province of Rome.

II.—*The Emperor.*

Alfonso VI. of Castile and Leon finding himself, in 1095, for the fourth time a widower, espoused the beautiful Zaida, a daughter of Ibn Obeid, the Arab king of Seville; and in less than a year the young queen abjured the religion of her fathers, and was baptised under the Christian name of Maria Isabella. Of this union was born Sancho, a young prince of great promise, who was slain while yet only eleven years of age, fighting against the Moslems outside the walls of Ucles, where the Christians were completely defeated, in 1108. King Alfonso never rallied after this double disaster; and he died in June, 1109, at the good old age of seventy-nine, after an eventful reign of forty-three years.

His wives were almost as numerous as those of our own Henry VIII.; but although the exact number is uncertain, he is not usually supposed to have exceeded five. Yet he left no man child to take his place; and he was succeeded on the thrones of Castile and Leon by his unworthy daughter Urraca, who was not only a faithless wife, but a false and incapable sovereign.[2]

Her marriage with Alfonso I. of Aragon, surnamed *El Batallador*, should have brought peace and harmony to two kingdoms; but the husband was a savage; the wife was a wanton; and Castile suffered even more severely than Aragon for the vices and the crimes of their sovereigns. Alfonso harried his wife's subjects in Leon more remorselessly than their Moslem enemies; Urraca intrigued with her various lovers in Castile against her husband in Aragon; and the usual

[1] The old proverb *Allá van leyes dô quieren Reyes*, is said to have had its origin on this interesting occasion. See the *Cronica de España* of Alfonso X.

[2] At this time, says Lafuente (v., 26) the kingdom of Castile affords the sad spectacle of husband and wife, mother and son, brother and brother, in open war one against the other; now the mother and son against the husband and the father; now the sister against the sister and the nephew; now nephew and uncle against mother and sister. Urraca is said to have at least had for excuse that she was brutally treated by her husband . . . *faciam meam suis manibus sordidis multoties turbatam esse, pede suo me percussisse.* See *Hist. Compostel.*, lib. i., cap. 64, *apud* Lafuente, iv., 475.

civil wars were only varied by the addition of a woman's frailty to a sovereign's faithlessness. Aragon and Castile, Portugal and Leon were all at war; Diego Gomez and Pedro de Lara, the queen's lovers, Alfonso, the queen's husband, and Alfonso, the queen's son, were one and all involved in perpetual strife; nor did the dissolution of Urraca's marriage by the Pope in any way tend to abate the stress of warfare, which was maintained until her unregretted death in 1126.

Her son Alfonso VII. by her first husband, Raymond of Burgundy, who succeeded her at her death as King of Leon and of Castile, assumed the title of Emperor of Spain,[1] and from 1126 to 1134 one of these Alfonsos—the step-father—is found still occupying the throne of Aragon, while another—the son—sat upon the throne of united Leon and Castile.[2] But the formal homage of Navarre and of Toulouse, which led to the assumption of the Imperial title by the son of Urraca, were merely moves in the political game of the period; and the so-called emperor of all Spain soon found himself at war with Aragon and with Navarre in the north; with the new kingdom of Portugal in the west; and with the new empire of the Almohades in southern Spain. But the Moslem power was rapidly decaying; and Alfonso, in spite of civil wars, was able to push forward the Christian frontier from the line of the Tagus to the line of the Sierra Morena; and in 1147, during a brief interval of Christian amity, the united forces of Castile, of Aragon, of Leon and of Navarre, with the fleets of Barcelona, of Genoa and of Pisa, possessed themselves of the rich and important Moslem city of Almeria, on the far away south-eastern coast of what had for 400 years been exclusively Moslem Spain. An immense booty was divided among the adventurers, but the city of Almeria was suffered to remain as the Imperial portion of *Alfonso of Castile el Emperador*.[3]

[1] *Imperator totius Hispaniæ*, in 1135. (For particulars of the life of Alfonso VII. the Emperor, see the *Chronica de Alfonso VII.*, Sandoval.—H.).

[2] As to the comparison between or among all the various Alfonsos at this period, see *ante*, p. 214, and *Table* at the end of this volume. One of the most Imperial acts of Alfonso VII., *el Emperador*, was the coining of money with Arabic inscriptions or legends for the use of his Arab-speaking subjects in the Peninsula. A number of these inscriptions are given in Romey, vi., 306-308.

[3] The title of emperor had occasionally been used in documents by Alfonso the Battler and his wife, as well as by most sovereigns of Castile, but Alfonso VII. assumed the dignity with all formality at the Cortes of Leon in 1135, and in the same year summoned the Cortes of Castile at Toledo to confirm the assumption.—H.

III.—*Berengaria.*

Alfonso the Emperor died in 1157, and the kingdoms were once more divided. Castile was the appointed portion of his eldest son, Sancho, while his younger brother, Ferdinand, inherited the kingdom of Leon. For one entire year the royal brothers lived, strangely enough, in harmony, in their several dominions; but the death of Sancho, in 1158, and the accession of his infant son, Alfonso III. of Castile (usually called Alfonso VIII.) led to an outbreak of strife in that kingdom, between the *Castros* and the *Laras*, rival aspirants to the guardianship of the royal minor, as well as to more regular warfare with Ferdinand of Leon, which was conducted with the usual savagery and fruitlessness.

Arriving at man's estate, Alfonso III. (or VIII.) of Castile entered into a treaty of peace and amity at Sahagun (1170) with Alfonso Ramon of Aragon, the son of Petronilla and the last Ramon Berenguer; and in the same auspicious year he married the Princess Eleanor, daughter of our English king, Henry II. Up to the time of this happy union the reign of Alfonso III. in Castile had been nothing but a succession of intrigues and civil wars of the accustomed character; but from the day of his marriage, in 1170, to the day of his death, in 1214, after a reign of no less than fifty-six years, he exercised the sovereign power without hindrance, if not entirely without opposition, within his dominions. If the domestic tranquillity of Castile during four-and-forty years may not be attributed exclusively to the influence of the English queen, yet the marriage bore fruits, in a second generation, of which it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance; for it was the blood of the Plantagenets that flowed in the veins of their daughter, Berenguela, or Berengaria, one of the true heroines of Spain.

Yet if Alfonso enjoyed peace at home, it was not to be supposed that war should be absent from his borders. United for a brief season against the Moslem, Alfonso III. of Castile and the young monarch who had succeeded to the neighbouring throne as Alfonso IX. of Leon, were defeated by Yusuf the Almohade, with great slaughter, near the little town of Alarcon, on the Jucar, in the modern province of Cuenca—July, 1195.

Nor could these discomfited kings find any better or wiser way of restoring the Christian fortunes than by making war upon one another after their defeat; and the wretched strife was only composed by the politic marriage of Berengaria of Castile with the rival Alfonso of Leon (1197). The young princess

had been previously betrothed to Conrad of Suabia, the son of the Emperor Frederick Barbarrossa; but she had refused to ratify the engagement made without her consent; she had maintained her independence against the will of kings and emperors, and her independence brought union and happiness, not to herself, but to Spain. Upon the marriage of Berengaria, peace was at once proclaimed between the Christian sovereigns; and the birth of a son to the royal pair foreshadowed the absolute union of Leon and Castile. But kings and queens reckoned all in vain without the sanction of the masterful ecclesiastic who at that time ruled the world from Rome.

Innocent III. had not only excommunicated, but he had deposed, the so-called Roman emperor, and he had imposed a successor upon the electors and people of Germany. He had not only excommunicated Philip Augustus of France, but he laid his kingdom under an interdict. He had denounced and dissolved a marriage between Alfonso IX. of Leon and Teresa of Portugal.[1] He had humiliated King John of England.

The sack of Christian Constantinople by his Eastern Crusaders, the massacre of Christian heretics by his western troops, and the establishment of the inquisition in southern France—all this made it known to the world that Cæsar still reigned at Rome. And Cæsar was at once surprised and offended by the marriage between King Alfonso IX. of Leon and the Princess of Castile. Such marriages were solemnised every day with the fullest approbation of the Church. Alliances less regular by far were constantly authorised between royal suitors. The domestic peace of Christian Spain was directly due to this union of the rival houses of Leon and Castile. To all these considerations Innocent turned a deaf ear. Alfonso and Berengaria were first cousins. They had married without the Papal licence. The marriage was declared void. The king and queen were excommunicated. Leon was placed under an interdict. It is difficult in the nineteenth century to realise the full signification of the words. For nearly six years the husband and wife stood firm. Yet the nations were once again distracted; and Leon was further divided into two parties; the more powerful faction reproaching their sovereign for the

[1] He had excommunicated the parties, and laid *both* kingdoms under an interdict until they separated. (Alfonso IX., however, had two daughters, Sancha and Dulce, by Teresa of Portugal, before he left her and married Berengaria of Castile. Not only did the Pope dissolve both marriages of Alfonso IX., but he acted similarly towards Alfonso's father, Ferdinand II., on his marriage to Princess Urraca of Portugal, his cousin.—H.)

assertion of his independence of a foreign priest, while a minority only were indignant at the pretensions of Rome.

The Pope, as usual, gained the victory; if somewhat less completely than was his wont. For although after a noble resistance of nearly seven years, Alfonso and Berengaria were forcibly put asunder, yet were their five children, born of unwedded parents, pronounced legitimate, and Ferdinand, their eldest love child, the hope of Leon and Castile, was recognised by the highest ecclesiastical authority in western Christendom, as the lawful heir to the crown of his father. Yet in spite of this most illogical concession, the royal separation was followed by a renewed outbreak of domestic strife in Leon and Castile. The civil war, indeed, was prosecuted without vigour on either side, but when Alfonso of Castile was able, in the ever famous valley of Tolosa (1212), to avenge the Christian defeat at Alarcon, his cousin of Leon was not found fighting against the infidel, but taking advantage of the forward movement of the victorious army to plunder some of the border cities of Christian Castile.

The great and most authentic Christian victory at *Navas de Tolosa*[1] was largely due to the diplomatic skill of Alfonso of Castile, who, with the assistance of Innocent III., now happily in favour of union, brought about a great coalition of the Christian forces in the Peninsula. Sancho of Navarre, Alfonso of Leon, Alfonso of Portugal, and, most valued of allies, Peter II. of Aragon, were thus united in the supreme effort; and with them were associated, it is said, no less than 100,000 *Crusaders*,[2] lords, knights and common soldiers from every country in western Europe. Navarre and Aragon alone of the Peninsula sovereigns were loyal to their engagements to Castile and to Christendom. The Crusaders turned back ere they had crossed swords with the Moslem; but the three kings, with their united armies, were able to carry the war with such unaccustomed vigour into the enemy's country that the fate of the Almohades was sealed in a single battle, in that ever celebrated valley of the Sierra Morena—hard by the modern mining town of Linares—which is known as the *Navas de Tolosa*.

[1] His son James the Conqueror and Chronicler of Aragon, speaks of this battle as the battle of Ubeda, *Comm.*, cap. 369.

[2] Of these the greater number turned back as soon as the army had got as far south as Calatrava. Among those who accompanied the allied Christians to the end was Arnault, Archbishop of Narbonne.

Bishop Roderic of Toledo, the most renowned chronicler of thirteenth century Spain, was not only present at the engagement; but he carried his red cross into the thickest of the fight; and wielding the pen as well as the sword, after the best Castilian fashion of the day, he has left us a description of the battle, written with all the vigour of an eye-witness. Had the Alfonsos of Portugal and Leon been truer knights or better Christians, the victorious march of St. Ferdinand upon Cordova and Seville might have been anticipated by nearly half a century.

Alfonso III. (or VIII.) of Castile did not long survive his great triumph. He died in 1214; his crown passed to his eldest son Henry, a child of ten years old; and the regency of the kingdom was entrusted to the prudent hands of the unwedded Berengaria,[1] by common consent the fittest ruler in all Spain, the most prudent princess in all Christendom. Yet did her prudence avail but little against the force and fraud of Alvaro Nuño, the chief of the turbulent house of *Lara;* and after an ineffectual struggle of over a year's duration, she was forced to surrender the person of the young king into the hands of Alvaro, who assumed at once almost absolute power in the kingdom. An accident frustrated all the schemes of the ambitious intriguer. The boy king was killed by a falling tile as he was playing in the courtyard of the bishop's palace at Palencia; and Berengaria herself became the lawful Queen of Castile.

And right nobly did she use her queenly power. Without a moment's delay she sent messengers to Alfonso IX. of Leon, sometime her husband, with the request that their eldest son Ferdinand might be permitted to visit his mother at Valladolid. The request was prudently granted. Berengaria, ever striving after union in Christian Spain, immediately summoned the States-General of the kindgom, and abdicated her own regal authority in Castile in favour of her son, the heir to the kingdom of Leon; and having further induced most of the partisans of the rebellious House of Lara to submit themselves peaceably to Ferdinand, as sovereign of Castile, she caused him to be formally recognised by the assembled *Cortes*, and proclaimed king in her room (31st of August, 1217).

Yet peace was not assured. The contemptible Alfonso of

[1] As a matter of fact, the administration was at first entrusted to Queen Eleanor, but she died in less than a month after her nomination; and the Regency at once passed to her daughter (1214).

Leon was jealous of his son's honours, and envious of his wife's renown. Alvaro Nuño de Lara was still at large. And Leon once more made war upon Castile. The father once more warred against the son; the husband against the wife; the subject against the sovereign. But the struggle was of short duration. Ferdinand, who was but eighteen years of age, was content to be advised by his mother Berengaria, who having already despoiled herself of her kingdom in favour of union and peace, did not hesitate to despoil herself of her personal jewels, to provide pay for the royal troops, when it became necessary to prepare for war. Her efforts were completely successful. Enthusiasm filled the ranks of her defenders. Alvaro Nuño was taken prisoner. Alfonso was but feebly supported. An age which knew no shame was yet unable to sympathise with the father who sought the life of his own son, the legitimate monarch of a neighbouring kingdom. At length, rather by the prudent conduct of the queen than by any force of arms, the hostile coalition was dissolved; the horrors of civil war were averted; and the united armies of Castile and Leon were despatched against the decaying power of the Moslem in southern Spain.

Unwilling to seek alliances and troubles in any of the Christian courts of the Peninsula, Berengaria found a wife for her son in the Princess Beatrice of Suabia, cousin-german of the emperor; and the marriage ceremony was performed with great pomp at Burgos, after the young king had received the honour of knighthood (30th November, 1219), and had been invested with the insignia of a royal cavalier in the chapel of the monastery at Las Huelgas[1] at the royal and right worthy hands of his own mother. It was before the same altar, some five-and-thirty years later, that another royal Plantagenet watched his arms ere he was girt with the sword of Castilian chivalry, when King Edward I. of England, betrothed to a grand-daughter of Henry Plantagenet, was knighted by the hands of her brother, Alfonso the Learned of Castile.

Ferdinand, relieved from all opposition on the part of his Christian neighbours in the north, was now able to turn his attention to the Moslems, whose power was still dominant, though ever decaying, in the south.[2] For over two centuries after the death of Almanzor nothing but the constant warfare

[1] See Ford (1878), pp. 15, 16.

[2] In 1226 Ferdinand laid the first stone of the existing Cathedral of Toledo.

among the Christian sovereigns had suffered the Moslem domination to continue to exist in Spain. Aragon, in the vigorous and unfettered hands of James I., had already extended the Christian power to the furthest south-east coasts; and now Ferdinand of Castile and Leon possessed himself in successive campaigns of many important cities and districts in the south and south-west. It was while besieging Jaen that the king received the letter from his mother which told him of the death of his father, Alfonso IX., at Leon and the final union in his proper person of the kingdoms of Leon and Castile. Yet was his legitimate succession not undisturbed by the dead hand of his most unworthy father, who had left his kingdom by will to his illegitimate daughters, Sancha and Dulce[1] to the specific exclusion of his son and legitimate successor on the throne. The queen-mother not only urged Ferdinand to return with all speed to his paternal dominions; but she herself repaired to Leon, and by her promptitude and prudence she was enabled to enter the city, where she caused her son to be proclaimed king, without the shedding of one drop of Christian blood. Ferdinand, arriving in all haste from the south, found no foes to conquer, no rivals to bar the path of the king of the United Monarchy of Leon and Castile.

It remained, indeed, to reckon with the *Infantas*, his half-sisters, unwilling pretenders to the throne. But the queen sought and found means to conciliate their claims, and to remove their pretensions; and at Valencia de Alcantara, on the Minho, in Gallicia, Berengaria of Castile, the mother of the king, and Teresa of Portugal, the mother of the princesses, both of them the unwedded wives of the same man, met to discuss the claims of their children to the throne of their dead husband. A stranger interview is not perhaps recorded in history.

Berengaria, as usual, was successful; and with the full approbation of their mother, and to their own personal satisfaction, the *Infantas* accepted from Ferdinand a pension of 15,000 gold doubloons, which was secured to each one of them on her abandonment of her claim to the kingdom of Leon (11th December, 1230); and the engagement, both as regards the

[1] The question of their illegitimacy is a somewhat open one. The princesses were born in wedlock, the daughters of Alfonso IX. and Teresa of Portugal. It is true that the Pope dissolved the marriage for reasons already stated; but he also dissolved for the same reasons the subsequent marriage of Alfonso and Berengaria the mother of Ferdinand.—H.

pretensions and the payment, was faithfully and honourably carried out. Thus was King Ferdinand once more free to do battle against the Moslem in southern Spain. Six years he fought with ever increasing success, and at length, on the 26th June, 1236, the banner of Castile and Leon floated over the great mosque at Cordova, and the proud capital of the once glorious Arab Empire remained in the hands of the Christians. Murcia was invaded and occupied to the confines of Aragon; and a great part of Andalusia, to the very borders of Granada, acknowledged the rule of Ferdinand. Seville only remained; but before *La Giralda* was converted from a Moslem observatory into a Christian belfry[1] the true glory of Ferdinand's reign had passed away. On the 8th of November, 1246, Queen Berengaria died, and was laid in the ground at Burgos, as she herself had directed, "in plain and humble fashion."

Berengaria was one of those rare beings who seem to have been born to do right, and to have done it. From her earliest youth she was a leading figure, a happy and noble influence in one of the most contemptible and detestable societies of mediæval Christendom. Married of her own free will to a stranger and an enemy, that she might bring peace to two kingdoms, she was ever a true and loyal wife; unwedded by ecclesiastical tyranny in the very flower of her young womanhood, she was ever a faithful daughter of the Church; inheriting a crown when she had proved her own capacity for royal dominion, she bestowed it on a strange and absent son, with no thought but for the good of her country and of Christendom; and, finally, as queen-mother and ever faithful counsellor, she accepted all the difficulties of government, while the glory of royalty was reserved for the king whom she had created. Berengaria was ever present in the right place and at the proper time, and her name is associated only with what is good, and worthy, and noble, in an age of violence, and wrong, and robbery; when good faith was well-nigh unknown, when bad men were all powerful, when murder was but an incident in family life, and treason the chief feature in politics.

Two years after her death her son determined to complete his conquests from the Moslem by the taking of Seville. And Ferdinand, after immense preparations, sat down before the city of the Guadalquivir. Invested on three sides by the royal forces and those of his Moslem ally and vassal, Al Ahmar, King

[1] See chap. xxvi.

of Granada, with the river blockaded by a fleet brought by Raymond Boniface, Admiral of Castile, from the far away coasts of Biscay, Seville[1] was forced to capitulate; and after the triumphal entry of the Christians into the city of Isidore (23rd November, 1248), nothing remained to the Moors in Spain but the little kingdom of Granada.[2]

Yet did Granada, unmolested, according to honourable treaty, by Ferdinand, resist all the attacks of his successors, and continued to defy Spanish chivalry and Spanish Christendom for 250 years.

Four years after the capitulation, King Ferdinand died in his palace at Seville, one of the most fortunate of all the kings of Spain. Fortunate in the presence during a great part of his reign of a princess of extraordinary prudence, most loving of mothers, most discreet of counsellors, most loyal of subjects; Ferdinand was no less fortunate in his peaceful inheritance of a double crown, in the unusual fidelity of his nobles, and in his easy victories over the decaying Moslem; fortunate alike in his relations, in his friends, in his enemies, he is known to posterity as a saint as well as a conquerer, and is fairly reckoned among the great kings of Spain.[3]

[1] The capitulation was honourable to both Moor and Christian, and was faithfully observed on both sides. A large number of the Moslems retired unmolested to Africa. Ferdinand granted to the city for arms, himself, seated on his throne, with his brother saints, Leander and Isidore, as his supporters.

For the life of Ferdinand generally, see Lucas de Tuy, *Memorias para la Vida del Santo Rey D. Ferdinando.*

[2] Some time after the taking of Seville, early in the reign of Alfonso the Learned, the towns of Jerez, Cadiz, San Lucar, Medina, Arcos, and the southern and south-western coasts fell into the hands of the Christians.

[3] He was canonised in 1668 by Clement IX.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE GREAT MILITARY ORDERS.

(1164—1500.)

I.—*Calatrava.*

"WHETHER the military orders of Castile," says Prescott, "were suggested by those of Palestine, or whether they go back to a remoter period, as contended by their chroniclers, or whether they are survivals or imitations of similar associations that are known to have existed among the Spanish Arabs,[1] there can be no doubt that the forms under which they were actually organised in the latter part of the twelfth century were derived from the monastic orders established during the early crusades for the protection of the Holy Land." [2]

The Hospitallers, and especially the Templars, had obtained greater possessions in Spain than in any other part of Europe, and it was partly upon the ruins of their rich commanderies—sequestrated by order of Clement V., in the early days of the fourteenth century—that arose the three-fold glory of the great Spanish Orders.[3] Yet, long before the destruction of the magnificent Confraternity of the Knights Templars [4] in Spain,

[1] The Moors had established *Rábitos* or soldier monks (see note on the Almoravides, *ante*., p. 202), to guard their frontier and protect their pilgrims. So the imitating Spaniards founded their military religious Orders. Ford (1845), ii., 66.

[2] The following pages are based chiefly upon information collected in *Tratado historico-legal . . . de los quatro ordenes . . . Santiago, Calatrava, Alcantara, y Montesa . . . compuesto de orden de S. M. Fernando el sexto por Pedro de Cantos Benitez, Alcalde de su casa y corte. Egerton MS.*, British Museum, No. 486. See also *Capitulo general de los ordenes Militares*, Toledo, 1560, *Egerton MS.*, 485, D. xviii. There is a very good catalogue of works on Monastic, Religious, and Military Orders at the end of vol. iii. of Helyot, *Dictionnaire Historique des ordres Monastiques* (Guingamp, 1838).

[3] Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabel.*, i., 231.

[4] As to the destruction of the Templars by Philip le Bel and Clement V., and the attitude of the Spanish kings of that time with regard to the Order, see Mr. H.

the great military and religious Orders of Calatrava,[1] of Santiago, and of Alcantara, associated as they are with so much that is noblest in Spanish history—were already flourishing in the Peninsula.

The origin of the eldest born, if not the most famous of the three, was entirely accidental. King Alfonso[2] VII. *el Emperador* of Leon and Castile, advancing the southern outposts of Christian Spain on his way to the capture of Almeria, possessed himself, in 1147, of the fortress of Calatrava, which commanded the frontier of Andalusia, and which was confided by him, on its capture, to the keeping of the Knights Templars, who had accompanied him on his most adventurous march. For ten years the Templars maintained their position in this advanced post at Calatrava, until, on the death of King Alfonso and the advance of the Almohades in 1157, the Christians were compelled to retire. The fortress, thus abandoned, reverted as of right to Sancho III., the successor of Alfonso VII. in Castile; and it was offered by that king, in 1158, to whomsoever would undertake to occupy and defend it against the Moors.

The honour was sought and found by two Cistercian monks, Raymond Abbot of Fitero, in Navarre, and Fray Diego Velasquez, who received at the king's hands, in addition to the castle of Calatrava, some twenty-eight square leagues of country surrounding the fortress. The Church was no less encouraging than the Crown; and the Archbishop of Toledo not only supplied the bold clerical adventurers with the needful funds, but he assisted their enterprise by preaching a local crusade against the infidel. The monks and their retainers, in fine, acquitted themselves so bravely, that within a short time the Moslems were expelled, not only from the castle, but even from the neighbourhood of Calatrava.

On the death of the bold Raymond, the knights, preferring a soldier to a priest for their captain, elected Don Garcia de

C. Lea, *Eng. Hist. Review*, April, 1894, as well as that author's *History of the Inquisition*, vol. iii. The first association of knights at Jerusalem which developed into the great Order of the Temple, took place in 1119; and nine years later, at the Council of Troyes (1128) St. Bernard of Clairvaux drew up the statutes of the Order.

[1] Calatrava is an Arabic word, *Kalát* = Fort; *Rabah* = the name of one of the companions of the prophet. See Abulfeda, *Géographie* (Paris, 1848), vol. ii., p. 239; Gayangos, i., 356. The original name of the city before the Arab invasion is said to have been Oreto. Helyot, viii., 5.

[2] Son of Queen Urraca and Raymond of Burgundy. See chapters xx. and xxii.

Redon, under whom the Order was formally established, in conformity with the rule of St. Benedict, with Fray Rodrigo as their abbot or chaplain. Under the new master the religious military Order was recognised by Pope Alexander III. in a Bull of 1164; and the powers and privileges of the knights were afterwards confirmed and augmented by Gregory VIII. and Innocent III.

The aid of these Calatravan companions being sought soon after their incorporation by the king of Portugal, the knights responded to his appeal, and commanderies or convents were established at Evora,[1] at Santarem, and other places in Portugal; while in Aragon, Alfonso II. endowed the new Order with the city of Alcañiz in 1179. After the battle of Alarcon in 1195, Calatrava was retaken by the Almohades, and the knights, transferring their headquarters to the castle of Salvatierra, were known for some time by the name of that fortress.[2] In 1210 Calatrava was once more conquered and occupied by the knights under Don Martin Fernandez.

Their heroic defence of Salvatierra,[3] in the following year, against all the attacks of the Almohades, was but the prelude to their prowess at the battle of the Navas de Tolosa in 1212. The Christians having obtained a firm footing in Andalusia after this memorable engagement, a new Calatrava was built, under the supervision of Don Martin Fernandez, at a distance of some thirty-five miles from the old one, which had been destroyed by the Moors; and the headquarters of the Order was transferred to this new and no less dignified fortress.[4] A century later, Pope John XXII., by his Bull of 1317, recognised

[1] The military Order of Avis was founded in 1162 in Portugal, under the name of the New Militia, and was affiliated to the Cistercian Order of Monks, and dependent to some extent upon the more distinguished Order of Calatrava in Spain. They took the name, in 1166, of Knights of Evora; but this was again changed soon after for that of *Avis*. It is said that two eagles or birds (*Aves*) pointed out the spot where the fortress was to be built in which they first established themselves, and whose name they took (1187). Angel, Manriquez, *An. Ord. Cisterc.*, tom. ii.; Helyot, *ubi supra*, viii., 39-45.

[2] A convent of nuns was attached to the Order in 1219, and a second in 1479. Lawrence-Archer, *Orders of Chivalry* (1887), p. 226.

There was a schism in the Order of Calatrava in 1296; and a grand master and an anti-grand master, after the manner of the Popes; Lopez de Padilla *versus* Gutierrez Perez. There was another schism in 1404, which was put an end to by the confirmation of the celebrated Henry de Villena in his office as Grand Master. Benitez, i., 16.

[3] Romey, vi., 257. The old Calatrava was retaken by the knights, but the fortifications do not seem to have been worth restoring. Benitez, i., 16.

[4] Lawrence-Archer (1887), p. 226.

the new establishment, which was to be governed by the same rules as the old Order of Calatrava.

The subordinate Order of Montesa[1] was established by James II. of Aragon in 1317, and chartered in accordance with a Bull granted by John XXII. in the previous year, endowing the new Order with all the estates of the Templars and of the Knights of St. John in the province of Valencia.[2] But practically the new Order was little more than a branch of that of Calatrava, by whose statutes it was governed, although the administration was in the hands of the masters of Montesa, invested with separate jurisdiction over their own knights. In 1399, a third Order of knighthood was united with that of Calatrava, in accordance with a Bull of Benedict XIII.—the Spaniard Pedro de Luna—the Order of St. George of Alfama, which had been founded in 1201 by Peter II. of Aragon. To confirm and complete this union, another Bull was obtained from Benedict XIII. in 1400, and the Red Cross of St. George[3] took the place of the sable insignia of earlier days as the badge or cognisance of Calatrava.[4]

The United Order remained independent, but unimportant, for nearly two hundred years, until the death of Pedro de Borja, the last grand master, in 1587, when the revenues were finally appropriated by Philip II., and the independence[5] of the confraternity extinguished, although royal lieutenants-

[1] Benitez, i., 19.

[2] Of the history of Montesa, and incidentally of the parent Order of Calatrava, there is a most excellent and trustworthy history in two vols., 4to (Valencia, 1669), by Hippolyto de Samper, prior of the Order, well arranged, with references to many authorities, a good table of contents, and a full and admirable index. The title takes up thirty-five lines; but the headline is *Montesa Illustrada*, which may suffice as a reference. See also Helyot, *Dict.*, viii., 34-37.

[3] As to the foundation of the Order of St. George—so spelt in the old documents, and not Jorge, as the name is now written, see Samper, i., fols. 378-383, where all the original documents, bulls and charters are given. For a fuller account of the legend of St. George, and the rise of the various military orders in Christendom under his protection, including that of the Garter, see Appendix V.

[4] The old black cross of the Order survived for some time in the *bordure sable* to the *cross gules* borne by the knights of Calatrava.

At the present day the insignia consists of a red cross "cut in the form of lilies" (Sir B. Burke, *Orders of Knighthood*, p. 305) on a silver ground.

A black hood, or headpiece, closed under the chin and round the neck, was a part of the early habit. The frock was white. Helyot, *op. cit.*, viii., 5. In 1540 the statutes were so far modified that the knights, like those of the other Orders, were permitted to marry.

[5] Benitez, i., 21; Zurita, *Anales de Aragon*, II., vi., 24, fol. 30; Samper, i., fols. 54-59 and fol. 201; and ii., fol. 937 *et seq.* At the accession of Isabella the Order of Calatrava possessed sixteen priories and fifty-six commanderies, with a total revenue of about half a million of ducats. Sir Bernard Burke, *ubi supra.*

general were appointed as *pro* or *vice*-grand masters by successive kings of Spain.[1]

II.—*Santiago.*

The origin of the more distinguished Order of Santiago[2] was no less accidental, and no less curious, than that of Calatrava. The Order is traditionally supposed to have been instituted by Ramiro after the battle of Clavijo in 846, and is referred to at times as the Order of the sword, which was wielded by St. James himself at that apocryphal battle.[3] According to the more serious authorities, the Order of Santiago came into existence in or about the year 1161, on the conversion from their lawless ways of certain outlaws (*foragidos*), who infested the territories of Leon, by Pedro Hernandez de Fuente, whom the converts accepted as their first chief or master.

United under his leadership, they turned their arms against the Moors, and became faithful subjects of King Ferdinand, who granted to them lands at Valdeverna and Villafafilla, and recognised their company as a loyal and knightly corporation of defenders of the faith and destroyers of the infidel. To ensure the practice of a Christian life in the midst of the dangers of war, this band of reformed robbers associated with themselves certain monks of St. Logo or Eloy, of the rule of St. Augustine, as canons or chaplains, whose spiritual ministrations, adapted to their military life, they required and enjoyed, until the appointment of regular chaplains as clerical members of their Order. So successful was this band of warriors in harrying the infidel, that in 1172, the Archbishop of Santiago accorded to their leader or *Maestre*, "the honour of

[1] The first of these subordinate masters was D. Jayme Juan Falco, appointed in 1593. The second was a Ferrer. The fourth general was a Borgia (1603-1610, Crespi de Borja). The ninth was another Crespi, appointed by Philip IV. in 1646, who was still in office in 1669 (*es, y sea por largos años*, Samper, ii., fol. 591 h.).

[2] The best early account of the history of the Order of Santiago is a small folio published, without author's name, by Francisco Sanchez, Madrid, 1577; called *La Regla y establimentos de la Cavalleria de Santiago del Espada*.—H.

[3] Benitez, i., 3. The sword is said to have been the noble charge on the coat of arms *then* granted to the Order, with the motto:—

"*Rubet ensis sanguine Arabum*".

Heraldic charges, or coat armour, were of course unknown in Europe for more than 200 years after the death of Ramiro.

See D. Vincente de la Fuente, *Historia Ecclesiastica de España*, tom. iv., p. 163 and *España Sagrada*, xxvii.

his presence" as spiritual chief of the company, which then and there became formally incorporated under the "Banner, Insignia and Invocation" of St. James.[1]

The knights of Santiago were distinguished by a white mantle, embroidered with the escallop shell—the special badge of St. James—under a cross in the fashion of a sword with its hilt "carved like a lily," not *white*, like that suggestive flower, but *red* with the blood of the infidel; and this ancient insignia and costume remain the same to the present day.

Two years after the formal incorporation, the progress of the Order was recognised, and its *status* assured by a Bull of Pope Alexander III., granted at the instigation of the Cardinal Legate Jacinto, and dated 5th July, 1175, by which Pedro Hernandez de Fuente was appointed master, with whom was associated a chapter or council of thirteen knights, entrusted with the general government of the Order, which was as constituted entirely independent of the local bishops. The knights were to be of pure Christian blood, untainted by any Jewish or Moorish ancestry; and were to assert their belief in the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. The ecclesiastical members of the Order were subject to the rule of St. Augustine, and were to be of noble or, at least, of gentle birth.

At the end of the fifteenth century Santiago possessed no less than two hundred commanderies, with as many priories, and an immense number of castles and villages, together with movable and immovable property of every description.[2]

III.—*Alcantara.*

The Order of Alcantara—originally called the Order of *Pereyro*, from the wild pear tree or *peral silvestre* which grew at

[1] Alfonso I. of Portugal and his son Sancho, in 1171, gave them the castles of Montesanto and Abrantes, and the knights were largely instrumental in the recovery of Algarve in the next century.

[2] Sir Bernard Burke, *ubi supra*, 299.

For an account of the early history of the Order, the names of the grand masters, etc., see Helyot, *op. cit.*, vii., 79-99, and *Rades y Andrada, Las Tres Ordenes*, etc. There are also canonesses of the Order of Santiago; the first convent having been founded at Salamanca in 1312 by Pelayo Perez, a knight of the Order, and Maria Mendez, his wife. The convents are at Salamanca, Toledo, Barcelona, Valladolid, Merida and Granada. The rules of the different institutions vary in every case: the Barcelona ladies are not considered as *Religieuses*. (Until the revolution of 1868 there was a convent of canonesses of Calatrava at Madrid, adjoining the still existing church of the Order.—H.)

It is amusing to note that a new military Order of Spanish knights was founded in the nineteenth century—the Order of *St. Hermenegildo*—founded on the 28th Nov., 1814, by Ferd. VII. Such knights must have been apt *pronunciamientistas!*

the door of the hermitage of St. Julian near Salamanca—owed its foundation, in the year 1156, to Don Suero Gomez and others, who, with the approbation of a local hermit of the name of Armando, established a fort on the banks of the river Coa which divides the kingdom of Leon from that of Castile. The valour and success of Don Suero and his comrades attracted a great company of the hardiest warriors of the neighbourhood, who undertook many forays against the Moors on the frontier. Their valour was rewarded by success. The marauders were confirmed in their conquests by King Ferdinand II. of Leon. Ordono, Bishop of Salamanca, permitted certain Cistercian monks to take service in the band; and these reverend fathers or brothers, we are told, devoted to religious and pious exercises in the hermitage of St. Julian [1] as "much time as they could spare from their principal duty, *su primera obligacion*, of war!"

On the death of Don Suero in 1174, Don Gomez succeeded to his captaincy, and it is he that is considered to be the first regular master [2] of the Order, which was formally constituted by Ferdinand of Leon after the battle of Arganam [3] or Arganal on the frontiers of Portugal, in 1177.

The Confraternity further received the approbation of the Holy See in the form of a Bull of Alexander III. (1178) which, however, did not, as in the case of Santiago, exempt the members of the new Order from the local authority of the diocesan. And it was not until 1183 that their inferior status in this respect was altered by another Bull which placed the Order of *Pereyro* under the rule of St. Benedict, and granted to its members authority and privileges not inferior to those possessed by the great company of Santiago.

Their bravery at the taking of Truxillo in 1188 induced Alfonso IX. to grant to them the castle of Ronda in the diocese of Toledo. And the same king, having received from the Knights of Calatrava the town of Alcantara on the Tagus, which he had previously given to them, regranted it in 1213, after the battle of Las Navas, to the companions of *Pereyro*, who had greatly distinguished themselves under the mastership of the illustrious Niño Fernandez. From this date the Order was

[1] The Order was sometime known as the Order of *St. Julian*. Sir B. Burke, 306.

[2] He is called *Prior* in one of the MSS.

[3] This battle was fought against Henry, King of Portugal, when large grants of castles and lands were made to the Order by the king.

known by the name of that of Alcantara, and to the *Peral* on their knightly shield was added by royal order the *Trabas y Cruz* of Calatrava.

The Knights of Alcantara wore a white mantle with a capoch and black scapulary three inches wide, reaching down to the girdle. In 1441 the present white mantle, embroidered with a green cross, in form and shape precisely similar to that of Calatrava, was substituted for the former black insignia, but the pear tree of St. Julian is still the time-honoured crest of the Order.

From the time of Niño Fernandez, the Order of Alcantara continued to be ruled by masters elected by the company, until the time of Juan de Zuñiga, when the administration was assumed, and the grand mastership, with its noble revenues, usurped by Ferdinand the Catholic.

IV.—*The Grand Masters.*

The constitution, the duties, and the privileges of each of the three great knightly orders, Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, were essentially similar; while in minor matters of discipline and of conduct, their government was regulated by their various charters of incorporation. The first duty of every member of every Order was to make war against the Moslem.[1] But the king, and the king alone, could authorise the knights to engage in any operation of war; and as a matter of history, they took their place in battle against Christian sovereigns and Christian neighbours at least as often during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as against the Moors who remained in the Peninsula.[2] Within the Order the knights owed absolute obedience to the master, who, although nominally subject to the king, was in many cases a semi-independent military prince.[3] Each knight furnished himself with his horse and his arms, and was chosen or accepted only by the master, after full examina-

[1] Benitez, cap. ix., s. 6, 7.

[2] John II. of Castile, for example, ordered Gutierrez de Sotomayor to make war upon the kings of Aragon and Navarre. And the knights of Santiago had previously played an important part in the battle of Arganam between Ferdinand of Leon and Alfonso Henrique of Portugal in 1177.

[3] The subordination of every knight, and even of the purely ecclesiastical members, to the master of the Order, the more complicated relation of the master to the king, and all such questions, are treated with the greatest fulness by Benitez, *ubi supra*. See also Rohrbacher, *Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise Catholique*, tom. viii., p. 421; and tom. ix., p. 818.

tion and consideration.[1] The aspirant was admitted with due ceremony; and was solemnly invested with the habit of his Order by the master himself. At first no stipulation was made as to the nobility of the knights, although it was in course of time insisted upon as a condition precedent to admission.[2] In the case of the *clerical* members, noble birth was not essential.

The homage that was due from every master to the sovereign, the manner of recruiting, the obligations of the knights to the master, to the king, and to one another, with numerous minute directions as to the acquisition and disposal of plunder, and the administration of the property of the Orders, are the subject of various charters and bulls of incorporation; and the absolute power of each master was tempered rather by these organic statutes than by any respect for royal authority or municipal law. The vows of the military knights in each of the three Orders were (1) of *Obedience,* which was rigorously enforced; (2) of *Poverty*, which did not import the giving up of worldly goods, as in the case of purely religious confraternities, but was simply taken to mean that no property granted to the Order should be used for the individual advantage of any individual knight. But the masters were permitted to dispose by will of one-half of all such property as they might have acquired from the Order. The vows (3) of *Chastity* did not prohibit lawful marriage, but enjoined only conjugal fidelity.[3]

From the first institution of the Orders, the masters enjoyed the fullest powers for the political and military government of their subordinate knights and dependents, and to this was soon added an authority over the ecclesiastical associates of the Orders. No sooner had the masters of Santiago acquired the special patronage and protection of the Holy See, than they sought, in the words of Benitez, *fraudar la jurisdiccion* of their founder Ferdinand II., by a pretended cession of *Castro-Taraf* to the Papal Legate *Jacinto.* And so independent and presumptuous did these masters become,[4] that instead of the modest title of *Alferez,* with which in the early days they contented themselves, they assumed the style of *Maestre, por la gracia de Dios.*

The relations of these powerful captains with Papal Rome

[1] Benitez, 5, 7, and 14.

[2] *Ibid.*, 14, 15, 21.

[3] Except in the case of the more distinctly religious Order of Calatrava. Benitez, cap. x.

[4] *Se vió à los Maestres levantar y deponer los Reyes*, as being sure of the support of the Popes!

are worthy of careful study. A king in Spain was, until the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, rather *primus inter pares* than a monarch in the fullest sense of the term. The Popes, who in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries regarded the independence of the Spanish kings and of the Spanish people with a by no means favourable eye, were glad to support an adventurous grand master in any judicious attack upon the privilege of a king less devoted to the Church and to the Vatican. Thus Pope Sixtus IV. assisted the rebellion of the master Juan de Zuñiga against Henry IV. Innocent III. declared that the masters were not obliged to observe the treaties made with the Moors by Alfonso VIII.; and his successor Honorius III., gave orders to the kings of Spain that they should not forbid the masters to make war against the Moors whenever they chose, with or without their royal authorisation.[1]

Yet, on the other hand, we read of the constant attempts of the Pontifical legates to abate the privileges of the Orders, to exercise alleged rights of supervision, and generally to prevent the masters from becoming too independent of the Church. The Popes claimed the right of revoking what they had granted.

[1] Benitez, vii., 31.

See generally Fernandez-Guerra y Orbe, *Historia de las Ordenes de Caballeria y de las Condecoraciones Españolas* (Madrid, 1864); and *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxii., 89.

A list of the grand masters of the three Orders, from the earliest times, is given in Vicente de la Fuente, *Historia Ecclesiastica de España*, iv., 583-4.

The number of commanderies of the Orders even as late as 1570, was considerable. Santiago included eighty-three; Calatrava included seventy; Alcantara included thirty-nine. The names of each one of these commanderies, as well as a catalogue of the grand masters of the three Orders, is given in the *Cronica de las tres ordenes y Cavallerias*, etc., by Rades y Andrada, one vol. (Toledo, 1572). This chronicle contains not only a full account of the origin and constitution of the three Orders, their habits, arms, seals, etc., but lists of the names of the grand masters, priors, and even the commanders of the Order, down to the year 1570.

I have also found a good deal of general information of a most interesting character as regards their revenues, with numerous statistics as to the Spanish nobility in the Middle Ages, in an MS. in the British Museum collection, Sir Julius Cæsar MS., Lans, 171.

The following list of all the great Orders of knighthood still in existence in Europe, arranged in the order of their foundation down to 1450, may be interesting:—

Calatrava	...	1158.
Santiago	...	1170.
Alcántara	...	1179 (1213).
Christ (Portugal)	...	1320.
Seraphim (Sweden)		1336.
Garter	...	1349.
Golden Fleece	...	1429.

The knights maintained that their sovereign rights must be paramount.

The masters, or grand masters as they came to be called, were thus not only the most important, but the most powerful subjects in Spain ; and the absorption of their great offices in the royal prerogative by Ferdinand the Catholic, as we shall see in the course of this history, was a most politic abuse or exercise of his royal power.

CHAPTER XXIV.

JAMES THE FIRST OF ARAGON.[1]

(1213-1276.)

I.—*Catalonia and Aragon.*

The union of Catalonia with Aragon, by the marriage of Queen Petronilla with Ramon Berenguer of Barcelona, in 1150, was the foundation of the greatness of Spain. Barcelona was not only then, as it is now, the greatest and most prosperous seaport town in the Peninsula, but it was, as it is, inhabited by the sturdiest, the most energetic, and the busiest population in Spain. And the happy union[2] between the hardy mountaineers of Aragon, and the no less hardy mariners of the coast, gave rise to a people who were not only able to drive out the Moslems from their borders, and to possess themselves of fairest Valencia, but who covered the great sea with their merchant ships, and filled the warehouses of Barcelona with the choicest goods of the Mediterranean and the Levant.

Barcelona was the only town in Spain where trade was not considered a disgrace. Yet no mere tradesmen were the sturdy Catalonian inhabitants. They established the first bank of exchange and deposit in Europe—in 1401. They compiled the most ancient code of maritime law in the western world—a code that embodied the commercial usages of all civilised nations, and formed the basis of the mercantile jurisprudence of Europe

[1] The standard English authority for the reign of James I. of Aragon is now Mr. Darwin Swift's *Life and Times of James the First*, etc., one vol. (1894), a work which, to my great regret and loss, only came into my hands as I was actually revising the sheets of this chapter, but which I have read with pleasure and admiration.

[2] It should be mentioned that the County of Barcelona or Principality of Catalonia, as it came to be called, was not merged into the kingdom of Aragon, though the same sovereign ruled both. The privileges of the two dominions were kept rigidly separate, and the monarchs were obliged to appeal to two distinct Cortes for recognition and supplies.—H.

during the Middle Ages. Energetic alike in the pursuits of peace and the arts of war, they not only drove out the pirates of Majorca and the nobler Moslems of Valencia, but they made their prowess felt in Greece and Asia Minor, and won for their sovereign the splendid, if somewhat unprofitable title of Duke of Athens. Thus, while the nobles of Leon and Castile were slaughtering their Moslem neighbours, and quarrelling with their Christian friends, the burghers of Barcelona were sailing the seas in quest of commerce and of adventure, and emulating the civilisation of the East. More than this, consuls and commercial factories were established, and resident consuls appointed, by these early Catalans, to watch over their interests in every considerable port in the Mediterranean,[1] and even in the north of Europe.

But the peculiar glory of Barcelona was the freedom of her municipal institutions. The government,[2] at least as early as the middle of the thirteenth century, consisted of a Senate or deliberative assembly of 100 members, and a council of *regidores* not exceeding six in number; the larger body entrusted with the legislative, the smaller with the executive functions of government. A considerable proportion of the members of these august bodies were selected from the merchants, tradesmen and mechanics of the city. They were invested not merely with municipal authority, but with many of the rights of sovereignty. They entered into commercial treaties with foreign powers. They superintended the defence of the city in time of war. They provided for the security of trade, granted letters of reprisal against any nation who might violate it; and they raised and appropriated the public monies for the construction of useful works, or the encouragement of such commercial ventures as were too hazardous or too expensive for individual enterprise. The councillors who presided over the municipality were invested with certain honorary privileges not even accorded to the nobility. They were addressed by the title of *Magnificos*. They remained covered in the presence of royalty. They were preceded by mace-bearers, or lictors, in their progress through the country;[3] and their deputies claimed and received at the

[1] Capmany, *Mem. de Barcelona*, i., 2, 3. Fine wool was imported into Barcelona from England in large quantities, and manufactured into cloth, which was afterwards sent back to London. Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, i., 655.

[2] The most important royal charters are those of 1249 and 1258.

[3] These, it will be remembered, were plebeians, merchants and mechanics; for trade never was considered a degradation in Catalonia, as it came to be in Castile. They were the professors of the different arts, as they were called, organised into

king's court the honours that were accorded to foreign ambassadors.

The political institutions of Aragon in the fourteenth century were, without doubt, the most liberal that existed in any country of mediæval Europe. The king, escorted by twelve peers of the realm, knelt down before the chief justice or justiciary as he swore to maintain the laws which were made by the representatives of burghers and nobles, assembled in annual or special councils.[1] This Aragonese Parliament consisted of four branches or *brazos* —(1) the RICH-HOMES or great lords of the State ;[2] (2) the CABALLEROS, including the *Infanzones* or knights of lesser degree, and the *Mesnaderos,* or descendants of a *Rich-home ;* (3) the CLERGY ; (4) the COMMONS, who, as may be supposed in so democratic a constitution, enjoyed higher consideration and greater civil privileges than in any other country of mediæval Europe. The veto of a single member, as in the Diet of Poland, sufficed to defeat or postpone any measure introduced and supported by the most powerful majority in the chamber.

The first General Assembly of the Estates of Aragon and Catalonia was held in 1162, while similar *Cortes,* in 1163 and 1164, were certainly attended by representatives of the three, or, rather, four estates of the realm, six years before the first burgher was summoned to a National Assembly in Castile, and more than a century before the towns were admitted to full rights of representation in the Parliament of England.

The Cortes of Aragon was not only a legislative and deliberative assembly ; it was the High Court or Parliament of the realm. The *General Privilege,* which has been called the *Magna Charta* of Aragon, and which was granted by Peter III. in 1283 to the Cortes of Saragossa, is a noble monument of the prudence and liberality of the sovereign, and of the courage and independence of the people. It contains a series of provisions against arbitrary taxation, royal spoliation, and secret tribunals, against sentences even of the justiciary, without the assent of the Cortes,

guilds or companies, constituted as so many independent associations, whose members alone were eligible to the highest municipal offices. And such was the honour attached to civic positions, that the nobles in many instances resigned their hereditary rank, in order that they might become candidates for civic employment. Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabella,* i., 66, 67.

[1] No king of Aragon was qualified even to assume the royal title until he had taken this coronation oath. Zurita, *Anales de Aragon,* tom. i., f. 104 ; and tom. ii., f. 76.

[2] The word has nothing in common with *rico,* or rich ; but is from a root akin to *Reich* = empire.

against the appointment of unfit persons as judges, against the use of torture, and against trials beyond the sea. It declares, in plain language, that absolute power never was, nor shall be, the Constitution of Aragon; and that men shall only be judged according to the laws, customs and privileges which have been anciently used in the kingdom.[1]

The *General Privilege* was confirmed in the Cortes of Saragossa in 1325, when, among many other admirable enactments, the use of the *Question* or torture, applied to witnesses in judicial proceedings, was formally abolished. This odious and absurd practice remained part of the procedure of most other European countries for long years after 1325.[2]

The Great Charter of England was wrung from a distressed and contemptible monarch; the Great Privilege of Aragon was granted by a bold and successful king. Both John and Peter, indeed, were so far in the same position that each one had been excommunicated by the Pope. But Peter, who defied the thunders of the Vatican, was no less liberal in his grant of popular rights than our own *Lackland*.

But from the necessities of the King of Aragon, some five years later, a still more remarkable charter was obtained in the *Privilege of Union*,[3] which appears to have authorised any members of a great confederation of subjects to combine or unite in making war upon the king, in case of a denial of justice, or any attempt on the part of the sovereign to act independently of the Justiciary. How far this legalisation of the highest form of treason may have extended we cannot now be certain, for every copy or record of the dangerous charter was destroyed by order of Peter IV. at the time of its abrogation in 1348; and the destruction was so complete that even the words of the instrument are not remembered. The year before the abolition of this strange privilege, the independence of the Aragonese nobles had become so complete that they had caused a seal to be prepared, representing the king sitting on his throne, with the confederates kneeling, indeed, before their sovereign, but backed by a long line of tents and lances, denoting their ability or resolution to defend themselves if needful.[3] But the confeder-

[1] *Fueros de Aragon*, 9; Zurita, fol. 265.

[2] The application of torture in judicial proceedings had been an exclusively royal privilege in Aragon. Swift, *op. cit.*, p. 152. See also Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. ii., chap. i., and *Documentos ineditos*, tom. xl., pp. 434-573.

[3] See Castelar, *Estudios Historicos* (1875), pp. 40, 41.

[3] The legend on this most remarkable seal is *Sigillum Unionis Aragonum*.

ates were defeated by the king at the battle of Epila, and the original charter of the Privilege of Union was cut in pieces by Peter with his own dagger. Yet did not the king abuse the victory. All good laws and reasonable privileges were confirmed, and Aragon enjoyed a greater and more legitimate liberty under more ancient and more constitutional safeguards.

But the great glory of the kingdom of Aragon, greater by far than the most liberal of her laws or the most extensive of her privileges, was the loyal attachment of the people to monarchical institutions, and to the principle of hereditary succession, joined to a noble determination to resist all arbitrary power—a love of law, and a love of liberty.[1]

The popular revolutions aimed not at dethroning the king, after the manner of Leon and Castile, still less at his assassination, but at the maintenance of the popular rights, and the subjection of the sovereign to well ascertained national laws. The greatest code of laws in mediæval Europe was the work of Castile; but the great principle of legitimacy—of a free and law-abiding people, ruled by a free and law-abiding king—lived in the heart of Aragon. With their personal liberties secured, not only by the general privilege, but by many earlier and later laws, with a Cortes endowed not only with legislative but with judicial powers, and distinguished by an uncommon boldness and independence of action, with the Justiciary ever at the king's side, to maintain, if need were, the rights of the humblest subject, the people enjoyed an amount of personal and political liberty, superior, without doubt or question, to that of any other people of mediæval Europe.[2]

Two special powers call forth the admiration of a distinguished English historian, that of *Jurisfirma* or *Firma del derecho*, by which causes were transferred from the cognisance of any court in the realm to that of the Justiciary himself—being in fact an extended form of our writ of *Certiorari*, and that of *Manifestacion*, by which the person of any applicant was at once wrested from the hands of the royal officers—answering to some extent to our writ of *habeas corpus*.[3] But good laws are worthless without good administrators. And one of the happiest accidents of

[1] See Prescott, *Ferd. and Isab.*, i., 63, note 65.

[2] The powers of this justiciary did not exceed, according to Hallam, those of the Chief Justice of England. But he admits that these powers were exercised in Aragon in a way that English judges, "more timid or more pliant," never presumed to act.

[3] Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ii., 50, 51.

Constitutional Government in Aragon was that the *Justicias* were almost without exception men of virtue and probity, who did not hesitate to use, but who scrupled to abuse, their enormous powers.

II.—*James the Conquerer.*

James the Conqueror, in Catalan *En Jacme lo Conqueridor*, the most celebrated of all the sovereigns of Aragon,[1] was but six years of age when his father met his death under the walls of Muret (1213). In spite of the vigorous opposition of Simon de Montfort, who would have kept him under his own control, the education of the young king was entrusted by the States of Lerida to the grand master of the Templars at Monzon; and the government of the country during his minority was committed to his uncle Sancho, who took advantage, as might have been expected, of this favourable position to endeavour to possess himself of his kingdom.

For fifteen years civil war raged with varying fortune; intrigue followed intrigue; and the condition of Aragon differed but little from that of neighbouring states, save that the king from his earliest childhood gave proof of a sagacity, a determination, and a patience under adverse fortune, that marked him as a true leader and ruler of men. The bad faith of Simon de Montfort, the intrigues of the Regent Sancho, the interference of the Papal Legate, the rebellion of the nobles, the flight of the young king, the armed pursuit of his uncle Ferdinand, the varying fortunes of civil war; in all this there was nothing new. Yet from the day on which the child of nine years old made his escape from the castle of Monzon (1216), and took his place at the head of the loyal barons, James of Aragon was ever a force to be reckoned with in Spain.

Crafty, no doubt, and cruel by the force of his early education, he was bold, enduring, strong, a king and a conqueror, licentious beyond the common licentiousness of the times, but above all things a man. His marriage in February, 1221. with the Princess Eleanor of Castile, a daughter of Alfonso III. (or

[1] The title of *Don Jayme* of Aragon, by which this king is usually known, is attractive and picturesque, but decidedly inaccurate. *Jayme* is rather a modern or foreign modification of the Catalan *Jacme*, as the king himself wrote his name. See *Chronicle*, cap. v. Nor was he ever by himself or any of his contemporaries spoken of as Don, which was the Castilian prefix of nobility, representing the Aragonese *En*, of which the feminine was *Na*, or lady.

VIII.), and sister of the celebrated Berengaria, is perhaps the first bright spot in the dark and dreary record of the earlier years of his reign. The marriage, indeed, was afterwards pronounced null and void by the Pope, nominally on account of the blood relationship between the contracting parties, but really to enable the king to marry a Princess Violante or Yolande of Hungary; and the offspring of the intercourse pronounced by the highest spiritual power to be illicit, was recognised by the same authority as legitimate.

By the year 1228, James was at length able to feel himself master of his kingdom. The most powerful nobles were vanquished; the most turbulent rebels were pacified; the royal authority was at last supreme; and an adventurous and capable king was free to turn his attention to the great work of the destruction of the Moslem by land and by sea.

At one-and-twenty, James, already a conqueror, had vanquished all his domestic enemies; and he turned his attention to the Balearic Islands, a nest of Moorish pirates which seriously hampered the growing trade of Barcelona. His proposal to invade (1229) that neighbouring stronghold of Moslems and Corsairs was welcomed at once by the nobles, the merchants, and the clergy of the kingdom; and although the Archbishop of Tarragona was, we are told, unable on account of his great age to take a personal part in the operations of war, Berenguer, Bishop of Barcelona, took his place at the head of 100 knights and 1000 foot soldiers. Nor were the Bishops of Gerona and the Provost of Tarragona, the abbots and canons, and even the humbler members of the regular and secular clergy behindhand with offers of personal co-operation in the adventure, which was at length, by the king's good generalship and good fortune, carried to a most successful conclusion. The taking of Majorca was not only a brilliant feat of arms and a profitable commercial enterprise; it was an important political event, and tended greatly to confirm the power of the young king and commander. Minorca was soon after (1232), subjugated and occupied by the Aragonese; and the conquest of Iviza in 1235 secured the Catalan merchants from all danger of molestation in the neighbouring seas.

As early as 1232, a still more important enterprise had been planned by the king; and the expedition against Valencia was the worthy and legitimate sequel to the conquest of Majorca.

For six years the war continued, and by the spring of 1238 King James had pushed forward his victorious armies to the

walls of Valencia, where at length, in the autumn of the same year, a treaty was concluded, by which the Moors marched out of the city with all the honours of war, and the royal standard of *En Jacme* floated over the last stronghold of the Arab in Aragon. Thus did James the Conqueror, before his Castilian neighbours had even pushed forward their southern outposts to the banks of the Guadalquivir, free his country from the Moslem; and thus, 260 years before the fall of Granada, the Christians of Aragon remained undisturbed by Moor or Arab within their borders—supreme from Montpellier to the Sierra Morena.

The quarrels of James with the Castilians about the town of Xativa, his quarrels with the Aragonese about the royal succession, his intrigues in the domestic affairs of Navarre, and his schemes for the division of Aragon among his sons, make but weary and unprofitable reading. But one incident among many less remarkable is deserving of appreciative record. At the urgent request of Alfonso X., in 1264, the king raised an army to assist his Christian neighbour. And, in spite of the opposition of most of his nobles, he led his troops in person against the Murcians (1265) who had risen in rebellion against Castile. And so successful was his intervention that the Moslems were glad to purchase immunity from further attack by the delivery into his hands of the important city and fortress of Murcia (1266), which was with great and almost unprecedented loyalty handed over by King James to King Alfonso at the end of the campaign.

An expedition to the Holy Land, at the suggestion of the converted Khan of Tartary, in 1269, bade fair at one time to become a highly romantic incident in the king's reign. The most complete and elaborate preparations were made for the crusade. Thirty ships, with a small army, which included two bishops, the master of the Templars and of the Hospitallers, with many royal and noble personages, actually sailed from Barcelona, but a sudden storm had so disastrous an effect at once upon the ships and upon the courage of the crusaders, that they turned back before the fleet had got any further east than Aigues Mortes, in Provence, whence the king returned by way of Montpellier to Barcelona.[1] A journey to Lyons, on the occasion of the great Christian Council in 1274, was carried to a more successful termination; and the king took his seat among the thousand ecclesiastics that recognised the

[1] Fernan Sanchez, a son of King James, continued his course and arrived at Acre in the Holy Land.

Catholic supremacy of Pope Gregory X., who presided in person at the council. James I. of Aragon was, as he is ever styled, a *conquistador*. And he had all the defects of the character. Conquerors in the thirteenth century were not distinguished for mercy or good faith. Yet James, though unfortunate in his domestic relations, and most irregular in his domestic life, was less cruel to his enemies and far more faithful to his friends than most of his contemporaries and predecessors. Towering, like Saul, a head and shoulders above all his subjects, he was, like the greater son of Jesse, ruddy and of a fair countenance; and he was a king of a thoroughly masculine type. Fiery, cruel, inexorable in warfare, until his enemies were vanquished and submissive, his harshness turned to gentleness as soon as victory had converted his former foes into subjects and vassals; and it was with difficulty that he could be induced in times of peace to sign an ordinary death warrant.[1]

To protect himself from a suspicion of heresy James was obliged to prohibit the use by the laity in Aragon of the translation of the Bible into Limousin, which was made in his reign.[2] Yet he did not hesitate to cut out the tongue of an indiscreet Bishop of Gerona in 1246—a piece of sacrilege which cost him the building of the Monastery of St. Boniface, near Morella; and he was certainly immoderately licentious. But with all his faults, he was anything but a mere *conquistador*. His *Commentari*[3] or Chronicles of Aragon, written in the language of the Catalans, in a style at once simple, vigorous and picturesque, is though far less celebrated, an older and, in some ways, even a more interesting work than the Castilian History of his contemporary, Alfonso the Learned of Castile. The one is the work of a conqueror, the other is that of a student. The one is written in a merely local language,[4] the other in the noblest of the romance tongues. Yet though the *Chronicle of Aragon* is by no means worthy to be

[1] Lafuente, vi., 326.

[2] Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, i., 294; Castro, *Bibl. Espan.*, i., 411; and Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos*, tom. i., pp. 434, 435, where we are tantalised with the following note: Sobre las traducciones y fragmentos de traducciones Catalanes de la Biblia, *Vease mi Bibliografia critica de traductores*, TODAVIA NO TERMINADA!

[3] The king's other work, the *Libre de Saviesa*, or Book of Wisdom, a collection of proverbs and sententious sayings, was also written in Catalan; a language which must be carefully distinguished from the Limousin of the troubadours.

[4] Since the publication, in 1814, by Señor Ballot y Flores of his *Gramatica y Apologia de la Llengua Cathalana*, the study of Catalan has been revived and prosecuted with much enthusiasm by many good Catalans (and an important literary movement has taken place in the ancient and copious language.—H.).

compared, as it often is, with the *Commentaries* of the greatest of the Cæsars, it is a work which honourably distinguishes King James from the rude and uncultivated manslayers who for over five hundred years bore the title of kings in Christian Spain.[1]

III.—*The Troubadours.*

Under the twelve princes of the House of Burgundy who successively ruled over the fair and romantic district bordering on the northern and eastern Pyrenees, a new language and a new literature took their rise. And when in 1113 the crown was transferred, by the marriage of the Princess Douce to Ramon Berenguer III. of Barcelona, the knightly poets and noble troubadours naturally followed their liege lady from Arles to Barcelona, which thus became the chosen seat of the language and literature known as the *Limousin*. In due time, as we have seen, the counts of Barcelona became kings of Aragon, and when they had further acquired the rich districts to the southward from the vanquished Moslem, the soft language of Provence was spoken by kings and courtiers in the palace at Valencia.

In the twelfth century the Catalans had distinguished their own speech from that of their Provençal neighbours by calling the latter Lemosina, but from the thirteenth century, the name given to the vulgar tongue of eastern Spain was that of the *Catalan;* while the language of poetry was known as the *Limousin* or *Lemosi*, a word which was afterwards adopted as the generic name for the language of the troubadours; and which at the present day is used to distinguish the old literary language, whether of prose or verse, from the spoken dialects of modern north-east Spain of which the *Catalá* is that in common use in Catalonia.

The oldest composition in any of these languages or dialects, whose author is known to posterity, is a little poem of some few stanzas or *coplas* (*coblas*), from the royal hand of Alfonso II. of Aragon—a troubadour and a patron of troubadours at his court at Barcelona (1162-1196). His son, Peter II., was no less a friend to the gay science, and when, after his death at Muret,

[1] One of the chief authorities for the events in this reign is naturally the *Chronicle* of King James himself. As I do not read Catalan, I have used, with great satisfaction, the English translation so ably edited by Don Pascual de Gayangos, two vols. (London, 1883).

Mr. Swift, I find, devoted an *Appendix*, pp. 277-383, to a consideration of the king's work, which he pronounces untrustworthy, but undoubtedly genuine. The royal authorship has, of course, been doubted by various critics.

Languedoc was given over to priests and inquisitors, the troubadours sought an asylum in free and independent Aragon, and sang of the dead hero in the long poem of "The War of the Albigenses".[1]

At the court of James I. of Aragon many celebrated troubadours lived and sang;[2] and the young king has sometimes been reckoned among the poets, as well as among the conquerors of his age.[3] Another Aragonese writer, good old Ramon Muntaner, wrote a continuation of the Chronicles of En Jacme, beginning with a sketch of the life of the conqueror, whom he ardently loved and admired; and he continued the history of Aragon down to the coronation of Alfonso IV. at Saragossa, in 1327.

[1] *Histoire de la Croisade contre les hérétiques albigeois*, écrite en vers Provençaux par un poëte contemporain. Paris, 1837, p. 738.

[2] Zurita, *Anales*, x., 42; N. Balaguer, *Historia de los Trovadores*, i., 329.

[3] For an account of the endeavours to restore or maintain the Provençal spirit, in the floral games at Toulouse, and the consistory of the Gaya sciencia at Barcelona; of the Catalan and Valencia poetry as distinguished from the Limousin of Jordi and Roig; and of the decline of this special poetry under the larger influences of Italy and Castile, the reader is referred to Ticknor, i., 296-321, and the excellent article on Catalan language and literature in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, by Señor A. Morel-Fatio (and also to Mr. Fitzmaurice Kelly's *History of Spanish Literature*.—H.)

CHAPTER XXV.

ALFONSO X. OF CASTILE.

(1252-1284.)

I.—*El Sabio.*

For nigh on five centuries all that was learned and all that was refined in Spain was found among the Arabs of *Andalus*. But on the taking of Seville by St. Ferdinand, the centre of gravity was completely changed; and Spain came into existence—civilised if not yet united—as a Christian kingdom. Aragon and Castile, it is true, were not yet one. The Moslem ruled, and ruled gloriously, in Granada. Yet these were but accidents by which the general position was scarcely affected. The Catalans ruled in Sicily under Peter III. of Aragon, and stretched out their hands to the Bosphorus and the Ægean. The most skilful artificers of the West had yet to construct the most beautiful palace that still remains to tell of Arab culture and Moorish magnificence in Spain. But Castile was the great power in the Peninsula, and the Castilian was the new language of a new and a noble kingdom.

The first man in Castile in the middle of the thirteenth century was Alfonso, the eldest son of St. Ferdinand, who is known and honoured in European history as Alfonso X. From the death of Averroës, and the dispersal of his student companions at Cordova, science had been well nigh dead among the Moslems. Among the Christians it had not yet come into existence. Their mathematical attainments did not go beyond the multiplication table. Their medical skill[1] did not go beyond

[1] Pope John XXI., indeed, is said to have been a Spanish physician, who afterwards took Holy Orders, and was raised to the Papacy; but the identity of the Pope and the obscure writer of the thirteenth century, known as Petrus Hispanus, is doubtful; and the works of Petrus Hispanus are certainly worthless. Dunham, iv., 259, 260.

the exhibition of relics. Their historical criticism did not go beyond a belief in the prowess of St. James at the battle of Clavijo, and the destruction of Paris by the Cid. Of astronomy, of physics, of natural philosophy, they knew nothing; and for science, moreover, of any kind, they cared nothing. They had no aspirations beyond the slaughter of Moors; no amusements but fighting; no occupation but intrigue. The Spanish chivalry, unlike that of every other country in western Europe, had never joined in the crusades; they had their own unbelievers close at hand; and thus, while the knights and lords of France and of England, of Italy and of Germany, were ever bringing back to their feudal castles some of the refinement and some of the science and some of the luxury of Oriental civilisation, and recognised at least the greatness of the world beyond the frontiers of their Fatherland, the Castilian nobles, as a rule, had never left Spain. They knew nothing of the Imperial traditions of Byzantium, of the material glories of Damascus, of the wisdom, of the splendour, and of the greatness of the East. Thus the Castilian knight differed from his fellows in France or England much as a Somersetshire squire in the eighteenth century may have differed from his brother who had fought under Clive at Plassey, or his cousin who had visited half a dozen European cities as the envoy of His Most Gracious Majesty King George. The Castilian nobleman, like the English squire, may have had all the sturdy good qualities of a home-keeping hero, but he scorned to learn anything from the hated Moslem, whom he regarded, not as a more civilised neighbour, but as an odious and contemptible pagan.

But from the time of St. Ferdinand, Moors in Castile became as scarce as foxes in Middlesex. Christian castles became dwelling-places rather than fortresses; and, worn out with the weariness of unaccustomed peace, the knights and nobles were glad to welcome the minstrels and the ballad-singers to their halls. They may have even themselves learned to read. They had at least time to look around them, to cast their eyes abroad; and they woke up to new interests in life, to notions, at least, of refinement, of comfort and of civilisation. Their king in Castile was aspiring to Imperial dominion in Germany. Their neighbours in Aragon had actually acquired a new kingdom across the great sea. The occupation of Cordova and of Seville displayed new wonders of art and architecture, of skill and of science to their astonished gaze. The world, indeed, contained greater things than the cave at Covadonga.

In the thirteenth century, Spain was passing through a great social and intellectual revolution; and the first man of intellectual Spain was Alfonso of Castile, who, at the death of his father St. Ferdinand, in June 1252, succeeded, at the mature age of thirty-one, without opposition, to his crown. Gallicia and the Asturias, Leon and Castile, Murcia and the the greater part of Andalusia, cheerfully accepted his sway; and Al Ahmar, the sovereign of the last remaining Moslem kingdom in the Peninsula, sent envoys to assure the new monarch of the respectful alliance of Granada. Nor were these assurances a mere empty ceremonial. Less than twelve months after the Christian king's accession, the Moslem fortresses of Jerez, Arcos and Medina Sidonia opened their gates to the united forces of Granada and Castile.

Within two years another and a more splendid alliance was cemented by the marriage of Eleanor, the king's sister—great-grand-daughter of Henry II. of England—to Prince Edward, the eldest son of Henry III., lord of the neighbouring province of Gascony, and heir to the crown of England. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp at Burgos, in October, 1254, after the young prince had received the honour of knighthood at the hands of the King of Castile. But the domestic enemy was ever at the gate. Don Diego Lopez de Haro, intriguing against his sovereign, was welcomed and encouraged in his rebellion at the court of his sovereign's son-in-law, James of Aragon, at the very moment when that prince was renewing his protestations of friendship to Alfonso of Castile. Alfonso, meanwhile, was looking further afield. A claimant, in right of his mother Beatrix, to the vacant Duchy of Suabia, he aspired to the greater dignity of the Imperial crown; and he divided the suffrages of the electors at the Diet of Frankfort (in 1257) with Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. of England. Neither candidate was duly elected, and the fruitless endeavours of Alfonso to secure his final elevation, his embassies to Germany and to Rome, his largess to the electors, his solicitation of the Popes, drew his attention overmuch from the affairs of Spain, and offended his Spanish subjects. Nor was his administration by any means successful at home. An attempt to increase his revenues by the debasing of the coinage, and to cheapen produce by the fixing of arbitrary prices, was neither very wise nor very learned, and brought nothing but distress and dishonour. An outbreak of the Moors of southern Spain proved too strong for the fidelity of Al Ahmar of Granada, who

consented to accept the leadership of the revolt, and who, in more than one important battle in the course of the year 1262, remained victorious over the Christians. The happy intervention of James of Aragon in Murcia, and the jealousy of some of the subordinate Moslem leaders, broke up the confederacy; but the treaty of peace in 1265, which left the contending parties much in the same position as they had occupied before the war, brought no honour to Castile.[1]

A Christian rebellion in 1270 against the authority of Alfonso X., if not more serious at the time, is at least more interesting to the historian.[2] Philip, the king's brother, and Nuñez Gonzalez de Lara, the actual chief of his ever turbulent house, at the head of a number of disaffected nobles, assembled at Palencia, and formulated demands for certain administrative reforms, and for the redress of a long list of grievances, under which they alleged that they suffered. The king consented to hear them.[3] The chroniclers are unanimous in considering that he would have done better if he had cut their throats. And the rebels, as much surprised as the chroniclers, increased their demands, ever more and more, even as their demands were granted. They required, in fine, remission of taxation; compensation for their losses in war; the maintenance of their special *fueros*, or privileges of nobility; an abatement of their burden of military service, and exemption from the jurisdiction of the royal courts. It was a formidable list; but on every point the king gave way; and a Cortes was summoned at Burgos to confirm the new privileges. Alfonso presided. The armed petitioners took their places in the peaceful assembly, and the royal concessions were incorporated in the law of the land. Astounded rather than gratified at the success of their remonstrance, and possibly suspecting some treachery in this new and strange mode of dealing with aggrieved subjects, the rebels fled to Granada, where they were hospitably received (1272) by Al Ahmar, and on his death by his son Mohammed II., until after two years' residence on the banks of the Xenil, they returned unmolested to their homes in Christian Spain.

During the absence of Alfonso on a fruitless visit to

[1] The conspirators of course secured the assistance of Al Ahmar, the Moslem King of Granada.

[2] Rosseeuw St. Hilaire, *Hist d'Espagne*, tom. v., p. 448.

[3] The first cause of their discontent was the King's surrender to Portugal of his feudatory rights over the kingdom of Algarve, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Beatrice with the King of Portugal.—H.

Beaucaire, in Languedoc, to solicit the intervention of Pope Gregory in the vexed question of the election of an emperor, the Infante Ferdinand, Alfonso's eldest son, died at Ciudad Real (25th July, 1275). Whether his son, according to the Roman law, or his younger brother, according to the Visigothic code, should be treated as his successor and heir to the crown of Castile, was a question hotly debated, and was finally referred by Alfonso to the Cortes at Segovia in 1276. By the king's own code of the *Siete Partidas*, the claims of his grandson were paramount. Yet the assembly decided according to the Visigothic law, in favour of his son Sancho; and Sancho was immediately proclaimed heir to the throne of Spain.

Philip IV. of France, however, whose sister Blanche, the widow of Ferdinand, was the mother of the disinherited Infantes, took umbrage at this legislative decision, and promptly declared war against Castile. No invasion actually took place; but the threatened appearance of the foe on the frontier was the signal for domestic trouble. The young princes with their mother, and Alfonso's own queen, Violante, fled to Aragon, where they were kindly received at the court of Peter III. Don Fadrique, a younger brother of the king, who was supposed to have connived at the escape, was executed or assassinated in his own palace at Burgos. Pope Nicholas III. menaced Philip of France with excommunication if he interfered in the family quarrel. But while Sancho, the recognised heir to Castile, with the assistance of his own mother, a refugee at Saragossa, was making a treaty with Peter of Aragon (1281), for the conquest and division of French Navarre, Alfonso was at Bayonne making a treaty with Philip of France for the partial disinheritance of the same Sancho in favour of the Infantes, his grandsons. And the result of the several negotiations was war between the father and son, between Alfonso the King, and Sancho the Prince Royal of Castile, quite after the good old fashion of their royal ancestors.

The nobles, of course, took the part of the rebel son, who allied himself with Peter of Aragon and Dionysius of Portugal, and having obtained the support of the grand masters of Santiago and Calatrava, was able to treat the king his father with becoming insolence and contempt. He assumed the royal style and title, and even summoned a Cortes to meet at Valladolid, which pronounced Alfonso deposed, even while Alfonso was presiding over a Cortes at Seville, where the rebel prince was formally disinherited; and the French Pope, Martin

IV., supported the cause of the legitimate monarch in a Brief, declaratory, mandatory and minatory (1283). Sancho at first defied the Pope, married his first cousin, Doña Maria of Leon, and decreed the penalty of death against any one who should be found to possess a copy of the Papal Brief. But this "spirited conduct" was not long maintained.

Alfonso, though abandoned by his family and his nobles, was generously assisted by the Moslem emperor of Morocco, to whom he applied in the hour of his distress, with money and troops. Thus reinforced and encouraged, he was able to inflict a crushing defeat upon the forces of his son at Cordova; and Sancho, finding his declining cause deserted by all his allies, was glad to make peace with his father, to submit himself to the Church, and to allow the Moslem troops to return to Africa. Alfonso died soon afterwards, on 5th April, 1284, and his most unworthy son was at once acknowledged king in his room.[1]

Few kings have suffered more severely in their reputation from an inappropriate title of honour than Alfonso X. of Castile. The most learned man in his kingdom, at a time when learning was despised, and the glory of kings was to slaughter their enemies, to murder their relations, and to harry and spoil the infidel, Alfonso was no hero to his contemporaries; and every scribbler in more modern times is at the pains to point out that *El Sabio*, though *learned*, was certainly not *wise;* and to illustrate the statement with the profound reflection that learning and wisdom are unfortunately not synonymous. Erudition and folly may, it is true, sometimes go hand in hand, but ignorance and folly is surely a less honourable combination.

Alfonso X. was not only a lover of letters and a lover of science, but he was himself an accomplished mathematician, an astronomer, a poet, a musician and a linguist. He was the author[2] of the first history, and possibly the first prose composition in that noble language, which grew into greatness under his master hand; and he was the compiler of a national code of laws, which forms the basis of the common law of Spain, and is still quoted with respect before the tribunals of two worlds. He may not have been as bold as his grandfather James of Aragon, nor as fortunate as his father St. Ferdinand, nor as crafty as Ruy Diaz of Bivar; but Alfonso X. was assuredly a great king. The weakness and poor

[1] The death of Alfonso X. is said to have been hastened by a false rumour of the death of his graceless son.

[2] Or at least the promotor and editor.—H.

success of his domestic policy is usually attributed to his want of kingly spirit; but in ambition, at least, the royal student soared far above any of his predecessors, and aspired to that Empire which was afterwards the greater glory of Spain under Charles V. of Germany. His own father was born but the doubtful heir to a petty kingdom in the far north-west of Spain; yet he himself stretched out his hand to grasp the Imperial crown of European supremacy. It was a far cry, in the thirteenth century, from Leon to Aix-la-Chapelle. And if Alfonso failed to sit on the throne of Barbarossa, he was at least the first Spaniard from the time of Theodosius the Great who aspired to the Imperial purple. It was two centuries and a half before the greatest of his successors was called to wield the sceptre of Charlemagne; but it was under Alfonso the Learned that Spain first asserted her right—forgotten for nearly nine hundred years—to take her place among the great powers of Europe.[1]

The character of Alfonso X. is one somewhat hard to unravel, for it displays, to an uncommon degree, a strange mixture of the great and the little. His many misfortunes may possibly be attributable to adminstrative incompetence. A philosopher is rarely gifted with the firm and fortunate hand of a successful statesman; and Alfonso was probably a poor ruler. But of his transcendent learning, of his intellectual *pre-eminence* in the age in which he lived, it is almost impossible to form too high an estimate; for here, at least, record takes the place of rumour. If His Royal Highness, the present heir-apparent to the crown of England, were a senior wrangler, and a double first-class man at our English Universities; if he were called upon to fill the post of astronomer-royal of England, in default of any other man in the kingdom worthy even to be compared with him in that department of science; if he had written a more brilliant history than Macaulay, and a finer poem than Tennyson; if he were fit to teach Wagner music, and Cayley mathematics; and if, in the intervals of his studies, he had found time to codify the entire laws of England into a digest which might endure for six hundred years to come—then, and only then, would the practical pre-eminence of his intellectual attainments, in modern England, represent the practical pre-eminence of the *sabiduria* of Alfonso X. in mediæval Spain.

[1] Of the king's place in the history of his country as a poet, and a man of letters, as a maker of laws, and a maker of languages, I shall speak in the following chapter.

No Spaniard but Isidore of Seville, and no sovereign of any age or nation, not even Alfred the Great, so much surpassed all his contemporaries in learning as the King of Leon and Castile; and the *Siete Partidas* is a work which as great a scholar as Isidore, and as great a statesman as Alfred, might well have been proud to own. But learning, or even law-giving, is not wisdom, and many a wiser and better king than Alfonso has performed his most elaborate calculations on his ten fingers, and signed his name with the pommel of his sword.

II.—*The Alfonsine Tables.*

From the days of Ptolemy, 150 years after the birth of Christ, to the days of Roger Bacon, at the end of the thirteenth century, there are no greater names in the annals of European science, than those of Al Hazen, the Spanish student at Cordova, and Alfonso the Christian king at Seville.

For 1300 years science had slumbered in Christian Europe; and of all branches of knowledge or of speculation, that which would seem to have been the most completely disregarded was the study of the starry universe in which we move. Nor do we meet with the name of any astronomer in the Christian world, whether as a discoverer or a student, before the time of Copernicus,[1] in the middle of the sixteenth century of our era, with the single exception of Alfonso X. of Castile. In no city or country of the Roman Empire, after the death of Hadrian, not in Athens nor at Rome, nor at Byzantium, by no Pope, nor doctor, nor monk, had anything been added to the discoveries of the old Greek astronomers. Nor did any Christian man concern himself with the study of their works. The encyclopædic Isidore, indeed, may have speculated upon the "motions of the spheres"; but the great metropolitan was assuredly no astronomer.

The most tremendous of those scientific pursuits in which man demands the secrets of nature had absolutely no interest for the guardians of human and Divine knowledge who looked upon an eclipse of the sun as a display of the Divine anger, or a

[1] George of Purbach and Müller of Königsberg, indeed, obscure astronomers of the fifteenth century, preceded Copernicus by a few years. The great work *De orbium cælestium revolutionibus* was not published until 1543, when the author was actually on his death-bed, although written many years before; as Copernicus dreaded the outcry that would be caused by the appearance of so heterodox a work.

shooting star as a mark of the Divine approval; and who would have deemed the study of astronomy nearly as impious as the study of therapeutics.

With the followers of Mohammed however, it was far different. Islam had no priesthood and no prejudices. The Μεγάλη σύνταξις, after lying unnoticed for 700 years by Christendom, was translated into Arabic as early as the ninth century under the suggestive title of the *Almagest*;[1] and more than one Arab student distinguished himself as a practical astronomer not only at Bagdad but at Cordova. The Caliph Harun al Rashid was a munificent patron of the science, and many were the professors and students in the Moslem world from the eighth to the thirteenth century.[2]

But the first name in Christian Europe, as a man of science and a lover of knowledge, a man of letters in the best sense of the word, a mathematician and a natural philosopher, and above all as an astronomer, is that of Alfonso X. of Castile. A marvel in mediæval Christendom, a king and a student, Alfonso was not content with the study of the works of the ancient astronomers. He set himself to criticise and to correct them. The tables of Ptolemy were defective and misleading. He determined to prepare new ones. He accordingly assembled, during his father's life-time, all the Arab and Jewish men of science that he could bring together, and presiding himself over this scientific council, set himself to perform the interesting and most original task which he had given himself to do, in the royal palace at Toledo. New calculations were made of times and distances. The position of the planets was reascertained. Their movements were recomputed. Old errors

[1] *Al* (Arabic), the; μέγιστος (Greek), greatest. A suggestive *hybrid*. The *Almagest* was translated into Latin by order of the Emperor Frederick II. in 1230, say *eleven hundred years* after its first publication in the original.

[2] The tables of Al Batani, who studied at Antioch, were celebrated until the thirteenth century, when their place was taken by those of Alfonso X.

Astronomy was studied with peculiar diligence in Moslem Spain, and the tables of Arzachel and the observations of Al Hazen are only overshadowed by the greatness of Averroës, who himself wrote a commentary on the *Almagest*.

Pope Sylvester II. (Gerbert) studied mathematics, if he did not teach astronomy at Cordova (*circ.* 980); and our own John Holywood dog-Latinised, after the fashion of his time, as *Sacro Bosco*, and sometimes known as John of Halifax (from the place of his birth, *circ.* 1200), after much study in Spain, made an abridgment of the *Almagest*, which was long famous under the title of *Treatise on the Spheres*. The Caliph Al Mâmûn had also ascertained the size of the earth from the measurement of a degree in the plain of Mesopotamia—an operation implying true ideas of its form, and in singular contrast with the doctrines and doctors of Constantinople and Rome.

See Draper's *Intellectual Development of Europe*, vol. ii., p. 41.

were corrected. New truths were established. At length, after years of study and labour, the great work which has ever since been known by the name of the *Alfonsine Tables* was completed, and published on the very day of the accession of Alfonso to the throne of Castile.[1]

But this was by no means the sum of the king's contributions to astronomical science. He discovered the true theory of the progression of the stars, explained by all previous astronomers upon the most extravagant suppositions, and, as Bailly says, on the publication of his treatise, *il y eut une erreur de moins dans les hypothèses célestes*.[2]

The Christian world in the thirteenth century was already beginning to awake from its long sleep in the darkness of ignorance and sacerdotalism. Roger Bacon, indeed, the great light of the age, was imprisoned by the Franciscans in Paris, jealous of his fame and distrustful of his discoveries; but he was not effectually silenced. Frederick II.,[3] though excommunicated, was not cowed, nor hindered from opening the doors of knowledge in Germany, by all the efforts of the ecclesiastical power; and although successive Popes prevented Alfonso of Spain from taking the place of the great Suabian on the throne of Charlemagne, they were unable to interfere with his speculations and his discoveries, with his patronage of Jewish doctors, or with his dissemination of Moslem science. The pen was superseding the lance in the new conquest of the world; and Spain had an honourable place in the van of the army of knowledge.

It was not, indeed, given to Alfonso or to any of his contemporaries to see the learning of Cordova prevail over the rude valour of Covadonga, the certainties of science over the traditions of Santiago. The seed may have been sown in sunny Andalusia. The harvest was to be reaped in yet more favoured lands. But

[1] The work is said to have cost 400,000 gold ducats. Bailly, *Astronomie moderne*, i., tom. i., pp. 299-301. See also Reinand's *Tr. of Abulfeda*, Intr., p. 44.

The chief assistant of the prince in the preparation of these tables was a Jew of the name of Isaac Ibn Said Hassan. See Riccius, *de motu oct. Sph.*, p. 25.

The tables are based, of course, upon the same hypothesis as those of Ptolemy. Copernicus did not enlighten the world for another two and a half centuries.

The *epoch* of the *Alfonsine Tables* was fixed at 1st June, 1252, the day of the king's accession to his throne. The tables were *printed* for the first time at Venice (1492). *Cf.* Mondejar, *Memorias Historicas del Rey Alfonso X.*

[2] Bailly, *op. cit.*, i., 300. See also F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Uebersetzungen Arabischen Werke in das Lateinische seit dem XI. Jahrhundert*, printed in the Abhandlungen des K. Ges. der Wiss., zu Göttingen (Hist. Phil. Classe), xxii., 2.

[3] Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, pp. 208-210.

if in modern Spain, Ermengild is more honoured than Alfonso, and Dominic more respected than Averroës, the Castilian may yet proudly remember that one of the first blows that was struck against the old forces of ignorance and savagry was dealt by a Spanish knight; and that the bright standard of knowledge was first displayed upon the walls of the ancient city of superstition by the most Christian hand of a king of Castile.

III.—*Language and Literature of Castile.*

Alfonso X. was no favourite of fortune. His studies, and even his publications, have been almost forgotten by posterity; his learning was in no way appreciated by his contemporaries; and even his great code of laws, the most practical and the most enduring work of his life, was not promulgated for nearly three-quarters of a century after his death. His ruder subjects misunderstood, even as they took advantage of, his refined and peaceful nature; and a nation of soldiers has always held it as a reproach to his memory that he did not disregard his father's solemn treaty with Al Ahmar, and drive the Moors of Granada off the sacred soil of Spain. To great commanders, great deeds are never impossible; yet the conquest of Granada was no easy task even in 1492, and the enterprise was assuredly far more difficult in 1254. Alfonso himself was no general. No *Great Captain* was found among his knights and nobles. The king, after all, may have done wisely, as well as honestly, in observing his father's treaties, and maintaining the existing peace with the friendly Moslem.

But although Alfonso was no warrior, he had perhaps more to do with the making of Spain than was admitted by his contemporaries, or has ever been recognised by their successors. For no man had so large a share in the making of the noble language of Castile. He developed it by his studies. He popularised it by his laws. He fixed it by his writings. In his hands an unknown *patois* became the language of poetry and of history, of science and of legislation; and the debased Latin which had hitherto been the only medium of communication for rich and poor, gave place to a new national tongue—the language of the king and of the subject, of the priest and of the people, of the knight and of the lawyer, of the judges and councillors, of the great assemblies of the nation. In none of the states of modern Europe has one man done so much to make the language

of a country—not Bede, nor Alfred, nor Chaucer; not Luther, nor Dante, nor Froissart. To find a rival we must turn to a distant Continent, and to a more ancient people, where a greater lawgiver than Alfonso, in a greater work than the *Partidas*, fixed if he did not found the noble language of the *Koran*.

To discover the origin, and to trace the gradual development of one of the most interesting of modern European languages, would be a task at once difficult and delightful. It must suffice, in a brief sketch like the present, to say that the Castilian was evolved out of the Latin, as the nation itself grew into national life,[1] and that from the middle of the twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth century it assumed a form not very unlike the Spanish of the present day, differentiated from the other languages of romance origin by the influence of the ancient Iberian or Basque upon the spoken language of the refugees in the Asturias, and that of the Arabic upon the more numerous sojourners in the southern provinces. The little band of patriots of the north drove out, indeed, the foreigner of the south. Yet in the world of letters, culture prevailed over the sword.[2] The Arabs have enriched the modern Spanish with a wealth of words, artistic, scientific and literary; while the more ancient Celt-iberian, although it may and must have modified the national language, has scarcely affected the national vocabulary.[3]

Spain, we must remember, had been conquered but not colonised by Taric and Musa. Moslems of various races and nations, indeed, accompanied or followed the Arab armies of occupation; but the Christian Spaniards were neither slain nor banished; and they continued, under the liberal sway of the Arab rulers, to constitute the great mass of the population of Moslem Spain.

Those who embraced Islam, and they were many, became, after two or three generations, undistinguishable from their Moslem neighbours, and spoke, no doubt, a debased form of

[1] Hovelacque, *La Linguistique*, p. 256; Renan, *Origines de la Langue Française*, p. 203.

[2] On the frontiers of Andalusia a species of *patois* or *lingua franca*, half-Spanish, half-Arabic—the *Algarabia*—was familiarly spoken and understood by both Moor and Christian as late as the time of Peter the Cruel.

[3] Quand le latin eut définitivement effacé les idiomes indigènes de l'Italie, de l'Espagne et de la Gaule, la langue littéraire devint une pour ces trois grands pays; mais le parler vulgaire—le parler Latin—y fut respectivement différent . . . ces peuples, conduits par le concours des circonstances à parler tous le latin, le parlaient chacun avec une mode d'articulation et d'euphonie qui leur était propre, les grandes localités mirent leur empreinte sur la langue, comme la mirent les localités plus petites qu'on nomme provinces. Littré, *Dict. de la Langue Française*, Introd., p. 47 (1863).

Arabic. But the immense mass of Christians who maintained their old religion, and who were known, as we have seen, as *Mozarabs*, spoke a low Latin language, differing from that spoken by their cousins in the north only in having a larger admixture of Arabic influence.

But as the supremacy of the Arab decayed in Spain after the death of Almanzor, the great mass of the Spanish Moslems came themselves to speak a *patois*, commonly known as the Aljamia, which was to a great extent the language of their Christian fellow-countrymen, with a still larger admixture of Arabic words and forms, and which was written in the Arabic character.[1] A linguistic curiosity at the present day, almost exactly analogous to this Spanish Aljamia, is the *Yiddish-Deutsch*, spoken by the Jews in our own Whitechapel and written by them in the Hebrew character.

Thus in Spain there were two linguistic movements between the eighth and the thirteenth centuries—the one, as the Arab waxed strong, in the direction of a bastard Arabic, spoken by Christian as well as Moslem—the other, as the Arab supremacy waned, in the direction of a bastard romance or Spanish, spoken by Arab as well as Christian.

Both of these vulgar tongues were written, when occasion required, in the Arabic character ; and the later and more Latin development was carried by the Moors and Moriscos into Africa, and used by them as their familiar speech for over a century after their expulsion from Spain.

[1] See Silvestre de Sacy (in *Notices et Extraits*, etc., tom. iv., p. 626); and *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of London, New Series*, iii., 81 and 379, where Lord Stanley of Alderley gives a long poem in the *Aljamiado* text, of 1603, by Mohammed Rabadan, a Morisco of Aragon. The poem is continued in vols. iv., v. and vi. of the same journal.

Of the works originally written in this strange fashion, some few have been lately reprinted, such as :—

(1) *Leyendas Moriscas sacadas de varios manuscritos existentes en las Bibliotecas Nacional, Real, y de D. P. de Gayangos.* Por F. Guillén Robles ; 3 tom. Madrid, 1885-86. 8vo.

(2) *Colleccion de textos aljamiados.* Publicada por P. Gil, J. Ribera y M. Sanchez ; pp. xix., 167. Zaragoza, 1888. 8vo.

(3) *Leyendas de José hijo de Jacob y de Alejandro Magno*, sacadas de dos manuscritos moriscos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Por F. Guillén Robles ; pp. lxxxviii., 283. Zaragoza, 1888. 8vo.

(4) *El Hadits de la Princesa Zoraida*, del Emir Abulhasan y del Caballero Aceja. Relación romancesca del Siglo XV. ó principios del XVI. en que se declara el origen de las Pinturas de la Alhambra. Sácala á luz D. Leopoldo de Eguilaz Yánguas, pp. 8, 374-7. Granada, 1892. 8vo.

I am indebted for this list to the kindness of my friend, Mr. A. G. Ellis, of the British Museum. (To these may be added the *Poema de José* or *Historia de Yusuf*, telling the story of Joseph in Egypt in good Spanish, written in Arabic letters in fourteen syllable rhyming lines.—H.)

IV.—*The Ballads.*

If, as is almost certainly the case, the oldest compositions in Spanish literature are the ballads or *Romances*, many of which have been preserved to our day, it is not to be supposed that the language in which we now may read them is the same as that in which they were originally composed. Handed down from minstrel to minstrel, and rarely, no doubt, committed to writing, the language and even the phraseology of the early ballads may have changed almost from year to year. And thus as the rustic Latin, in which the oldest ballads were first sung in castle and at watch-fire, was gradually assuming the form of the national language of modern Spain, the popular songs kept conforming to the popular speech, as it developed, almost from day to day, down to the middle of the thirteenth century.[1]

It is probable that the earliest ballads now existing in Castilian are those included in the edition of the *Cancionero General*, by Hernando de Castillo, which was published at Valencia in 1511. Thirty-seven ballads are included in this ancient collection, of which eighteen are attributable to an earlier date than 1450.

The *Silva de Romances*, a collection made by Esteban de Najera, and printed at Saragossa in 1550, contains the whole of the *Conde de Claros*, which is certainly one of the oldest existing ballads, and of which a fragment only is given in the *Cancionero General* of 1511.

The influence of the Arab poetry upon that of the Christians in Spain has usually been greatly exaggerated.[2] There is, indeed, as a rule, but little originality in the Arab poems, and nothing whatever that in the smallest degree resembles either the Spanish ballads of chivalry, the national ballad poetry of Castile, or the more artificial compositions of Provence and Languedoc.

[1] On the question of the development of the Spanish ballad and cantar there still remains much difference of opinion. It may be seriously doubted whether the author's theory of the gradual evolution of Spanish is correct. The earliest form of separate speech in which ballads were written or sung in Spain was Gallician, and from the twelfth century onward also in the Limousi of the troubadours; and yet side by side with such verse we have the almost full-fledged Spanish of the poem of the Cid, written certainly not later than the twelfth century; and in the time of Alfonso X. Gallician verse, the songs of the French troubadours and Castilian poems were all equally fashionable.—H.

[2] The *Spirit of Islam*, Syed Ameer Ali, p. 560-561. See also Conde, *Dom. de los Arabes en España*, Prologue, xviii., xix., and i., p. 169; Argote de Molina, *Discurso*, fol. 93; Bruce-Whyte, *Histoire des langues romanes* (Paris, 1841), tom. i., p. 15, and tom. ii., p. 43.

The influence of the Spanish Arabs upon Castilian poetry, great as it was, was rather indirect than immediate. The influence of Mohammedan Andalusia on the neighbouring Christian provinces may possibly, as Syed Amir Ali considers, have led to the introduction of chivalry into Europe. But it is at least certain that the ballads on Moorish subjects, far from being the oldest, are among the most recent [1] of the true ballads of Spain. They date, as a rule, from the middle of the fifteenth century, and are concerned chiefly with the last wars of Granada.

The early Spanish ballads have been somewhat magniloquently spoken of as "Iliads without a Homer". But they recall no author however legendary. They are of a people rather than of a poet; spontaneous rather than artistic, and in themselves essentially national. At one time they were considered to be necessarily a Moorish form of poetry. But the most persistent endeavours of modern critics have failed to find a source whence they can have had their origin, other than in the peculiar genius of the Spanish people; and their special form of rhyme—the *assonant* or vowel harmony, as opposed to the *consonant* or full syllable rhyme of other literatures, is like the ballads themselves, entirely racy of the soil.

Hand in hand with the national ballads, of which so large a proportion are warlike and patriotic, as opposed to amatory or sentimental, we have the ancient chronicles of Spain.[2] The connection between the early ballad and the early chronicle was indeed most intimate. The knights of the thirteenth century were directed by King Alfonso [3] X. to listen at their meals to the reading of histories of the great feats of arms done by their ancestors, histories which were no doubt both said and sung. And such tales and records, in prose and verse, were collected by the same king in the preparation of his *Cronica General* of Spain—first of Castilian classics.

The authenticity of the *Charter of Aviles*, or its confirmation by Alfonso the *Emperor*, in 1155, which was long considered to

[1] Ticknor, i., 136-141; Syed Amir Ali, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

The pastoral romance, which afterwards became so popular in Spain, was not introduced into Spanish literature until the middle of the sixteenth century. Ticknor, according to Dr. Rennert, assigns far too early a date.

See *The Spanish Pastoral Romances*, by Hugo Rennert. Baltimore, 1892.

[2] A writer in the sixteeth century actually converted large portions of the old chronicles into ballads of the ordinary metre and assonance with but little change of their original phraseology, so largely did the prose of the chronicles unconsciously frame itself in eight-syllabled verse. Ticknor, i., 103, 104.

[3] Partidas, ii., lib. xxi., ley. 20.

be the oldest existing document in the Spanish language, has in recent times been completely discredited.[1]

The earliest metrical composition that has been handed down to us is the anonymous *Poem of the Cid,* which can hardly have been written later than the end of the twelfth century.[2] The language of this celebrated poem is as yet hardly fully developed from the more ancient Latin ; imperfect in form, yet full of life and vigour, the worthy medium of a great national tale of knightly prowess and romantic valour, noble, bold, original, struggling for that world-wide success which awaited the Castilian at the end of the fifteenth century. The subject-matter has already been spoken of in the chapter on the Cid. The metre is rude and irregular ; the lines, as a rule, are of fourteen syllables, but are often reduced to twelve, or extended to sixteen or even twenty.

In inspiration somewhat similar to that of the *Poem of the Cid,* in language somewhat more developed, but evidently a work of the same period, is the *Book of Apollonius,* a poem of 2600 lines, divided into stanzas of four rhyming verses. It is a translation or adaptation of the well-known story used by Gower in his *Confessio Amantis,* and by Shakespeare in *Pericles.*[3] *The Life of Our Lady St. Mary of Egypt,* of which the MS. was discovered in the present century, bound up with that of the *Poem of the Cid* and the *Book of Apollonius,* is also in Spanish of the thirteenth century, though the language is more akin to old French or Provençal than either of the other works. Written in octosyllabic rhyming couplets, in its general character and supposed antiquity it is not unlike the *Adoration of the Three Holy Kings,* a religious or legendary composition of 250 lines, which has also survived to our day. But the authors of all these early poems are now unknown or forgotten.

The works of the priest Gonzalo of San Milan—known from the place of his birth as *Berceo*—who flourished from 1220 to 1250, are the first metrical compositions in the Spanish language by a known author ; and they consist of some 13,000 lines of religious poetry or verse in the *quaderna via* or four rhymed stanzas that was adopted in the *Apollonius of Tyre.* The *Life of Santa Domingo of Silos,* the *Miracles of the Virgin,* and the *Mourning of the Madonna at the Cross* are also the works of Berceo.

[1] By Señor Fernandez-Guerra y Orbe. Madrid, 1865.

[2] Between 1150 and 1200. See Ticknor, i., 11, 12, and notes, for the various theories and conjectures as to the date of their composition.

[3] It is the one hundred and fifty-third tale of the *Gesta Romanorum.*

But save by students and commentators they are all deservedly forgotten. In Spanish poetry, as in Spanish literature generally, in science, in legislation, and in history, the first name is that of Alfonso X.

The *Cantigas* or hymns of the virgin are not only true poetry, but they are undoubtedly the work of the King of Castile. Nor are there many of the ballads whose antiquity can certainly be traced to an earlier date than the thirteenth century, that are superior to King Alfonso's verses, although from their essentially national character they may be more interesting to modern readers. Yet the *Cantigas* may hardly be reckoned among the early masterpieces of Castilian literature; and they contributed in no way to fix or to develop the Castilian language. For they are written, strange to say, not in Castilian, nor in Latin, but in Gallician, an idiom or dialect which bears more resemblance to the modern Portuguese than to the noble language of Spain.[1]

But the greatest literary triumphs of the learned king were not in verse but in prose. No reader of Don Quixote in the original Spanish can fail to have been struck by the great number of quotations from the Bible that are put by Cervantes into the mouth of Sancho as well as of the knight of La Mancha. Many of them had apparently become so common in men's speech in their native Castilian, that they are actually classed as *refranes*, or proverbs; and it is obvious that translations of the Bible into the vernacular must have been widely spread in Christian Spain, until on the arrival

[1] They were composed between 1263 and 1284 under the title of *Cantigas de Santa Maria:* or, *Loores y milagos de Nuestra Señora;* and consist of a collection of 401 poems, in the Gallician dialect, in various metres, upon miracles, sanctuaries, images, and other subjects connected with the life of the Blessed Virgin. (Gallician, as has already been pointed out, was the earliest, and still remained the most cultivated language for verse in the time of Alfonso the Learned. But it is especially to be noted in these Cantigas how strong had already been the influence of the French troubadours on the native Gallician verse. Alfonso the Learned thus taunts his father's old bard, Pedro da Ponte, for being so old-fashioned as to adhere to the antiquated Spanish-Gallician forms of verse:—

"*Vos non trovades como Provençal*".

Mr. Fitzmaurice Kelly's admirable History of Spanish Literature should be consulted on this subject.—H.)

This interesting work has lately been published, in a deservedly magnificent edition, at the instance of the Royal Academy of Madrid, by the Marquis de Valmar. For further particulars see *post*, chap. xli.

The king is said to have founded and endowed a military and religious order in honour of Our Lady, and to have further provided that these *Cantigas* should be sung *in perpetuam* over his tomb in the Church of Santa Maria de Murcia. Mondejar, *Memorias Historicas*, 438; Ticknor, i. 40; and Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., 34.

of Ferdinand of Aragon and the Inquisition,[1] *se hizo necesaria la prohibicion*. The earliest translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue of Castile, of which we have any note or record, is one that was made under the superintendence of Alfonso X., although the work itself has apparently perished.[2]

In addition to this uncertain translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue, the *History of the Great Conquests beyond the Sea* was compiled rather under his direction than by his own royal hand;[3] and the work has been preserved to the present day. The *Gran Conquista de Ultramar* can never, like the Bible in the vulgar tongue, have excited the persecuting and destroying zeal of the Holy Office. It is an historical, geographical and romantic history of the wars of the Crusaders in Palestine, beginning with the life and death of Mohammed, and continued down to the year 1270, and the great and special interest that attaches to the work at the present day is that it is the first work of any importance composed in the language of Castile. For the language of the grants and charters, technical as a rule, or legal in form, beginning, if it may be, with the doubtful grant to Aviles in 1155, is rather deformed

[1] *Menendez y Pelayo, Heterodoxos Españoles*, vol. ii., p. 700.

[2] This translation of the Bible is so casually referred to by the authorities that I had—after much search—well-nigh abandoned all hope of knowing anything more about it, than the somewhat doubtful fact that it had been made, when I became possessed of a copy of Muñoz, *Diccionario-historico de los antiguos Reinos y Provincias de España* (Madrid, 1858), and at p. 27 of part. ii. of that admirable work, I found a reference to an MS. existing in the monastery of the Escurial, of "the Castilian translation [of the Bible] made by order of Alfonso the Learned, following the Hebrew text," with a *quotation* from the first Psalm.

There is no hint as to whether the New Testament as well as the Old is included; probably not, as the translation is expressly said to be *hecha siguiendo el texto hebreo*. I give the first two verses of the quotation as a specimen of the style:—

"Bien auenturado es el uaron que non andudo enel conseio delos malos syn ley nin estudo enla carrera de los pecadores nin enla sylla de nuzimiento se assento, mas fue la voluntad del enla ley del sennor et enla ley del mesura dia et noche."

I can find no further reference to this early and most interesting translation even in Muñoz. But he says (p. 5), that translations of the Holy Scriptures into Castilian were multiplied in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and *habiendo ocasionado graves inconvenientes el abuso que ya se hacia de los traducciones de la Biblia al lenguage vulgar se hizo necesaria la prohibicion.*

These early translations were apparently taken not from the Vulgate but from the version of St. Jerome.

As to translations of the Bible into the Catalan or Limousin language of Aragon, see Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos Españoles*, tom. i., p. 435.

[3] It is more probable that the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar* was compiled in the time of Alfonso's son, Sancho IV. The work is unquestionably very fine but it is not original, being largely a translation of William of Tyre's history, written a century previously, with many additions and adornments.—H.

Latin or unformed Spanish, and may in no wise be compared with the finished Castilian of Alfonso X.[1]

The *General Chronicle of Spain*, a work which, if perhaps less ambitious, is scarcely less interesting than the *Siete Partidas*, occupied the attention of Alfonso X. during the greater part of his reign. It is divided into four books, the *first* extending from the creation of the world to the death of Alaric, the *second* comprising the Visigothic occupation, the *third* bringing down the history to the reign of Ferdinand the Great, and the *fourth* closes in 1252 with the accession of Alfonso himself. The first and second books are merely compilations from the ecclesiastical writers, and are dull and uninteresting. But the third book is founded, to a very large extent, on the ancient national ballads; and the stories are told with great vigour and spirit, of Bernardo del Carpio, of Pelayo, of Fernan Gonzalez and the seven children of Lara, of Santiago fighting at Clavijo, and of Charlemagne flying from Roncesvalles. The fourth book is largely taken up with the legendary *Chronicle of the Cid*, after which, in soberer and more serious style, the annals of Spain are brought down to the days of authentic history.

The independent *Chronicle of the Cid* is in itself one of the most remarkable and interesting records of the ancient literature of Castile. It differs but slightly in style and general treatment from that contained in the fourth book of Alfonso's history; and it is probable that it is taken direct from the king's *General Chronicle of Spain*.[2]

V.—*The Siete Partidas.*

But it is not as a chronicler, nor yet as a linguist, not as a poet, nor even as an astronomer, that Alfonso is best remembered in nineteenth-century Spain. It is as a lawgiver[3] that he takes rank with the emperor on the Bosphorus

[1] Alfonso X. . . . a créé la prose Castillane; non pas cette pale prose d'aujourdhui . . . mais la vrai prose castillane, celle du bon vieux temps, cette prose qui exprime si fidèlement le caractère Espagnol, cette prose vigoureuse, large, riche, grave, noble, et naive tout a la fois; et cela dans ce temps ou tous les autres peuples de l'Europe, sans en excepter les Italiens, étaient bien loin encore d'avoir produit un ouvrage en prose qui se recommendât par le style. Dozy, *Recherches*, ii., 34. See also Ticknor, *op. cit.*, i., 40-43.

[2] Ticknor, vol. i., chap. viii.

[3] Alfonso not only made good laws; he endeavoured to improve the administration of justice. He named twenty four Alcaldes—nine for Castile, eight for Leon, and seven for Estremadura. From the decisions of the judges an appeal

and the emperor on the Seine; and his great code still finds a place in the library of every Spanish lawyer, from Barcelona to Valparaiso.

The first translation of the *Fuero Juzgo*, or Visigothic code, from the Latin into Castilian, was planned, if not actually undertaken, in the reign of St. Ferdinand. But whether as prince or as king, it was his more studious son who took the principal share in the execution of the work. Not content, however, with translating old laws into a new language, Alfonso aspired to be a legislator as well as a linguist, and his *Espejo*, or Mirror of Rights, comprising five books of laws written by him some time before 1255—was followed in that year by his *Fuero Real*, a shorter code, divided into four books; and at length, after ten years of unremitting labour, his greatest work was given to Spain, in 1265.

Las Siete Partidas (the Seven Sets, or Divisions) is the modest title of a comprehensive digest of the code of Justinian and of that of the Visigoths, of the national and local *Fueros*, of the canon law, and of the decrees of the great councils of Spain. The code of Alfonso would at any time have been a noble monument of wisdom and prudence, of patient study, of intelligent research, and of an enlightened understanding. At the time of its compilation it was not only superior to anything of the kind that had ever been attempted since the times of Justinian; it stood alone and unrivalled in the mediæval world; and for over six hundred years it remained not only the great text-book of Spanish jurisprudence, but the greatest exclusively national code of laws in Europe.[1]

Yet the *Siete Partidas* did not at once become the law of

lay to the royal Alcaldes at the capital; and from them to the king himself, who sat three days a week for this purpose. He also appointed *corregidores*, not correctors, but co-rulers, who superintended, and in some cases superseded, the provincial judges, as will more fully be shown in a subsequent chapter on the constitutional and judicial development of Castile.

[1] The code Napoléon, which is nearly 650 years later, is necessarily somewhat more modern and more complete, and is itself the parent of most of the later codes of the nations of Europe and America. Justinian's great work was not national; it was Imperial, and will ever be a text-book for the world. In England we have not yet attained to any code whatever.

As to the adoption, to some extent, of the code of the *Siete Partidas* in the United States of America, see Ticknor, i., 46.

"If all other codes were banished," says Mr. Dunham, "Spain would still have a respectable body of jurisprudence in the *Siete Partidas*"; and an eminent Spanish advocate is said to have told the historian in 1832 that during an extensive practice of twenty-nine years scarcely a case occurred which could not be virtually or expressly decided by the code of Alfonso X. Dunham, iv., 121.

the land; and it was not until 1348, the year of the abrogation of the *Privilege of Union* in Aragon, that it was promulgated, in a somewhat uncertain manner, as a text-book of the great common law of Castile.[1]

The first book or *partida* of the code treats of natural law, the law of nations, and law ecclesiastical, mainly taken from the Roman codes and decretals. The second lays down the power and duties of the king. The third prescribes judicial procedure. The fourth treats of personal and social rights. The fifth is the law of contract; the sixth of wills, inheritance, and succession. The seventh contains the penal code, and the code of criminal procedure. The modern reader who would intelligently and fruitfully study this celebrated code, whether as an historian or as a jurist, will not fail to take advantage of the well-known historical and critical commentary, modestly styled an *Ensayo*, or essay, of Don Francisco Martinez Marina, which was first published at Madrid[2] at the beginning of the present century, and which is itself a work of great value and interest to the student of comparative legislation.

[1] This was accomplished by the ever-celebrated *Ordenamiento de Alcala*, promulgated by Alfonso XI., in which it was provided that all cases that could not be decided by the application of the local *Fueros*, should be decided according to the laws of the Partidas. The spirit of the *Fueros* was, no doubt, more liberal than that of the *Partidas;* and it might have been unjust to impose the new code upon Castile immediately, or without some preliminary mitigation. It was thus gradually introduced.

[2] I have used the *second* edition (two vols., Madrid, 1834); as well as Don Marcelo Martinez Alcabilla, *Códigos de España* (two vols., Madrid, 1886).

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE UNIVERSITIES.[1]

I.—*Education at Cordova.*

The first college that was established in the Peninsula was, no doubt, that of Sertorius at Huesca. But the institution was in advance of the times. It perished on the death of its noble founder and patron; and for half a dozen centuries nothing like public instruction was found or imagined in Spain.

With the development of Christianity the clergy arrogated to themselves the exclusive power of teaching.[2] Clerical seminaries were established at least as early as 527 by the Visigothic bishops in the second Council of Toledo;[3] and Isidore is said, on somewhat doubtful authority, to have founded a school at Seville. But after the coming of the Arabs, and more especially in the ninth and tenth centuries of our era, schools and colleges were established in most of the Spanish cities; and at

[1] The materials for a sketch, however brief, of the universities of Spain, can hardly be found outside the Peninsula. Don Vicente de la Fuente's *Historia de las Universidades* is the best general authority; and a good deal of miscellaneous information is to be found in the *España Sagrada* and the *Documentos ineditos*. With regard to special institutions, Maestro Pedro Chacon's *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca* (Salmantica, 13 Januar. Ann. Salut, 1709), is undoubtedly the most interesting. The copy which I consulted in the National Library at Madrid, where this chapter was actually written, was in MS., and it was not until I returned to Bloomsbury that I learned that Chacon's work was printed in the *Semanario Erudito*, tom. xviii., Madrid, 1788, with a continuation of the original work in 1726 by D. Antonio Valladares. The *Boletin de la Real Acad. de Hist.*, tom. xv., p. 179 *et seq.*, contains some interesting information. But the Spanish universities do not seem, as a rule, to have engaged the attention of English writers. Of Ticknor's carelessness I have spoken in the text. In Laurie's *Early Rise and Constitution of Universities*, A.D. 200-1350, there is not a word about Spain! But see P. H. Denifle, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten bis* 1400 (1886), especially pp. 470, 515.

[2] One of the most offensive heresies of the Priscillianists was the claim to call themselves *doctors*. V. de la Fuente, i., 22.

[3] *Conc. Caes. Aug.* (380), 7.

Cordova especially an admirable system of public instruction anticipated much that was excellent in the Christian universities of modern Europe; for in these early establishments general culture and special knowledge were alike aimed at, while liberality dominated the whole.[1]

Of the scientific attainments of the great doctors of Cordova, a few words have already been said in relation to the philosophy of Averroës. But the Spanish Arabs were not merely philosophers or even physicians. The numeral figures that are in daily use throughout modern Christendom are of their invention or introduction, and are still called by their name.[2] Algebra, unknown even to the great Greek mathematicians, was similarly introduced by the Arabs, and the English word represents the original *al jeber*, or "the reduction of numbers". The Arabs more punctiliously called, and still call, the science *al jeber o al makabella*, as that of "reduction and comparison".

Having thus rendered possible the arithmetical operations, which under the Roman system of numeration could not even have been attempted, they proceeded to develop the theory of quadratic equations and the binomial theorem. They invented spherical trigonometry. They were the first to apply algebra to geometry, to introduce the tangent, and to substitute the sine for the arc in trigonometrical calculations.[3] At a time when Europe firmly believed in the flatness of the earth, and was making ready to burn any foolhardy person who thought otherwise, the Moslems at Cordova were teaching geography by globes.

In the practical department of medicine, no less than in the speculative fields of philosophy, the Spanish Arabs offered to their students, without distinction of creed or nationality, the

[1] See Littré, *Études sur les Barbares*, pp. 440-3.

[2] It was through the Hindus that the Arabs learned arithmetic, especially that valuable invention termed by us the Arabic numerals, but honourably ascribed by the Arabs to its proper source, under the designation of "Indian numerals". Our word cipher recalls the Arabic word *tsaphara* or *ciphra*, that which is blank or void. Murphy and Shakespear, *Mahometan Empire in Spain*, pp. 351-3; and Draper, *Intellectual Development of Europe*, vol. ii., p. 40. Algebra was also known to the Hindus.

[3] En science and en philosophie, les Arabes pendant deux siècles furent bien nos maitres, mais—le fond de cette science Arabe est Grec; . . . C'était des Espagnols ecrivant en Arabe. Renan, *Mélanges*, 13.

La Giralda at Seville, the first astronomical observatory in Europe, was built by the Spanish Arabs, under the superintendence of Jabir ibn Aflah (Geber) in 1190. Murphy and Shakespear, *op. cit.*, 256. See Draper, *Intell. Dev. of Europe*, ii., 40-43; Syed Amir Ali, *Life and Teachings of Mohammed*, 361, 422, 425, 548, 556, 577, 578.

highest education that was known or dreamed of in Europe.[1] Avenzoar or *Ibn Zoar*, a chemist and a botanist, published an elaborate *Pharmacopœia* for the use of his students at Cordova. Arabic became the language of science, and Andalusia the home of study. Surgery, too, which was lightly esteemed by Christian nations until comparatively modern times, had its professors and its practitioners in Moslem Spain. Albucasis or *Abu al Kasim*, of Cordova, was not only a bold and a skilful operator, but his treatise on surgical instruments may be read with interest at the present day.[2]

Nor were the students either of medicine or of arts confined to the sterner sex; and we may possibly plume ourselves less upon the liberality and extent of our progress in modern England, when we read of the fair scholars and doctors who graduated in the schools of Cordova, and brought their skill and their science to the bedsides of their Moslem sisters in the day of sickness.

In the schools of Moslem Spain, not only at the capital, but at Seville, at Saragossa, at Toledo, at Granada, arithmetic, algebra, trigonometry, astronomy, the entire circle of the sciences occupied the attention of the students. The professors gave lectures also on philosophy, on natural history, on literature, on rhetoric and composition.[3] The language which, it was their boast, was the most perfect ever spoken by man, was studied with peculiar care. But others were by no means excluded from the course. Grammars and lexicons, not only of the Arabic, but of Greek, of Latin, of Hebrew, were prepared and re-edited. The works of the great master of science, *Lisan ud-din* of Granada, constitute one of the earliest encyclopædias in the world of letters. The commentaries of Ibn Roshd (Averroës) of Cordova opened the treasure-house of Greek learning to the students of mediæval Europe.[4]

[1] The mediæval physicians, not only in Spain but even in France, were actually known by the name of the *Emir* or *Mir*. See the old French proverb: *Il ne faut pas choisir son Mir pour son héritier.*

[2] Murphy and Shakespear, p. 249; Draper, ii., 39, 40; S. Lane Poole, *Moors in Spain*, p. 144.

[3] The more cultivated Christian Spaniards in the Moslem provinces from the eighth to perhaps the eleventh century, spoke Arabic more largely than their own Latin. Romey, vi., 310.

[4] The learning and culture of the Spanish Arabs is simply denied by many modern Spaniards, as, for instance, by Father Camara, the author of the orthodox *Contestacion* or refutation of Draper's *Intellectual Development* (Valladolid, 1885). See especially chap. iv.; "*De la ciencia en el Mediodia de Europa*," p. 183. The mere denial, uncritical, rhetorical, and unsupported by any authorities, is in itself,

To do more than allude to the numerous and admirable schools that existed in Moslem Spain, almost from the time of the conquest, would be at once outside the scope and beyond the limits of this work. Yet they were the resort of students, from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, from every part of Europe. The celebrated Gerbert, afterwards Sylvester II., most liberal of mediæval Popes (993-1003), is said to have been a student at Cordova towards the end of the tenth century.[1] Peter the Venerable, the friend and protector of Abelard, who spent much of his time in Cordova, and not only spoke Arabic fluently, but actually had the Koran translated into Latin, mentions that, on his first arrival in Spain, he found several learned men, even from England, studying astronomy and other less recondite branches of science.[2] It was from Toledo that Michael Scot brought his translation of Aristotle and Averroës at the beginning of the thirteenth century (1194-1250) to the strangely enlightened court of the Emperor Frederick II.

Hermann the German, or *Alemannus*, continued Michael Scot's work at Toledo,[3] and carried his versions of other works into Naples and Sicily, where Manfred had inherited his father's tastes, if not his father's power.

"When the narrow principles of Islam are considered," says a Spanish writer, "the liberality of the Arabs towards the professors of literature justly demands our admiration". The Eastern Caliphs employed foreigners in the superintendence of their schools, and in Spain we find that Christians and even Jews were

of course, worthless; but it is highly interesting as showing the temper of Spanish Churchmen as regards history and science at the present day, and more particularly as regards the bitterness of their bigotry towards Islam, with which Christian Spain has not been brought into serious conflict for 400 years.

A modern Spanish apologist of the great Cardinal Ximenez, Simonet, *Ximenez de Cisneros* (Granada, 1885), p. 6, speaks of "*Lo Atrasado y grosero de su civilizacion*" of the Spanish Arabs, "*que . . . nunca pasó de la barbarie!*" This from Granada!

[1] This, indeed, is denied, as far as I know, for the first time, by Don Vicente de Lafuente, who asserts that Gerbert studied, not at Cordova, but at Vich in the County of Barcelona, and that he attained his high mathematical excellence under a Christian bishop—name unknown—at a time long anterior to the study of exact sciences at Cordova. *Hist. de las Universidades*, tom. i., 45-49. There is an interesting sketch of the Life of Gerbert in the *English Historical Review*, October, 1892, p. 625, by Mr. R. Allen.

[2] Draper, *Intellectual Development of Europe*, vol. ii., p. 12; Murphy and Shakespear, *op. cit.*, part ii., sect. ii., especially p. 217. Peter the Venerable was not the translator but the patron. The Englishman who did the work was Robertus Retenensis. See the edition of this celebrated translation, Basle, 1543.

[3] *Siete Partidas*, p. vii., tit. xxvi., lev. i.; Renan, *Averroës*, pp. 205-216; Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition*, vol. iii., 561.

appointed to direct the studies in the Academies of Cordova. Real learning was, in the estimation of these Moslems, of greater value than the religious opinions of the learners.[1]

Yet all this liberality and all this erudition did not save the Spanish Arabs. The patronage of the Abdur Rahmans and the Hakams, the studies of Abenzoar and Averroës, the library at Az Zahra, the scholars who flocked to Cordova from every part of Europe and the East,[2] the learning of the professors, the intelligence of the students, the skill of the operators, the refinement of the men and women who graduated in the great schools of Moslem Spain, all this availed nothing against the Almoravides, and the Almohades, and the greater forces of disintegration and decay. For the schoolmaster can never supply the place of the statesman. The highest education may not atone for a long course of political ineptitude. The pen, alas, is powerless, as the world is constituted, without the ruder protection of the sword. The institutions that had flourished under the Moslem, died when the Moslem departed; and after four centuries of light and leading, Andalusia fell back, under the Christian rule, into a condition of ignorance and barbarism, nearly, if not quite, equal to that of the north-western provinces of the Peninsula.

II.—*The Maestrescuelas.*

For more than a hundred years after the death of Abdur Rahman an Nasir, scarcely anything that can be called a school existed in Christian Spain.[3] From the eleventh century,

[1] Rodriguez de Castro, *apud* Murphy and Shakespear, *Hist.*, p. 217.

[2] See Renan, *Averroës et l'Averroisme*, p. 4; Syed Amir Ali, *Spirit of Islam*, pp. 557-8.

[3] As to the ignorance of the Christian Spaniards, even in the case of the clergy, see Lafuente, iv., 342; Syed Amir Ali, *Spirit of Islam*, pp. 548 and 584.

Masdeu, xiii., 205, 206, in accounting for the fact that we have no record of any intellectual activity in Christian Spain during the palmy days of the Moslems at Cordova, maintains that there certainly *was* an abundance of learning and scholarship among the Christians, but that no vestige remains of their work. *Del descuido que habran tenidos los obispos y abades de conservar sus obras—por haberlas considerado como obras profanas!* This is at once very *naïf* and very instructive. As an instance of the condition of learning and the prodigious rarity of books at the Christian courts long after the time when the catalogue of Hakam's library was hardly contained in *forty-four* large volumes, we read that in 1044 the purchase of two books on grammar in civilised Catalonia was an event necessitating the intervention of notaries and bishops, and that the price of the strange fancy articles

indeed, it would seem that the ecclesiastics attached to the various cathedral churches were in the habit of giving instruction of some sort to candidates for Holy Orders; and it was decreed by the Council of Coyanza,[1] in 1050, that the clergy of Leon should teach the children the *Creed* and the *Pater noster*, while every ordained priest was supposed to know the Psalter, Epistles and Gospels in the Latin of the period. Nor does monastic instruction appear to have proceeded any further than these ecclesiastical rudiments.

A royal donation in 1086 to the clergy of Coimbra is said to have been the origin of the celebrated university at that place. But it is certain that in the eleventh century Coimbra was the home of studies exclusively ecclesiastical, and that the schools were the resort only of theological students. Fifty years earlier, in Castile, some kind of superior scholastic instruction seems to have been provided by Bishop Poncio in the diocese of Palencia,[2] under the patronage of Sancho the Great; and at the end of the next century we find no less a personage than Dominic de Guzman enrolled among the students. But the *Maestrescuela*, as it was called, was not formally incorporated as a university, if, indeed, it ever acquired that exalted status, until the year 1212; and from that time, overshadowed by the rising glory of Valladolid and Salamanca, its prosperity seemed to have steadily declined, and within a very few years the institution had practically ceased to exist

was a site in the city of Barcelona. *Pergamino*, No. 75, *del Archivo general de la corona de Aragon, apud* Lafuente, iv., 340.

The rarity and high price of books, even as late as the time of Henry III., is incidentally referred to in a curious work on the coinage of that reign, Saez, *Demonstracion de Monedas*, etc. (ed. 1796), p. 368 and sec. ix. A curious and interesting catalogue of the books in certain libraries of the same period will be found in the same work, pp. 368-379. In Señor Menendez Pelayo's *Ciencia Española*, vol. iii., pp. 125-478, will be found a very interesting list of Spanish books on scientific, artistic, philosophic and other subjects, from the earliest times to the present day. The author admits the incompleteness of the catalogue, which he calls *Inventario Bibliografico*, which, unfortunately, having no index, and being generally ill-arranged, is almost useless for reference.

[1] Now Valencia de Don Juan.

[2] As to the foundation and extinction of Palencia, its chequered and uncertain history, and the extent to which the foundation can be said to have been transferred to Salamanca, see *Documentos Ineditos*, vol. xx., pp. 1-279. Yet, as the treatise in question, by Señor Floranes, is written avowedly (p. 57) to prove a higher antiquity for the Castilian universities than that usually admitted in Spain (*en grave detrimento al credito literario de la nacion, y de su honor*), the statements and surmises of the author must be taken with a great deal of caution. He asserts, indeed, that there was an *estudio*, or high school, at Palencia from the year 607 to the year 1212, when it was constituted a University.

(1246). The name indeed lingered for some time longer; and a Bull of Urban IV., of 14th May, 1263, gave certain privileges to the masters and students of Palencia. But Palencia in 1263 had no students; its masters, if they existed, had no income; the university itself was no more.

At Salamanca, the greatest name in the history of the Spanish foundations, uncertain studies in connection with the cathedral were carried on from the middle of the eleventh century (1179 is the date usually assigned), and a *Maestrescuela*[1] or *Estudio* was established in 1215. But the first charter or privilege of incorporation is dated in the Era 1280—*i.e.*, A.D. 1242; and certain *Privilegios* granted by Alfonso X. in 1252 laid the foundation of the future greatness of the university.

From the earliest times Salamanca seems to have found favour with Church and State. The first Bull relating to the foundation is one of Alexander IV. in 1245. In 1254 the *privilegios* of Alfonso were confirmed by the same Pope in a more formal Bull of Incorporation; and in the course of 1255 no less than four Bulls relating to the studies and students at Salamanca were sealed in the Papal Chancery. St. Ferdinand, shortly before his death, had exempted the students of Salamanca from the payment of certain taxes; and Alfonso X. not only endowed the university in a more direct and positive manner, but he personally revised the curriculum of studies, and took the warmest interest in the progress of the students.[2]

The University of Alcala was founded by a formal charter or ordinance of Sancho the Brave in 1293. Valladolid[3] was first endowed, if not first established,[4] by Ferdinand IV. in 1304,

[1] The Council of Leon, in 1245, makes honourable mention of Salamanca, which was already one of the four great universities of the world—Oxford, Salamanca, Bologna, Paris. *Clementinas*, lib. v., cap. i., tit. i. (1311). *Vide* Don V. de Lafuente, *Hist. de las Universidades*, pp. 290-296. As to the foundation of Salamanca, and the reason for the choice of that city for the university, see *Partida*, ii., ley. ii., tit. 31.

[2] For the Bull of Boniface VIII. (1298) as to the Decretas, see V. de Lafuente, *Hist. Univers.*, 299, 300.

[3] The Christian city of Valladolid was only founded in 1058; the university, according to Floranes, must have been founded in 1095. No evidence is offered in the *Documentos Ineditos*, xx., 115, but *es muy racional el presumirlo!* The students, bachelors and doctors of Valladolid were freed *de todo pecho y tributo*, by an ordinance of Henry II. in 1367, and the exemption was ratified by later kings. The establishment was reformed in 1771, in 1807, in 1824 and in 1845. *Anuario de la Instrucion Publica en España*, sub tit. Valladolid.

[4] It is said to have been established in 1260 with chairs of Hebrew, Greek and mathematics. The college, and subsequently established University of Alcala, will be spoken of with greater fulness in dealing with the life of Ximenez, in vol. ii. of this work.

and the institution was gratified with Papal sanction by a Bull of Clement VI. in 1346. These high schools, or *Maestrescuelas*—for the word university was not as yet applied to them—are mentioned repeatedly in the laws of the *Siete Partidas*,[1] which contain the first legal or public provisions for the foundation or government of the new institutions.[2]

The earliest and most celebrated of the Universities of Aragon was that established in the territory to the north of the Pyrenees, which still survives at Montpellier. Founded, it would seem, in the first instance, as a school of medicine, and recognised by Papal authority in 1220 as an institution already respectable, it was not formally constituted a university until 1289, in the reign of Alfonso III., by Bull of Nicholas IV. From this time it continued to enjoy the special protection of the bishop, as distinct from that of the crown,[3] until Montpellier ceased to be ruled by an Aragonese monarch in 1392.

The origin of the University of Lerida, in Catalonia, was somewhat different from that of Montpellier or any of the seminaries of Castile. For without any previous ecclesiastical *Estudio* or cathedral school of any kind, King James II. of Aragon obtained from Boniface VIII., in 1300, a Bull establishing an *Estudio General* at Lerida, which was invested by the king with very large privileges and powers, under the government of its *Bedel*, *Rector*, and *Cancellarius*. But the monopoly of teaching in the entire kingdom of Aragon to the south of the Pyrenees, which had been conceded to Lerida, was soon invaded by the establishment, in 1354, of a rival school at Huesca, which, after a temporary extinction in 1450,

[1] The whole of titulo xxxi. of *Partida* ii. of the great code is devoted to education. It is headed: "*De los estudios en que se aprenden los saberes, et de los maestres y de los scolares*," and consists of eleven laws preceded by an introduction—surely the earliest law of public instruction in Europe. The *estudio general* (or university course) included grammar, logic and rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry and astrology. But private tuition in special subjects was also contemplated, to be authorised by the bishop or municipal council (*concejo de algun logar*). The duties of the headmaster, or, as he was called in some cathedral schools, the chancellor, of these early high schools, are laid down by Alfonso X., *Partida*, i., tit. vi., ley. 7. The following laws scattered throughout the *Partidas* have also reference to public instruction: P. i., tit. vi., 7; P. vi., tit. xvii., 3; P. vii., tit. vi., 2.

[2] D. Vicente de Lafuente, c. x., *Partida*, ii., tit. xxxi., and i., ley. vii., tit. vi.

[3] King James the Conqueror appointed, or sought to appoint, a Regius professor of civil law in 1268, for which act of patronage he was rewarded by *excommunication*. Swift, *James the First*, p. 259.

was restored by Peter IV., and fully constituted as a university in 1461.[1]

When Ticknor[2] states that "in the year 1300, although there were five universities established in Italy, Spain possessed not one, except Salamanca, which was in a very unsettled state," he might fairly have added that in that year, the foundations at least of no less than four other universities had already been laid—that is to say, at Alcala (1293), at Palma (1280), at Seville (1256), and at Valencia (1245); and that the Universities of Montpellier and of Lerida[3] were fully established, making, together with Salamanca, not one but seven in all Spain.

But at the very time when so much activity was being manifested in these new institutions, Salamanca itself had fallen on evil days. Clement V., the French Pope at Avignon, jealous of the fame of the great Spanish foundation, and desirous only to favour the University of Paris, gave orders, in 1305, that the *Tercias*, which had been granted by the Castilian kings to the Castilian University, should be diverted from that purpose, and devoted to the building of churches; and Salamanca was menaced with ruin.[4] In consequence, however, of the earnest remonstrances of the masters and students, a new Pontifical grant of one-ninth of the ecclesiastical tenths of Salamanca was made by Clement in 1312, and this slender Papal benefaction took the place of the more substantial royal bounty. It was the Spanish anti-Pope, Benedict XIII., that restored Salamanca to life and vigour. He reformed the studies, increased the income, and encouraged the development of the university to which he owed his own early instruction.

Pedro de Luna, a member of the same celebrated family of which the magnificent Alvaro in the next century was no less distinguished a member was born near Calatayud in 1324. After studying first at Salamanca and afterwards at Montpellier,

[1] And by Bull of Paul II., 1464. It was suppressed in 1845.

[2] *Hist. of Sp. Lit.*, vol. i., chap. xviii.

[3] The University of Lerida, like that of Gerona, Barcelona, and all the other universities of Aragon, was extinguished and merged in the new foundation of Cervera by Philip V. in 1714. The ugly buildings, which were abandoned in 1837, when the professors and students migrated or remigrated to Barcelona, are now fast falling into decay, and Cervera is chiefly interesting as being the place where the contract of marriage between Ferdinand and Isabella was signed in March, 1469.

[4] The *Tercias* were two-ninths of the ecclesiastical tithe which were granted to the king.—H.

he was made a Cardinal by Gregory IX. in 1375; and, acting as Papal Legate in Aragon at the time of the Great Schism, he referred the question, of the legitimacy of the rival claimants to the Papacy, to the University of Salamanca. The Council decided in favour of Clement VII. (1387), and he was not unnaturally inclined to favour so judicious an institution. Pedro de Luna himself, who succeeded Clement as anti-Pope in 1394, at once restored the *Tercias* (1413-1416), augmented the professoriate, and established the university[1] on so solid a basis that it had no further need of either royal or ecclesiastical protection.

Nor was it only by the great anti-Pope that Salamanca was protected and encouraged. Henry III. gave substantial proofs of his favour by grants, endowments and privileges, and this royal patronage was continued by John II. It is only indeed from the time of the royal grant of revenues of 1397, that the income and independent existence of Salamanca can be said to have been assured.[2] By the statutes, as reformed by Pope Martin V. in 1422,[3] the chief authority of the university, as regards students and studies, corresponding more nearly to the Master or Provost of an English College, was the *Rector*, elected by the students voting in four "nations" or *Turnos*. The *Primicerio*, whose position was not unlike that of the Chancellor of an English university, was elected by the *Claustra-general* or Senate, over which he presided. The *Bedel* was an officer *de probada hidalguia*, who seems to have had proctorial powers and a general superintendence over the conduct of the students; and the *Maestrescuelas*, who was afterwards called the Chancellor, was the chief teaching authority. Of the faculty of theology only was there a titular *Dean*, and the academic hierarchy was composed of rector, doctors, masters, licentiates, bachelors and students.

After a brief course of attendance at lectures and in chapel, and a certificate of good conduct from the Bedel, the student delivered a set oration, and was admitted a bachelor. After

[1] Vicente de Lafuente, *Hist. Univ.*, i., chap. xx.; Chacon, *Hist. de la Universidad de Salamanca*, in MS. No less than eight Bulls were directed by Benedict XIII. in favour of the University of Salamanca. V. de Lafuente, *op. cit.*, i., 193.

[2] Vicente de Lafuente, i., 181. See generally *Tabla de los privilegios y confirmaciones que el estudio y Universidad de Salamanca ha tenido de los Reyes de Castilla.* Parchment MS., p. 57; Brit. Mus. Eg., 1933; Press, 523, H.

[3] Given in Lafuente, *Hist. de las Universidades*, Appendix ix., pp. 323-6. Modified by Eugenius IV. in 1431.

five years' further study and various academic exercises, he became a licentiate. No distinctive academic costume was prescribed at the time of Benedict XIII., but the doctors apparently were accustomed to wear a *Muceta* or cape on their shoulders—which was afterwards distinguished as green for canon lawyers, red for civilians, white for theologians, and yellow for doctors of medicine—and to cover their head with a hood or *capirote*. The students were enjoined only to abstain from garments of silk, or fur, or of bright colours.[1]

Turning again to the kingdom of Aragon, we find that a school was established at Valencia by James I. as early as 1245, and the charter was approved by Innocent IV. The university does not appear to have been founded until 1411; the status of *nobility* was conferred on the doctors of law by Alfonso V. of Aragon in 1426, and confirmed by two Bulls of Alexander VI.—the constant patron of his native Valencia—both dated in 1500, and approved by Ferdinand the Catholic, 16th February, 1502.

A college or university at Gerona was endowed in 1446 by John II. of Aragon, and the more celebrated institution at Barcelona was recognised rather than founded by a royal grant in 1450, and confirmed by Bull of Nicholas V. in the same year. The origin of the teaching school at Barcelona is somewhat obscure, but it is at least certain that an academy, already prosperous long before 1450, was in that year invested by Nicholas V. with the power of conferring degrees, and—as is expressed in the Bull of formal incorporation—with all the privileges of the University of Toulouse.[2] The University of Saragossa stands on a somewhat similar footing, having been recognised as existing in 1474 by a Bull of Sixtus IV.

The establishment of the great triple institution at Sigüenza on the noble plan of a combined hospital, convent and *colegio mayor*, in 1476, is due to the friend of Ximenez de Cisneros, Juan Lopez de Medina. The institution was approved as a university and recognised by Bull of Sixtus IV., in 1483, con-

[1] At the present day the coloured tassel on the cap is the peculiar distinction of doctors and masters. White denotes Divinity; green, Canon law; crimson, Civil law; yellow, Medicine; and blue, Arts or Philosophy. These caps are worn only on public occasions at the universities. Doblado (Blanco White) *Letters from Spain*, p. 115.

[2] Alfonso V. contributed greatly to the establishment of the university of Barcelona in 1430. It was endowed with thirty-two chairs: Six of theology, six of philosophy, six of jurisprudence, five of medicine, four of grammar, one each of rhetoric, Hebrew, Greek and anatomy. Capmany, *Coleccion Diplomatica*, Appendix xvi.

firmed by another Bull of Innocent VIII. in 1489. The collegiate students, who must all have been admitted to the tonsure, were clothed, fed and lodged within the walls; and it was only on the removal of the university from the suburbs to the city of Sigüenza that it somewhat lost its monastic character. Yet Sigüenza was the home of the first of the great colleges, or *colegios mayores*, as distinguished from the universities of Christian Spain. The second in importance was that of Santa Cruz, at Valladolid—founded in 1484 by Cardinal Gonzalez de Mendoza, and approved by Bull of Sixtus IV. in 1479—which was designed as a rival to the College of St. Bartholomew at Salamanca, and was opened for study in 1484.

That all these institutions, as well in Aragon as in Castile, were in their origin rather royal than papal, in spite of the Bulls of establishment obtained by the Spanish kings from Rome, is now generally admitted.[1] The endowments in the Castilian establishments, however, were at once limited and uncertain until the time of Henry III. and of John II. King John especially, feeble though he may have been as a monarch, was a student and a friend of study, and a man of some culture and learning.

Upon Salamanca,[2] indeed, the protection of John II., following in the footsteps of his most excellent guardian, the Regent Ferdinand, was most especially extended; and it was only by his somewhat unusual liberality between 1400 and 1430 that were erected the university buildings, of which the remnant, dignified even in decay, may yet be seen on the banks of the Tormes. Thus the influence of the court was paramount in the Spanish universities at the commencement of the fifteenth century, and so remained during the long reign of John II. Henry IV. was not a man to concern himself with seminaries of sound learning and religious education; and it was not strange that the royal power and the royal interest alike began to wane at Salamanca, as they were waning throughout Spain, during his dreary and disastrous reign.[3] But in the succeeding generation, thanks to the enlightened patronage of Isabella, the universities grew and flourished; while under the magnificent rule of

[1] See V. de Lafuente, *op. cit.*, i., chap. xviii.

[2] By royal charters, 1391, 1401, 1409, 1411, 1413, 1420, 1421, 1432. The early charters were granted by the Regent Ferdinand before his election as King of Aragon.

[3] Chacon, *Hist. de la Universidad de Salamanca*, MS. 189, Com. 25, Bib. Nat., Madrid.

Ximenez, the ecclesiastical authority became gradually more and more powerful, until at length it became supreme over public and private instruction throughout the country.

Yet, as regards the privileges enjoyed by residents in the university towns, Ferdinand asserted the power of the Crown without hesitation or hindrance. By the year 1492 numerous abuses had crept into the Spanish universities, and notably into the great establishment at Salamanca. The degrees of doctor and master were given to those who were unworthy of the distinction, and even to those who had never studied at all; while an immense number of the tradesmen and townspeople fraudulently matriculated as students in order that they might find themselves removed from the jurisdiction of the king's court, and subject only to the milder rule of the university tribunals. Ferdinand the Catholic was not a man to endure such assaults upon the supreme power, and a royal ordinance with the euphemistic name of a *Concordia* was promulgated in 1492, confirmed by Bull of Alexander VI. in 1493, and followed up by still more trenchant rescripts of Ferdinand in 1494 (Medino del Campo) and 1497 (Alcala de Henares),[1] by which the jurisdiction of the university courts was grievously curtailed, and the matriculation of any but *bonâ fide* students condemned and prohibited.[2]

[1] As to the development of Spanish Universities generally, under the Catholic sovereigns, and more especially as to the establishment of Alcala by Ximenez (1498-1508), see *post*, volume ii.

[2] The following notes as to universities or colleges established in Spain before the end of the fifteenth century, but which have now ceased to exist, may be possibly interesting:—

(1) Alcala.—Founded by Ximenez, 1510. Re-formed at Madrid, 1836.

(2) Avila.—Founded by Ferdinand and Isabella, 1482; and endowed out of the proceeds of Jewish confiscations. Suppressed, 1807.

(3) Gerona.—Founded in 1446 by Alfonso IV. of Aragon. Merged in the more modern foundation (1714) of Cervera, which was itself suppressed in 1837.

(4) Huesca.—Founded, 1461; suppressed, 1848.

(5) Lerida.—Founded, 1300; suppressed, 1714.

(6) Palma.—A college was founded here in 1280 by the celebrated Raymond Lull, more especially for the study of Oriental languages. In 1483 an academic status, equal to that possessed by Lerida, was granted to the institution, which thus and then first became a university. But the Papal sanction was not obtained until 1673, when Clement X. was with difficulty induced to issue a Bull approving the charter. In 1830, after having enjoyed a precarious existence from 1816, the university was merged in that of Cervera.

(7) Sahagun.—Established as an *Estudio General* by Alfonso VI., *circ.* 1121, in the monastery of St. Benedict, at Sahagun, which had itself been founded by Alfonso III. in 905. The school was raised to the position of a university by Clement VII. in 1534, and suppressed in 1807. See Morales, *Viaje*, 34; Josefe Perez, *Hist. de Sahagun*, ed. Fr. Romualdo Escalona, Madrid, 1782.

(8) Sigüenza.—Founded in 1472; reduced in 1770; suppressed in 1807.

Of the truly magnificent foundation in the reign of the Catholic kings, which perpetuated the munificence, not of Ferdinand nor of Isabella, but of Ximenez de Cisneros, it will be more appropriate to speak when we are considering the life and the works of the great Cardinal of Spain.

The universities now existing in Spain are as follows:—

(1)	Barcelona,	said to have been founded in	1430 or 1459.
(2)	Granada,	,, ,,	1526 or 1537.
(3)	Madrid,	,, ,,	1836.
(4)	Oviedo,	,, ,,	1557 or 1604.
(5)	Salamanca,	,, ,,	1179.
(6)	Santiago,	,, ,,	1501.
(7)	Saragossa,	,, ,,	1474.
(8)	Seville,	,, ,,	1256 or 1502.
(9)	Valencia,	,, ,,	1245.
(10)	Valladolid	,, ,,	1260.

"The universities of Spain are now ten—Madrid, with 6672 students; Barcelona, with 2459; Valencia, 2118; Seville, 1382; Granada, 1225; Valladolid, 880; Santiago de Compostella, 779; Saragossa, 771; Salamanca, 372; and Oviedo, with 216; making a total of 16,874 university students. The number of regular professors is 415, with 240 supernumeraries and assistants, making a total of 655—that is, one professor to every twenty-six students." Wentworth Webster, *Spain*, p. 182.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FOREIGN POLICY OF ARAGON.

(1276-1327.)

I.—*Peter the Great.*

Peter the Third of Aragon, the eldest son of James the Conqueror, succeeded to the crown of his father in 1276. Yet he prudently refused to assume the style and title of King of Aragon until he was acknowledged by the States-General, and solemnly crowned at Saragossa; and when the ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Tarragona he gave further proof of his prudence by a formal and public protest to the effect that he received the crown from the hands of the archbishop in nowise as the gift of the Romish Church, and that he neither directly nor indirectly accepted the shameful submission that had been made by his namesake and ancestor, Peter II., to Pope Innocent at Rome.[1] He would reign, he said, as the independent king of an independent people. Yet, in spite of all his prudence, the Catalans were found to complain that he did not, after his coronation as King of Aragon at Saragossa, immediately proceed to Barcelona to confirm the laws and customs of Catalonia, and they actually rose in rebellion against their acknowledged sovereign on account of this constitutional slight. But this local petulance was of no long duration, and the Catalans were soon numbered among the most loyal subjects, as they were ever the boldest soldiers, of the King of Aragon.

The difference between the political condition of Castile and

[1] The order for the coronation and consecration of a king of Aragon, as laid down and prescribed by Peter III., is exceedingly interesting. It is reprinted in the *Documentos Ineditos*, tom. xiv., p. 555 *et seq.* The king was to put the crown upon his own head: *Y que no le ayude niuguna persona, ni el arzobispo ni ninguna persona de cualquiera condicion que sea, ni adobar, ni tocar la pont. Ibid.*, p. 563.

Aragon at the close of the thirteenth century is very remarkable, and must never be lost sight of by the student of Spanish history; for in Aragon and Valencia from the death of King James I. there were no more Moors to conquer, and the fighting men of Aragon were compelled to turn their eyes and their arms abroad—to Sicily, Naples, Rome and even Constantinople—while the ecclesiastics sought to combat rather the heretic than the infidel, and the lawyers of every degree had leisure to criticise the constitutional shortcomings of their kings. Thus, throughout the whole of the fourteenth century, while Castile was the land of civil war and domestic intrigue, Aragon was the country of foreign adventure and constitutional purism. The kings of Castile had the virtues and the vices of the warrior; the kings of Aragon those of the politician. It was not until these complementary characteristics were fairly united by Ferdinand and Isabella that the true greatness of Spain became apparent.

The troubles and the glories of the life of Peter III. came alike from across the sea.

One of the most romantic and complicated chapters in the history of mediæval Italy—when popes strove with emperors, and Frenchmen with Italians, and Guelphs with Ghibellines; when crowns were flung about like tennis balls, and excommunications flew as thick as javelins—was the great struggle of the thirteenth century for the possession of the ancient and famous island of Sicily.[1] Of the origin of the historic dispute; of the excommunication of the Emperor Frederick II., of his elder son, Conrad, Duke of Suabia, and of the younger, Manfred, King of Sicily; of the donation of Sicily by the French

[1] Naples and Sicily were conquered by the Normans (1058), under Roger, son of Tancred, who took the title of Count of Sicily. His son, Roger, took the title of King of the United and Independent Monarchy of the two Sicilies, 1129-31.

Roger, styled Roger II., was succeeded by:—

William I., the Bad	1154-1166.
William II., the Good	1166-1189.
Constance	1189-1189.
Tancred	1189-1194.
William III., dethroned by the Emperor Henry VI., who was succeeded by his son	1194-1197.
Frederick II. (Emperor, 1215-1246)	1197-1250.
Conrad, Emperor and King	1250-1254.
Conradin, King, executed in 1268	1254-1258.
Manfred, King, killed in 1266 by Charles of Anjou, who succeeded him as king	1258-1266.

Note.—For the continuation of the succession, from the division of Naples and Sicily in 1282, see *post*, vol. ii.

Pope Urban IV., to the French Prince Charles of Anjou; of the escape of John of Procida, and the sudden turn of the wheel of politics by the election of the Italian, Nicolas III., to the primacy of the Christian world; of the confederation of Rome and Constantinople against Anjou and France, it is impossible to speak here in any detail. It must suffice to recall that Peter of Aragon had married, in 1260, the Princess Constance, daughter of Manfred, King of Sicily, and grand-daughter of the great Emperor Frederick II. of Germany. If a German marriage had led Alfonso X. to seek an Imperial crown at the hands of popes and electors far away beyond the frontiers of Castile, Peter III. found himself, on his accession to the throne of Aragon, a claimant to the crown of an island kingdom within easy reach of his coasts.

Manfred, King of Sicily, had fallen in battle at Benevento, maintaining his rights against the papal pretender, Charles of Anjou, in 1266; and Charles of Anjou had taken possession of Sicily. Conradin, the last titular Duke of Suabia, a grandson of the Emperor Frederick II., and nephew of the fallen Manfred —a youth of sixteen years of age—had himself perished by the hands of the executioner in 1268, a victim to the tyranny of the French usurper. As he stood on the scaffold, in the great square at Naples, the young prince had taken off his right hand glove[1] and flung it down among the crowd below, a royal gage or token, crying to the world for vengeance. The precious relic was picked up, and carefully preserved by an Aragonese knight, who found means to convey it across the sea to the court of his sovereign, where it was delivered to the lady Constance, the wife of Peter of Aragon, the daughter of Manfred, the aunt of Conradin, and the rightful Queen of Sicily. But Charles of Anjou, supported by the Pope and Philip of France, remained in possession of that fair island, and vexed the inhabitants with unheard of extortions and cruelty for sixteen long and dreadful years (1266-1282).

Ever since the execution of Conradin, Peter had naturally turned his eyes towards Sicily, but neither he nor his father had made any attempt to interfere in the affairs of that kingdom. Yet on his accession to the crown of Aragon his first care had been the unobtrusive preparation of a fleet, which was constructed in the ports of Valencia and Barcelona, not only with astonishing despatch, but with no less admirable secrecy. The affairs of Sicily gradually engrossed the attention of

[1] Quintana says it was a ring.

Europe; and even the Emperor of the East, Michael Palæologus, ranged himself amongst the enemies of Anjou. After the death of Nicholas III. in 1280, a Frenchman once more ruled the Christian world as Martin IV.; and Peter of Aragon was excommunicated. But the signal for combat at closer quarters was not any change of policy by popes or by kings, but that uprising of the people of Sicily, exasperated beyond the limits of human endurance by their foreign oppressors—that wild and sudden massacre of the hated French throughout the island—that is known and spoken of in history as the Sicilian Vespers (1282).[1]

Charles of Anjou, as might have been expected, was enraged at this popular revolt; and his not unreasonable indignation was intensified by his natural ferocity. Deeply wounded, at once by the loss of his companions, the loss of his kingdom, and the loss of his credit, he hastened to collect a fleet and an army, and with threats of terrible vengeance against his Sicilian subjects, he proceeded to blockade Messina. The citizens prepared for a gallant defence. The time for intervention had at length arrived, and Peter of Aragon set sail with his newly-constructed fleet from Barcelona.

Prudent as ever, and uncertain how he might be received, even as a deliverer of the Sicilian people, the king steered, not for Messina, but for the coast of Barbary; and it was only after a pretended campaign against the Moors in North Africa that he suffered himself to be persuaded by successive Sicilian envoys to carry out his own well-considered plans, and to advance to the relief of Messina. He arrived off the coast of Sicily in September, 1282, and was immediately proclaimed king amid the acclamations of the inhabitants.

His appearance before Messina, with his Aragonese soldiers and sailors, and some irregular troops from Mauretania, the famous *Almogavares*,[2] was the signal for the immediate raising

[1] Eight-and-twenty thousand Frenchmen are said to have been killed. The story of the Sicilian Vespers and of the revolution that followed in Sicily is fully told by Muratori. As to the influence of John of Procida in the national rising, see *Un periodo delle Istoria Siciliane*, by Michaele Amasi (1842).

[2] "These *Almogavares*, of whom mention has so frequently been made, lived only for fighting," says Zurita, "and never inhabited either cities or populous communities, but were, like wild beasts, ready to be let loose on their prey. Their arms were—spear, sword, dagger, and mace, but they had no defensive armour. They fought generally on foot, but if they killed a horseman and captured the horse, they could use it in battle. Their way of fighting, when assailed by the cavalry, was to place the handle of the lance against their feet, to hold out the sharp point against the horse, to spit the animal, and then, with the rapidity of lightning, fall on the encumbered horseman and despatch him." Dunham, iv., pp. 63, 64.

of the siege, and the relief of the blockaded city. Charles of Anjou fled into Calabria. The Sicilians, relieved from the hourly approaching danger of famine or massacre, accorded a hearty and grateful welcome to their new king. The destruction of the French fleet by a small squadron of Catalonian ships, under the command of the gallant Roger de Lauria,[1] completed the triumph of Aragon; and the generosity of Peter, who refused to kill a single prisoner of the 4000 that fell into his hands, but enlisted the greater part of them in his own army, and dismissed the malcontents with an abundant *viaticum* to their own homes, deservedly raised his reputation as a soldier, a king, and a man.

Charles, when he was at length driven out of Reggio, and forced to abandon Calabria, defied his successful rival to knightly combat or wager of battle for the possession of Sicily; and proposed that 100 knights of France should meet as many Sicilian and Aragonese champions in the lists, in a solemn tourney at Bordeaux, in the summer of the following year, when Edward I. of England would keep the lists and decide upon the issue of the combat. This strange challenge, favourable as it was to the vanquished Angevins, was accepted by the victorious Aragonese; and the 1st of June, 1283, was fixed for the combat. Peter at once summoned his queen and her sons to Sicily, and having provided for the administration of the island during his absence,[2] set sail on his gallant errand for France by way of Spain, and arrived, after an adventurous journey, true to his tryst, on the 31st of May, at Bordeaux. King Edward, the judge, was not present. The combat had been forbidden by the Pope; but every preparation had been made for the surprise and slaughter of the Aragonese. The tourney had been turned into a trap. Peter, happily forewarned, escaped in the disguise of a travelling merchant into Spain; and Charles was baulked of his prey. But if treachery had failed to remove an obnoxious rival, the Church was ready

[1] Roger de Lauria was of Italian blood, but Aragonese by adoption. The name is spelt Loria and del Oria. He wrote it himself Luria as a Catalan, but the modern Castilian spelling adopted by French and English writers is *de Lauria*.

The command of the fleet had been entrusted, in the first instance, to En Jacme Perez, a natural son of the king. But he had proved unequal to his charge, even though he was seconded by the gallant Catalan, Pedro de Queralt, who continued to hold a subordinate command under Roger de Lauria.

[2] The administration included the Queen Constance, heiress of Sicily; the Infante, James of Aragon; Alaymo di Lantini, the Justiciary; Roger de Lauria, the Admiral, and the celebrated John of Procida.

to lend a helping hand to the French claimant. The Papal excommunication of Peter of Aragon[1] was renewed in language more vigorous and more precise than before. The king was formally deposed. Every one who obeyed him was *ipso facto* excommunicated. His subjects in Spain and Sicily were alike released from their allegiance, and all Christian princes were urged to dispossess him of his kingdoms, in the name of Cæsar at Rome.

But the Papal thunders were little heeded by the sturdy and independent Aragonese, and least of all by Roger de Lauria, who then commanded the king's fleet in the Sicilian waters. This gallant admiral, so justly celebrated in the naval annals of Aragon and of the western Mediterranean, was born at Scala, in Calabria, about the year 1250. His father had fallen by the side of Manfred, King of Sicily, at the battle of Benevento. Adopted and brought to Spain by Queen Constance, the youth gave early proofs of his aptitude for naval warfare, and after many feats of valour in the Sicilian campaign, he was appointed admiral of Aragon in 1283. In June of that year he possessed himself of the island of Malta, after a battle celebrated in the history of the two Sicilies, when he destroyed the Papal fleet, and cut down Guillaume Cornut, the Angevin commander, with his own hand. Another fleet, fitted out with much pains and many Papal blessings and cursings, was totally destroyed the next year, in the Bay of Naples (1284), by the same gallant sailor; and Prince Charles, the eldest son of the usurper of Sicily, was taken prisoner and brought to Messina. The Sicilians would have slain the young prince in return for the murder of Conradin by his father; but Queen Constance, at the risk of her personal popularity, saved her hereditary enemy from the fury of her subjects.

Meanwhile, Pope Martin, finding that his spiritual thunder had been attended with such very poor results, took upon himself to make a definite donation of Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia to Charles of Valois, younger son of Philip the Bold of France, and to proclaim a crusade against the Aragonese, with plenary indulgence to every one who should assist in any way in the *Holy War*, together with all the spiritual privileges

[1] The Bull of 21st March, 1283, launched against Peter of Aragon, was followed by a much more tremendous denunciation and dispossession on the 5th of May, 1284. It was exactly one month after this last spiritual demonstration that Roger de Lauria, boldly sailing northwards from Messina, entirely destroyed the Papal and Angevin fleet in the Bay of Naples,

that were earned by those who did battle against the infidel in Palestine. The Aragonese were filled with alarm. They were already excommunicated; and they were now delivered over to the savage secular arms of the military scum of Europe. But they turned in their indignation, not against the tyrant at the Vatican, but against their lawful sovereign in Spain; and they urged the king to abandon Sicily, and to make his peace with Rome. Over a year before, in 1283, the Cortes of Tarragona had remonstrated against the king's wars, made without the consent of his nobles; the Cortes of Saragossa had demanded the renewal of an immense number of ancient *fueros* or popular customary laws, and they had been gratified by the grant of the celebrated *General Privilege*, the Magna Charta of Aragon, at the hands of their ever-prudent sovereign. Nor were the merchants of Barcelona behindhand in their constitutional remonstrances and demands.

But the struggle of Peter of Aragon was not merely against constitutional assemblies and mercantile guilds; it was not so much domestic politics, however acute, or foreign wars, however unequal, that vexed his noble soul; it was that well-nigh alone, and without the sympathy of his most loyal subjects, he was wrestling, not only against principalities and powers, but against spiritual wickedness in high places.

Harassed as he was at home and abroad, he had yet found occasion to betroth his eldest son Alfonso to the Princess Eleanor, a daughter of Edward I. of England—an honourable and important alliance. But the Pope forbade the marriage (July, 1283). It was hard in the fourteenth century to kick against the pricks. The king's own brother, James of Majorca; his justiciary, Alaymo di Lantini, from Sicily; the wretched Sancho, miscalled the Brave, of Castile; all were counted amongst his enemies. Edward of England remained neutral. The emperor sent no help. Many of the Spanish nobles refused to fight against Rome. Yet the gallant Peter, with a handful of followers, not only kept the passes of the Eastern Pyrenees, but made two successful forays across the frontier.

At length, in May, 1285, the crusading army, under orders from Rome, marched into Spanish Roussillon. This mixed multitude of over a hundred thousand soldiers of the faith was under the spiritual charge of a cardinal legate, entrusted with the banner of St. Peter, and was commanded by Philip the Bold and two princes of France, bearing the sacred oriflamme of St. Denis. Perpignan was surprised, and ruthlessly sacked. Elne

was carried by assault, and the entire population, men, women and children, were massacred by the Papal troops. Not even at Beziers was the destruction more complete. The spiritual sword had ever a sharp edge. Papal legates were commanders who gave no quarter. Moving on southwards, and having surprised an unfrequented path by the treachery of a Catalonian monk, the invaders crossed the Pyrenees and sat down before the strong fortresses of Gerona. Meanwhile the noble spirit of Peter had awakened the patriotism of many of his subjects. The *Union* declared in his favour. Gerona held out against the French; and the courage of the Aragonese troops revived with the appearance of the gallant Roger de Lauria from Sicily, in command of a small squadron, with which he inflicted a crushing defeat upon the French fleet in that historic bay[1] of Rosas where the Rhodians had first moored their ships 2000 years before. Gerona nevertheless capitulated on the 13th September, 1285; but the besiegers were so completely demoralised, that within a week they turned their steps once more to the northward, and abandoned any further project of a holy war in Aragon. King Philip, sick unto death, borne in his uneasy litter, with his two sons, titular Kings of Aragon and of Navarre, the cardinal legate with the banner of St. Peter's from Rome, and the French priests with the oriflamme of St. Denis from Paris, were glad to make their way across the eastern Pyrenees with all that was left of the 100,000 ruffians that had entered Elne not four months before.[2]

Gerona, after a three weeks' occupation, was retaken by the Spaniards; and the son of St. Louis died, where so many better men had been done to death by his orders, in the blood-stained city of Perpignan. Nor did the heroic Peter long survive him. Stricken down by fever in the moment of victory, he lived at least to see the last of the invaders driven beyond the frontier. He died when his work was done, a patriot king, a faithful knight, a man brave and merciful, constant and true, one of the few mediæval sovereigns whom we can honestly admire, and who is not undeserving of the surname of the Great.[3]

[1] All the ships that were not sunk or captured by De Lauria were burned by the French admiral, who was compelled to escape *by land* into his own country, almost within sight of the harbour of Rosas. Quintana, *Vida di Roger de Lauria.*

[2] 25th May to 25th September.

[3] *Pedro III., el rey mas grande y mas glorioso de toda nuestra historia.* Castelar, *Estudios Historicos sobre la edad media*, p. 32.

The year 1285 proved fatal to some of the leading personages of those stirring times. Charles of Anjou died in January; Martin IV. in March; Philip the Fair in October; and Peter of Aragon in November.

II.—*Alfonso III. of Aragon.*

Alfonso, the heir to the crown of Aragon, was, at the time of his father's death, on his way with Admiral Roger de Lauria to reduce the Majorcans to subjection; nor did he return to the Continent until he had accomplished the object of the expedition, and was free to despatch De Lauria to Sicily to maintain the rights of his brother James, to whom that kingdom had been assigned by their father.

The use of the regal title in the letter in which Alfonso III. informed his subjects of the conquest of the Balearic Islands, offended the constitutional purists, as being an improper assumption of regal authority before the usual oath had been administered by the justiciary. The king apologised. But the commons became more bold. And their increasing demands led to the grant by Alfonso, in December, 1288, of that extraordinary *Privilege of Union*, or recognition of the right of the subjects to combine and make war on the sovereign, which was perhaps the greatest concession that was ever made by a reigning sovereign to his own subjects in the history of constitutional development.

The reign of Alfonso was spent almost entirely in negotiations respecting the disposal of the crown of Sicily, in which Edward I. of England, one of the few men who was trusted by all parties concerned, played the part of a patient and indefatigable mediator. And it was only in 1291, at the Congress of Tarragona, that a compact or treaty was formulated and agreed to, in which, among other less important articles, it was provided that Alfonso, making his submission to the Pope, was to be recognised as King of Aragon and Majorca, and should marry his betrothed bride, Princess Eleanor of England, and that his brother James should abandon all his claims to the crown of Sicily to the young Charles of Anjou. But the compact was rendered void, and everything was once more thrown into confusion by the death of Alfonso within a few weeks of the signature of the treaty, when his brother James, the dispossessed King of Sicily, succeeded him as the lawful sovereign of Aragon.

III.—*James III.*

The negotiations of the last five years were now promptly renewed. But the conditions of the political contest were

entirely changed. There was but one Spanish claimant to the crowns of Aragon and of Sicily. There was no Pope at Rome. For two years and three months after the death of Nicholas IV.[1] the Christian world was without a head. The quarrels and intrigues of the cardinals at length permitted the election of the humble devotee, Peter of Murrone, as Celestine V. But in August, 1294, that truly honest, pious and honourable man, unable to rule over Church and State in such evil and turbulent days, resigned his office, after a pontificate of but four months' duration, into the hands of the cardinal electors. His successor was more promptly chosen, and he was a man of a very different stamp. For he was that Cardinal Cayetani who, under the title of Boniface VIII., ruled the Roman world with the vigour, though not with the success, of Hildebrand and of Innocent. His first act was sufficiently characteristic of the man: it was to cast Celestine, his gentle predecessor, into prison, lest under any possible combination of circumstances he should prove an awkward rival. Celestine died after a confinement of only ten months; and twenty years later, the prisoner of Pope Boniface VIII. was made a saint by Pope Clement V.

The next care of Boniface was to settle the affairs of Sicily; and a treaty or arrangement was signed at Anarqui, in 1295, by which the King of Aragon abandoned all his rights over Sicily to the Pope, broke off his marriage with Isabella of Castile, and was betrothed to Blanche, daughter of Charles of Naples and Anjou. On these conditions Aragon was granted by the Pope to King James; all excommunications and interdicts were withdrawn, and by two secret articles, the King of Aragon was invested with the sovereignty of the islands of Corsica and Sardinia; while the Catalans were to furnish the French King with forty ships of war for service against the common ally, Edward of England. The arrangement was confirmed by the Cortes of Barcelona, with many murmurs; and the marriage of King James with Blanche of Anjou was celebrated at Villa Beltran on 1st November, 1295. But the day after the arrival of the French princess, strange visitors were seen on the coast of Aragon. The Sicilian ambassadors, imperfectly informed as to the provisions of the Papal treaty, arrived to ask the assistance of the king against their common enemies. When they were admitted to audience, and were at length informed of the royal renunciation, "they took it," says the old chronicler,

[1] In May, 1292.

"like a sentence of death".[1] One of the ambassadors, Cataldo Ruffo, indeed, delivered a passionate harangue, and reproached the king before his court and his bride with his base desertion of his faithful Sicilians. "Oft times have we heard, Sir King," said the bold envoy, "of vassals who have deserted their lord, but never have we heard of a lord who has abandoned his vassals". These were the marriage greetings of James and Blanche of Aragon. And then the ambassadors rent their clothes before the whole court, and returned to Sicily, where the Parliament of Palermo at once proclaimed Fadrique of Aragon, younger brother of the deserter, as constitutional King of Sicily (15th January, 1296).

Fadrique was not unworthy of his descent from James I. and Peter III.; and while his brother was doing homage at Rome for Corsica and Sardinia, which he had no right to govern, and for Aragon, which Boniface had no right to grant, Fadrique of Sicily was putting his kingdom into a state of defence against all comers; and he actually defeated an expedition despatched against him by his brother of Aragon, near Messina. Yet might not one little island resist the temporal and spiritual arms of all Europe. A second fleet, headed by the invincible Roger de Lauria, completely destroyed the Sicilian navy at Cape Orlando in July, 1299. But Don Fadrique did not surrender. The French had no mind to take possession of so very thorny a gift; and Boniface was forced to reproach his vassal, the King of Aragon, for the incompleteness of his victory over his own subjects, and his own brother in Sicily. But his reproaches were of no avail. The Catalans had had enough of Papal service, and James found some pretext for remaining in Aragon. It fell to Charles of Valois, a brother of Philip of France, invested by Boniface with the old Roman title of *Vicar* of the Empire, to undertake the reduction of Sicily. At the head of a large army of French and Neapolitans and Romans, raised by His Holiness, and embarked on board a numerous fleet, Charles set out for Messina in the spring of the year 1302.

The expedition completely failed; and the adventurers were glad to agree to a treaty, by which, in spite of the continued opposition of the Pope, Sicily was secured to the brave Fadrique and his sturdy Sicilian subjects.[2] On his death, indeed, the

[1] The speech will be found in full in Quintana, *Vida de Roger de Lauria*.

[2] The ever-victorious Roger de Lauria, who had contributed so largely to the ultimate success of the by no means grateful Fadrique, retired into Aragon after the peace of 1302, and died at Valencia in 1305.

kingdom was to revert to Charles or his heirs, a very poor exchange for an immediate crown, granted, guaranteed and supported by Rome itself. But Rome was no longer the Rome of Gregory or of Innocent. The masterful Boniface was to die but a year later, flouted by the King of France, and insulted by Sciarra Colonna. His immediate successor Benedict XI. was poisoned at Rome, and within two years a French bishop, the servant and vassal of the King of France, had abandoned the ancient seat of empire.[1]

King Fadrique being now in no further need of defenders, and King James III undisturbed in Aragon, the Catalan adventurers and allies in Sicily, deprived of their occupation by the peace of 1302, set out from Messina to conquer the Levant. Their successes and reverses in Asia Minor aud Roumelia, their victories over Greek emperors and Turkish pashas, the conquest of Greece and the acquisition of the title of Duke of Athens for the King of Sicily, these things form rather a part of the history of the Eastern Empire than of eastern Spain. Yet the expedition was made by Spanish adventurers, and the glory and romance of their many victories (1302-1313) is a part of the rich heritage of Spain.

James of Aragon, after much hesitation, determined at length in 1323 to possess himself of his new territories of Corsica and Sardinia, which the Genoese and Pisans, who had borne rule in those inhospitable islands for over three hundred years, were forced to surrender to Aragon. Sardinia, after a struggle of eight months, was abandoned in February 1324. Corsica was handed over to the king only in 1326—not at the bidding of a Pope, but at the summons of a powerful fleet. Nor was it until after the *Stamento* or Estates of Sardinia had been called together at Cagliari in 1421 by Alfonso V., that the island can be said to have been wholly and incontestably Aragonese.[2] Following the fortunes of that king, Sardinia became a part of united Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella, and afterwards under Charles V., and so remained until 1708, when, during the war of succession, it fell into the hands of Austria. For ten years its fate was uncertain, and at length by the Treaty of London (9th August, 1720) it was formally ceded by Spain to Victor Amadeo II., Duke of Savoy and King of Sardinia.

[1] Clement V. retired to Avignon, 5th July, 1309.

[2] "The Spanish rule in the fourteenth century was not a tyranny; and it was an enormous improvement on the government of the Pisans, the Genoese and the Papal rulers." Edwards, *Sardinia and the Sards* (1889), pp. 85, 86.

IV.—*Raymond Lull.*

One of the most remarkable men of the thirteenth century, not only in Spain but in Europe, was an Aragonese friar who may challenge comparison with Peter III. in honesty and courage, with Alfonso X. in erudition and science. Raymond Lull, by courtesy a saint, by accusation a rationalist, the critic at once of Averroës and of Dominic, was the most learned theologian and the most voluminous writer in Spain from the death of Isidore. Born of a noble family at Palma in the island of Majorca in January, 1235, the early years of Raymond Lull were passed at the gay court of James I. of Aragon. About the year 1260, disgusted with the pleasures of life, he forsook the world, that he might devote himself to the conversion of Moslems and Jews, and more especially to the *rational* demonstration of the truth of Christianity, and the destruction of the growing influence of Averroism. Unlike his Aragonese namesake and contemporary, Saint Raymond of Peñafort, the Dominican lawyer who sought to combat heresy by the inquisition and the stake, the Majorcan student is perhaps the first and not the least distinguished of those Christian doctors who preferred argument to persecution, and held that knowledge and reason should support, and not destroy, true religion. In his first retirement near Palma, Raymond studied Latin and Arabic, and wrote his *Ars universalis;* and at length, having assumed the habit of a tertiary of the Franciscan order, he sallied forth into the world, and spent some forty years in Spain, in France, in Italy, in Africa, and even on the far eastern shores of the Mediterranean, teaching rather than preaching, disputing rather than compelling, arguing rather than persecuting, concerning himself rather with the errors of Averroism than with minor dogmatic divergencies. He lectured at Montpellier, at Paris and at Padua. He proposed to the Council of Vienne in 1311, not the burning of templars, but the foundation of schools of Oriental languages; and he actually succeeded in introducing the study of Hebrew, of Arabic and of Chaldee, at the Universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna and Salamanca. His self-imposed mission to the Moors in Africa cost him his life; for after many warnings and much indulgence on the part of the Moslems at Bugia, from 1313 to 1315, he was stoned without the city, and carried away in a dying condition by some pious Genoese sailors to his old home in Majorca.

Of the works[1] of Raymond Lull, no less than 300 separate books and treatises have actually come down to our times. As many as 3000 have been by some writers ascribed to him, and Juan Llobet, who taught Lullism in the University of Palma in the middle of the fifteenth century, boasted that he had actually *read* 500.

But of all these, the *Ars Brevis* and the more developed *Ars Magna* need alone claim our passing attention, for it is in them that the Lullian tradition is found and preserved—the art or system of proving by rational and logical process of thought, the propositions of Christian theology. These works of Lull, moreover, were prescribed from the earliest time as a text-book for the use of the students of the universities of Aragon. A royal privilege for the teaching of Lullism in that kingdom was granted by Peter IV. in 1369, and an *Estudio Lulliano*, which became in time the *Universidad Lulliano*, was founded soon after his death at his native Palma, where his works were studied down to comparatively modern times.

But the memory of this martyr controversialist was not allowed to remain unassailed by the Holy Office. Nicolas Eymerick, Grand Inquisitor of Aragon, jealous of the influence of an ecclesiastic whose art was so destructive of his own, was able in 1371 to obtain from Gregory XI., himself a Dominican, at Avignon, an order for an examination of the writings of Raymond Lull. Peter IV. forbade the publication of the Papal mandate; but after five years' pertinacity, the Inquisition, in spite of the continued hostility of the King of Aragon, procured a Bull (1376) condemning the writings of Lull as erroneous in no less than 500 particulars.[2] Two years later (1378) Eymerick was banished on a charge of forging the Bull of condemnation, and although he returned not long afterwards, he was again banished by John I.[3] in 1393, at the earnest entreaty of the citizens of Barcelona and Valencia, "on account of his enormous crimes".

[1] The best—indeed the only good edition of his works—is *Beati Raymundi Lulli Doctoris illuminati et Martyris Opera* (Moguntiæ, 1721-1737) folio, six vols. It is a work of extreme rarity. Vols. vii. and viii. were proposed, but never published. Of this noble edition, vol. i. contains the *Ars Magna Seu ars Compendiosa inveniendi veritatem, clavis et clausula omnium artium et scientiarum.* Also the *Revelatio secretorum artis.* *A Catalogue raisonné* of his works is also given, comprising: Of speculative works, 205; of practical works, 77; and *Librorum Desideratorum*, 16; in all 298.

[2] Among these, such *dicta* as "That it is wrong to put men to death for their religious opinions, and that the mass of mankind will be saved, even Jews and Saracens," were obviously unpalatable to a Grand Inquisitor.

[3] H. C. Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition*, etc., vol. iii., pp. 585-6.

The orthodoxy of Lull's writings was not so easily settled. Royal letters in favour of Lullism were issued by Alfonso V. in 1415, and again by Charles V. in 1549. Ten years later, in 1559, Pope Paul IV. placed his works in the first Papal *Index Expurgatorius*. The Spanish *Consejo de la suprema* expunged the entry in 1560. Three years later, the Council of Trent condemned the fraud of Eymerick; and expurgated the Index of Paul. In 1578 the controversy was revived, and, after fruitless searches for the forged Bull, and many inclusions and exclusions of the works of Lull from the Papal Index, his name was added to the list of authors of heretical works, that was published by the Sorbonne under Gabriel du Préau in 1608. Three years later, in 1611, Philip III. applied to the Pope for the canonisation of Raymond, a request which led only to further controversy and further condemnation. Nor can it be said that the controversy is even yet concluded. For although Pius IX., as lately as the year 1858, granted permission to the Franciscans to celebrate his feast on 27th November; and although the *Doctor Illuminatus* bears at least a courtesy title as *Saint*, and is included by the Count de Mas La Trie in his last catalogue in 1890; and although his life is narrated in 100 pages folio[1] of the great *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, it is even yet uncertain whether Raymond is a true Catholic Saint, or a condemned and condemnable heretic.

[1] Tom. v., s. d. 30th June, pp. 633-736.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

DOMESTIC DISCORD IN CASTILE.

(1284—1350.)

I.—*The Bravos.*

After the enormous moral and material change that came over Christian Spain under Berengaria, St. Ferdinand and Alfonso X.—a change not merely in degree but in kind—it is mournful to find a recrudescence of barbarism under their immediate successors. The honourable conquest and occupation of Cordova, so long the glory of the Caliphs, and of Seville, the fairest city in Andalusia, the wisdom of Berengaria, the learning of Alfonso; alliances with faithful Moors, aspirations after Imperial dominion, the pursuits of science, the respect for law—all this came to an end at the death of Alfonso X., in 1284, with the accession of his son Sancho, surnamed, in contemptuous comparison with his gentle father, the Brave, or, rather, the *Bravo*.[1]

And under this bravo and his successors, for close on a century, Castile reverted to the civil wars and assassinations, and the ever-changing and ever-faithless alliances that disgraced the annals of the tenth century. There was plenty of war, but there was no accession of territory; plenty of judgment, but no justice; plenty of negotiation, but no peace; plenty of bravery, but no honour.[2] According to a modern

[1] *La brava domada* is the classic Castilian translation of "The Taming of the Shrew". *Bravo* would thus stand for a male shrew or *bully*. I have not ventured to use so homely a word. But Señor Vicente de Lafuente, in his *Historia de las Sociedades secretas en España*, p. 42, says that the word *Bravo* in this connection is itself only a copyist's error adopted and perpetuated by excessive loyalty, for *Pravo*, the depraved, Latin *Pravus*. Pravo is not a word used in modern Spain, but it is given in the *Dict.* of the Academy.

[2] The brutality, the rapacity, the violence of this age, are even exceeded by the falseness, the trickery, the treason and the perfidy, which at this time are the distinguishing characteristics of Castile. P. Mérimée, *Pèdre I.*, etc., p. 39; Lafuente, vii., p. 19.

Spanish writer, every man lived at the mercy of the highway robber and the private assassin. Bold depredators possessed the land, which was abandoned by the peaceful and honest owners. The bravo was abroad in Castile. Robbery and rapine were publicly professed by gentle and simple. The corpses of murdered men lay unburied on every highway. Travelling was impossible save in armed caravans. There was no security for life or property outside the walls of the fortified towns; and not only the isolated farm-houses, but the hamlets and even the villages remained absolutely deserted throughout the country. Was it for this that Berengaria had created a great kingdom, and that Alfonso had endowed it with wise laws? Had it not been for the popular institution of the *Hermandad,* towards the close of the thirteenth century, there would hardly have been an honest man left alive in Castile.[1]

For eleven years (1284-1295) after the death of Alfonso the Learned did Sancho, the fourth of his name, reign over Castile; and from the day of his accession to the day of his death, there was nothing but trouble in the kingdom. Alfonso of Aragon refused to give up to him the persons of his nephews, the Infantes *de Cerda.*[2] The Pope refused to sanction his marriage with his cousin, Doña Maria of Leon; Lope Diaz de Haro, Lord of Biscay, one of his rebel companions, whom he had raised to great honour, turned against him, after the good old fashion of his kind, and was only disposed of by assassination at the Council of Alfaro in 1288. Wars and treaties between Castile and Aragon; Don Juan, the elder Infante, in arms in Gallicia; the constant revolts of the Laras; the abandonment of Murcia at the instance of Philip of France;[3] the continued hostility of Peter of Aragon, all these things characterise the

[1] *Cronica de Don Alfonso XI.*, c. lxxviii.

[2] So called from their father, the Infante Ferdinand, the eldest son of Alfonso the Learned, who gained his nickname of *La Cerda* from the *bristles* which grew from a mole on his face—H.

[3] It should be explained that most of these troubles really arose out of the urgent need in Castile, as elsewhere in Europe, for the limitation of the abusive power of the feudal nobles. James the Conqueror had after years of struggle only partially succeeded in this in Aragon, and King John had failed in England. The complaint of the Castilian nobles of the king's favour to Haro was a mere excuse, and, as is here pointed out, Haro's sons promptly joined the other members of their order to proclaim as king the rightful heir under the Roman law. Murcia was ceded to the King of France on his promise not to aid Alfonso de la Cerda, and to use his influence with the Pope to obtain a dispensation for Sancho's marriage with his cousin Maria de Molina.—H.

disturbed and disastrous reign of Sancho IV. The one great deed of arms, in ten years of wretched strife, was the taking of Tarifa in 1292. But the conquest of that celebrated town and the maintenance within its walls of the Castilian supremacy, is a glorious incident, not in the life of Sancho the Bravo, but of Guzman, more happily styled the Good.

Alonzo Perez de Guzman, an illegitimate son of the Adelantado Mayor of Andalusia, was born in Leon in 1255. Distinguished in war and tourney, a brave and honourable knight, he quitted the court to escape the insults of his legitimate brother, and took service, after the fashion of the day, with Yusuf, the king or emperor of Morocco, and fought under the Moorish standard with much distinction in Africa. It was by his influence at the court of Fez that, in 1280, the emperor was induced to send a subsidy and an army to Alfonso X., and this Berber contingent was commanded by Guzman in person. In course of time (1290) Yusuf of Morocco died; and the Christians finding no favour at the court of his bigoted son and successor Yacub, Guzman passed over to Seville in 1291, bringing back with him a rich treasure acquired during his foreign service. Finding King Sancho meditating an expedition against the Moors of Granada, he promptly offered his assistance. The royal treasury was empty; Guzman provided the necessary funds. A fleet was equipped, an army was raised, and Tarifa was invested by sea and land. For six months the siege was prosecuted with the greatest vigour—Guzman was the most indefatigable of commanders—and at length the city was taken, and garrisoned by the Christian forces.

Among the many bad men of a bad age was the Infante John, a brother of Sancho the king, and it seemed good to him about this time, after one of his many unsuccessful attempts at rebellion, to pass over to Tangiers, and to enter into an alliance with Yacub, the hostile sovereign of Morocco. The first care of these new allies was the recovery of Tarifa from the Christians. Guzman, who had been appointed governor of the fortress, upon its incorporation into the Castilian territories, held the city for Castile; and he refused the bribes and despised the attacks of the invaders (1294). But in the hands of the Christian commander of the allied forces was unhappily found the only son of the gallant defender; and Prince John led the young Guzman forward under the walls of Tarifa, threatening to murder the boy under the eyes of his father, if the father remained true to his trust, and refused to

give up the city to the besiegers. But love proved less powerful than honour in the heart of the Castilian *Alcaide*. Guzman not only defied the cowardly assailants without the battlements, but he flung down his own knife at the feet of the tempter. Prince John, with a barbarity unsurpassed even in those barbarous days, slew the youth on the spot. But Tarifa remained untaken. The Moors returned to Africa. Guzman, heirless, but full of glory, was gratified with the admiration of his country, and the strange title, granted under the sign manual of the king, of *El bueno*—the Good.[1]

Sancho IV. died at Toledo on the 25th of April, 1295, and was succeeded by his son Ferdinand, a boy of nine years of age: and confusion became worse confounded in Castile. The king's uncle—the ever odious Don John—his great uncle, Don Henry, who arrived from Italy, his neighbours Dionysius of Portugal and Mohammed of Granada, and his vassal Don Diego Lopez de Haro, all rose against Ferdinand IV. James II. of Aragon took possession of Murcia, and Don Juan de Lara, entrusted by the bold but over-confiding queen-regent with a large sum of money for the defence of his sovereign and her dominions, appropriated the supplies to his own use, and joined the ranks of the enemy. Yet was his treachery of no avail. For Doña Maria, mainly by the assistance of the good Guzman, and partly by her own virtue and vigour, was able to prevail over invaders and rebels in Castile. The loyalty of this noble Castilian and the heroic conduct of the queen-regent, worthy at least of comparison with the great Berengaria, are almost the only bright features of this dreary period of treachery and disorder. The patience of Doña Maria, her vigour, her discretion, her maternal devotion, are all admirable.[2] She was not only a diplomatist but a politician. The *Hermandad*, or association of free citizens who had bound themselves together in this historic brotherhood, in 1295, to defend themselves from the depreda-

[1] Of the family of this Guzman the Good was Leonora, the mistress of Alfonso XI., and mother of Henry II. So too was that incapable or unfortunate Duke of Medina Sidonia, who assumed so unwillingly the chief command of the great *Empresa de Inglaterra* in 1588. See Mérimée, *Pèdre I.*, etc., 1876, p. 273.

The *Cronica de los Duques de Medina Sidonia*, compiled in the sixteenth century by Pedro de Medina is printed in vol. xxxix. of the *Documentos ineditos*, pp. 1-397, and will be found the best authority for the rise and progress of the most noble family of the Guzmans.

[2] This queen is the heroine of one of Tirso de Molina's dramas, *La prudencia de la mujer*, and of a play by a more modern author, Roca de Togores, Marques de Molins, entitled *Doña Maria de Molina*. Her noble ally, Guzman the Good, was unhappily killed in a skirmish in the mountains of Granada in 1309.

tions of the nobles, was protected by her prudent policy;[1] nor was a single year of her regency suffered to pass without a regular session of the Cortes. Thus she prevailed over the enemies of Castile abroad, and withstood traitors within the realm, not by assassination and tyranny, but by encouraging the party of order, and promoting good government at home.

II.—*The Hermandad.*

The early *Hermandades* or brotherhoods must not be con founded with the royal police that was established by Isabella —under the name of the *Santa Hermandad*, or holy brotherhood —nearly a century later. The earlier institution had nothing royal either in its origin or in its character. The brotherhoods were simply associations or *Unions* of cities or citizens to protect themselves against the attacks of knights and nobles who, unchecked by any semblance of royal or national authority, plundered and burned, robbed and ravished throughout the length and breadth of Castile.

By the end of the reign of Sancho IV. the condition of the kingdom had become so inconceivably disastrous that the ordinary law and the ordinary executive proved completely powerless to cope with the general disorganisation; and under his youthful successor it became apparent that if society was to be saved, it was to be saved, not by the court, but by the commons. No privilege of union was asked of the infant king. A confederacy of classes would hardly have been possible at the end of the thirteenth century. A confederacy of burgesses, united among themselves, and of their own free will, had in it nothing inconsistent with the royal supremacy. And these free Spaniards spoke of their unwonted union as a brotherhood: the *Hermandad* or Brotherhood of Castile. The formal act of incorporation—for if the *Hermandad* possessed no royal charter, it was far from being a secret society[2]—is one of the most remarkable protests in history. It recites in due legal form the hurts and harms, the deaths and dishonours, *e otras cosas sin*

[1] Sancho IV. in his struggle with feudalism had not had the wit to make use of the middle and trading classes, as James of Aragon and the later Plantagenet kings in England did. Instead of strengthening the towns, he set them against him by a wholesale abolition of their privileges. It was not until his death that the middle classes on their own account entered actively into the struggle, and the foundation of the *Hermandad* is the first strong manifestation of this.—H.

[2] Yet see Don V. de Lafuente, *Sociedades Secretas en España*, cap. i.

guisa, suffered by the people of Castile since the last year of Alfonso X.; and it goes on to say that *por mayor asosiego de la tierra,* and for the greater protection of the king's authority *facemos hermandad,* we hereby constitute ourselves a brotherhood.

This strange document was sealed and executed, if not by authority of the king, at least with the approbation of the queen-regent, herself struggling with a thousand enemies to maintain her son's authority in the distracted enemy realm that he had inherited. Thirty-four cities or towns were parties to this first act of brotherhood. Its affairs were conducted by deputies, who transacted their business—like the Unionists of Aragon—under a common seal, and who not only maintained the rights and liberties of the members of the brotherhood, but who actually promulgated laws, which they transmitted to the king himself. An armed force made their decrees respected. Disobedience was visited with death. If a noble deprived an *Hermano* of his property, his house was razed to the ground, and his movables confiscated to the *Hermandad.* If the king's tax-gatherer demanded an unlawful impost, he was slain. But the brotherhoods, though vigorous, were never tyrannical. They were obviously unconstitutional; but they were necessary, and they were universally respected; and their deliberative assemblies were even known by the singular name of the *Cortes extraordinary.*[1]

However successful Queen Maria may have been, and was, in her administration of the kingdom, she was certainly less skilful or less fortunate than her greater predecessor Berengaria, in her education of her royal son. For unlike his sainted namesake, Ferdinand IV. of Castile, on arriving at man's estate, not only proved utterly unfit to govern his country, but he showed his base and contemptible nature by treating the prudent preserver of his crown and of his kingdom, not only with ingratitude, but even with insult. Under such circumstances, his reign was not likely to be prosperous or honourable. And the period of twelve years (1300-1312), from the attainment of his legal majority, to his death, which took place suddenly, after a startling act of treachery, is one of the most disgraceful in the annals of Castile. *Summoned,* so runs the legend, to his account, as he lay sleeping on a September afternoon, in 1312, his death would

[1] As long as they were needed they grew and prospered. In the *Hermandad* of 1315 thrice as many towns and cities were associated as had been parties to that of 1295—one hundred instead of thirty-four. *Florez, Esp. Sagrada,* xxxvi., 162. The number of associated cities constantly varied.

have been a source of unmixed satisfaction to his subjects, had not the throne been once more occupied by a child.[1]

III.—*Alfonso XI.*

This royal infant, who had received the name of Alfonso, in memory of his ever-famous ancestor, succeeded to the crown of his father, Ferdinand IV., when he was but a few months old, and reigned and ruled over Castile for nigh on forty years as Alfonso XI. On the death of Ferdinand IV. a Cortes was promptly summoned. The estates, assembled at Palencia in January, 1313, were at once called upon to decide the all-important question of a regency; but the rival claims of Queen Constance of Portugal, the king's mother, Don Petro and Don John, the king's uncles, and Doña Maria, his more illustrious grandmother, proved so entirely irreconcilable, that the novel expedient was finally adopted of a division of the kingdom, or rather of the regency, among the contending candidates (1315). So strange a solution did not, as may be supposed, tend to strengthen the administration; but the fall of both the Infantes in battle near Granada in 1319, and the death of both the queens soon afterwards, tended to union and peace; and Don John Manuel, by far the most distinguished of the king's relations, took upon himself the regency of Castile—a position in which he was confirmed by the Cortes of Burgos, in 1320.

The new regent was capable and vigorous. Yet the kingdom was vexed with continual strife. His cousin, Don Juan el Tuerto, or John the One-eyed,[2] harassed both prince and people. Ferdi-

[1] This Ferdinand bears the strange surname of *El Emplazado*, or the Summoned, in consequence of his having been summoned to appear before the judgment seat of heaven by the brothers *Carbazal*, unjustly condemned to death. This call is said to have been followed by his sudden death within thirty days. A somewhat similar tale is told of King Philip the Fair of France and his henchman Pope Clement V., who were *summoned* by Jacques de Molay, grand master of the plundered Knights' Templars, as he was chained to the stake, and who both followed their victim within the year to another world. (It should be mentioned that the story of the summoning of Don Ferdinand is not told by any contemporary writer. It is first mentioned fifty years after the king's death by Ben al Hatib who was probably influenced as others were at the time by the famous citation mentioned in the latter lines of this note.—H.)

[2] The number of *Tuertos* or one-eyed heroes in Spanish history is remarkable, including Hannibal, Viriatus, Taric, Abdur Rahman I., and many others. A modern English writer speaks of this John as "Juan the Crooked," a signification which may possibly be suggested by the etymology of *Tuerto*, but which is practically misleading. *Tuerto* is used, not only by Cervantes and the older writers, but by the Spaniards of to-day to signify *one-eyed*, a nickname, unhappily, not uncommon in the south of the Peninsula.

nand, one of the Infantes de la Cerda, opposed both rebel and regent. The *Hermandad* alone preserved a semblance of order. Alfonso at length attained his majority at fourteeen years of age, and he determined to reign and rule alone. Don John the One-eyed was assassinated in the king's palace, and Don John Manuel was only preserved from a similar fate by retirement to the hospitable court of Muley Ismail, the Moslem King of Granada. Yet not even then was there peace in Castile.

Nor is there much in what may be called the political side of the long reign of the eleventh Alfonso that is of special interest to posterity, within or without the Peninsula. It is at least creditable to Alfonso as a ruler that, succeeding as he did to the throne, in times exceedingly turbulent even for Castile, he skilfully availed himself of the assistance of the various factions to subdue one by one the leading disturbers of the peace of the kingdom. Surnamed as he was *el Justiciero*, or the doer of justice, the king was not, perhaps, very much juster than his neighbours, but he undoubtedly bore not the sword in vain, and rebels and enemies were at least satisfactorily executed, whatever may have been the imperfections of their trial.

In spite of many shortcomings, in spite of much tyranny on the part of the king, and much turbulence on the part of the nobles, the development of free institutions was in theory very great in the reign of Alfonso, and even in practice it was not inconsiderable. The Cortes was summoned not only with regularity, but with increasing pomp and ceremony. The great code of Alfonso X. was promulgated by the *Ordenamiento de Alcala ;* and the mere adoption by the king of the surname of the *Justiciero,*[1] instead of that of the *Batallador*, or the *Bravo,* is in itself a sign of the times. As a general Alfonso was no less vigorous than as a judge ; and at the great battle of Salado, near Tarifa, in October, 1340, two hundred thousand Moslems of Granada are said to have been put to the sword with a loss of but twenty Christian soldiers ! By what accident this unhappy score of Castilian worthies met their death, we are not told ; but that the Moslems were defeated is at least certain.

Four years later the neighbouring town of Algeciras was taken by Alfonso, after a vigorous siege of twenty months, in which knights and lords from almost every part of Europe were found among the Christian armies.[2] The order for an attack

[1] Alfonso's most celebrated collection of special laws was known as the *Becerro de las Behetrias*, or *parchment* register of tenures. See *post*, chap. xxxiii.

[2] Chaucer's perfect knight had been at the siege of *Algesir*. See *Canterbury Tales*, Prologue, ver. 57.

upon Gibraltar had actually been given, when, on Good Friday of the year 1350, the king fell a victim to the black death that had broken out in the besieged city, and all further operations were abruptly discontinued. These military glories cast a certain lustre upon the concluding years of Alfonso's life, and are among the few glorious episodes in the history of Castile from the conquest of Tarifa, at the end of the thirteenth century, to the taking of Antequera by the good Regent Ferdinand at the beginning of the fifteenth.

IV.—*Literature.*

But it was not so much as a warrior, nor yet as a lawgiver, but rather as a patron of letters that Alfonso has a claim to honourable distinction among the kings of the fourteenth century. That Sancho the Bravo and Ferdinand IV. should have taken no care to perpetuate the memory of their own very unworthy lives is not surprising; but Alfonso XI. was fully justified in the orders that he gave that the *Cronica* of his illustrious namesake should be continued down to his own time.[1] In any case, the post of royal chronicler was founded in his reign; and successive holders of the office have left to posterity those abundant records, which give such a peculiar interest to the study of Spanish history.

Letters indeed had decayed, and science had died in Christian Spain with Alfonso X.; but his royal and most turbulent nephew, Don John Manuel, maintained the honour of the family with the pen, while he vexed Castile with his ever restless lance. Born in 1282, the son of Don Peter Manuel, a brother of Alfonso X., Don John Manuel had already done service against the Moors in 1294, before he was full twelve years of age. In 1320, as we have seen, he became Regent of Castile, gained the great victory of Guadalahorra in 1327, and then, disgusted with the treachery of the palace and the faithlessness of the king, he retired to his estates, until, in 1335, he once more offered his sword to Castile; and after doing good service to his country, with certain intervals of what might now be called rebellion,

[1] The name of the chronicler of Alfonso X. is unknown, though one Fernan Sanchez de Tovar is supposed by some to be the author. See *Mem. Real Acad. de Hist.*, vi., 451; *Memorias de Alfonso el Sabio*, por el Marques de Mondejar, pp. 559-635. (The chronicle of Alfonso XI. is attributed to Juan Nuñez de Villasan, justicia mayor to Henry II., son of Alfonso. My own copy (Toledo, 1595) bears his name as author on the title-page.—H.)

but what in the fourteenth century was merely the usual form of political opposition, he died in harness in 1347. In the intervals of constant war and tumult, of deeds of blood and violence, he found time to compose a number of works,[1] of which one at least will ever form a part of the national literature of Spain.

El Conde Lucanor is a collection of forty-nine tales, of somewhat Oriental character. The count who gives his name to the collection—*Count* was a title of supreme dignity in Spain in the fourteenth century—was wont to propound to his councillor, Patronius, questions of the most varied character; and the answers of the wise Patronius, who has a certain resemblance both to Sherazadeh and to Mr. Barlow, took the form of fables, apologues and anecdotes, more or less appropriate to the occasion. Tales of the Castilian hero Fernan Gonzalez, of Roderic *el Franco*, and of Richard Cœur de Lion of England, the fables of the Crow and the Fox, the Old Man and his Ass, and others, both Greek and Oriental, are to be found in this collection. But the most curious is, perhaps, the *Casamiento Morisco* (No. xlv. of the collection), which is the earliest version in European literature of the old Oriental tale[2] that was given to England by Shakespeare in the "Taming of the Shrew". The language of Don John Manuel is certainly not more highly developed than that of the *Partidas*. At times it is even more antiquated.[3] But the tone of his writings is far in advance of his age. Essentially liberal in his notions of men and of things, gay, sarcastic and lively, his tales are pleasantly told, in a style ever clear and graceful, and his passing comments are those of a keen and fearless man of the world, whose pen was assuredly never blunted by his lance. His cousin, Alfonso XI., was not actually a literary rival; but a *Libro de Monteria*,[4] or Treatise on the Chase, that has come down to our days, was written under the direction and by the order of the king.

But the most remarkable Castilian writer of the fourteenth

[1] The best of them will be found in Señor Gayangos' translation of Ticknor's *Spanish Literature*, vol. i., pp. 68-75. His chronicle, *Chronicon Dni Joannis Emmanuelis*, 1274 to 1329, is printed in *España Sagrada*, tom. ii., pp. 215-222.

[2] See Sir John Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia* (1827), ii., 54.

[3] See Ticknor, trans. Gayangos, i., pp. 79, 80. *Fallar*, for instance, always stands for *hallar*, and *fijo* for *hijo*, *fazer* for *hacer*, and *fablar* for *hablar*. *Amos* stands for *ambos*, *cras* is used instead of *mañana*, and such words as *ca*, *ge* and *ende* are of frequent occurrence.

[4] It was published by Argote de Molina, Seville, 1582, folio, with notes by the editor, and wood engravings relating to bull-fighting and other sports.

century is Juan Ruiz, arch-priest of Hita, a little town not far from Guadalaxara, who flourished in the reign of Alfonso XI. His poems consist of an immense variety of tales, fables and apologues, chiefly amatory and satirical, in some 7000 verses of which about 1700 remain with prose introductions and additions. The verses, as a rule, are the rhymed couplets of Berceo; but no less than seventeen different metres are used in the course of the work, which is as free and original in matter as in manner. The whole is interspersed with indecent episodes and very immoral reflections, in which the Lady *Trotaconventos* figures with the Lady *Cuaresma* and the Lady *Venus*. Don *Amor*, Don *Carnal*, and Don *Tocino* are found, not unnaturally, in the company of the Ladies *Cocina* and *Merienda*, nor are more sacred personages absent from the party. The variety of the style is no less remarkable than the diversity of the subjects; at one time, grave, tender and dignified; at another, sarcastic, jocular, didactic, devout and indecent, but ever fresh, lively and natural. Ruiz has been called the Spanish Chaucer, and his poems have much in common with the *Canterbury Tales*, which were written about the same time.[1] The *Libro del Rabbi Sem Job*, a poem addressed to Peter the Cruel on his accession by a learned and liberal Jew, is worthy of notice among the writings of the period; as is a dance of death, *la Danza General de la Muerte*, probably adapted from the French of the same period; and perhaps the *Poema de Jose*, the story of Joseph or Yusuf, derived, strange to say, from Moslem and not from Christian sources, and written more probably in Aragon than in Castile.

But if Alfonso was a patron of letters, a lover of law, and a professed scourge of evil-doers, he was not in his own domestic life either as virtuous or as prudent as became a reformer and a judge. The court of Castile was ruled by rival ladies. Within and without the palace the kingdom was divided. The king's mistress, the beautiful Leonora de Guzman, had her court and her courtiers, and not only vied with the legitimate queen in her influence over her royal lover, but for nigh on twenty years she claimed a large share in the administration of his kingdom. The wife, as so frequently happens in such cases, was not only less powerful but less wise, less fit for command, less favoured

[1] An enthusiastic admirer of the arch-priest, and no mean critic, has even compared him with Cervantes. Ferdinand Wolf, *Jahrbuch der Literatur* (Vienna, 1832), vol. lviii., pp. 220-225, art. b. For a fair comparison between Chaucer and Ruiz, see Ticknor, vol. i., chap. v.

by fortune than her rival the mistress. The only legitimate child that Queen Maria of Portugal bore to her husband combined in his own person the worst qualities of his father, Alfonso XI., his grandfather, Ferdinand IV., and his great-grandfather, Sancho the Bravo; and at a time when cruelty was the fashion among kings, earned a widespread and long-enduring notoriety as *Peter the Cruel.*

CHAPTER XXIX.

PETER THE CRUEL.

(1350—1369.)

I.—*A Royal Assassin.*

Of the nine children whom Leonora de Guzman had borne to Alfonso XI., Henry, the eldest, was endowed with the magnificent domain and title of Trastamara.[1] His twin brother, Fadrique, was elected, at ten years of age, to the more than princely position of Grand Master of Santiago. His cousin, Perez Ponce, already enjoyed the scarcely inferior honour of the Grand Mastership of Alcantara. It was but natural, upon the sudden death of Alfonso XI., that his illegitimate family should seek to maintain their exceptional position, in spite of the queen's son, Peter, who had lived up to this time neglected and almost forgotten at Seville.

But the Guzmans were too prosperous to be popular; and the young king found a powerful protector in his father's palace. Don Juan de Albuquerque, a scion of the royal house of Portugal, who had accepted the friendship of the mistress during the life-time of King Alfonso XI., and had thus risen to the highest position in the State, at once turned upon the Guzmans, imprisoned Doña Leonora—provided with a safe conduct under his own hand—in the Alcazar at Seville, drove her many sons into exile, and constituted himself the guide, if not the master, of the legitimate sovereign, who had but just attained the year of his legal majority.[2]

One of the first political incidents of his reign was the assassination of his step-mother (1351), in which it is possible

[1] The name is spelt by contemporary writers indifferently as Trestamera, Trastameira, Trastamena. The modern conventional Spanish is Trastamara.

[2] He was born at Burgos, 30th August, 1333.

that he took no personal part.[1] But if the murder was, as is suggested, entirely the work of Albuquerque, the minister had an apt pupil, who at least approved of the act that was done under his royal authority. And it was not long before he was able to walk alone. Within the year (1351) Garcilaso de la Vega, *Adelantado* of Castile, the highest dignitary of the kingdom,[2] had his brains beaten out in the presence chamber by order of his royal master, and his body was thrown out of the window into the great square of Burgos, among the combatants and spectators of the bull-fight that was being celebrated in honour of the royal visit.

But none of the king's early crimes was more characteristic of his dark and dastardly nature than his treatment of the young and innocent princess, Blanche de Bourbon,[3] whose hand was, at his earnest solicitation, bestowed upon him by the King of France. Engaged, after his betrothal to that gentle lady, in an intrigue with the notorious Maria de Padilla, he refused even to receive the French princess—a bride, a stranger and a royal guest—on her arrival in his dominions.

Degraded at length to the wretched position of Queen of Castile (3rd June, 1353) treated for two days as a wife, and for ten years as a prisoner, poisoned at last by her royal gaoler, while yet in the bloom of her innocent beauty, the fate of this gentle and unfortunate[4] lady excited but the feeble sympathy

[1] Mérimée is very positive upon this point, and as to Peter's early subordination to Albuquerque. Mariana says that the odium of the murder fell upon the queen, and the place where Leonora was murdered thus acquired the addition of Talavera *de la Reina*, by which it is known to this day. Mariana, lib. xvi., cap. xvi.; Ayala, *Cron.*, 36. (Peter the Cruel has much cause to complain of the verdict that has been handed down to posterity upon him. Lopez de Ayala, who wrote in the days when Peter's name was anathema, was conspicuously unjust to him, and he has been followed by all subsequent historians. The king, who was not sixteen when he succeeded, did not assume the reins of government until 1354 when he was nineteen, and most of the principal acts which have gained for him his murderous reputation were committed before then, when Albuquerque was practically regent. Peter had to deal with a powerful revolt, which drove him into exile, and in his suppression of it he was no whit more severe than his predecessors had been under similar circumstances. I am indebted to my friend the Duke of Wellington for an interesting manuscript vindication of Peter, copied in the sixteenth century from the testimony of contemporaries of the king.—H.)

[2] The powers of the office are fully set forth in the laws of the Partidas. The Adelantado of Castile ranked next in dignity to the king, and was commander-in-chief of the troops in time of war, and chief justice in time of peace.

[3] She was the daughter of Pierre, Duke of Bourbon, who fell at Poictiers, and younger sister of Jeanne de Bourbon, wife of Charles V. of France.

[4] Prosper Mérimée. *Histoire de Don Pèdre I., Roi de Castile* (Paris, 1848), pp. 348, 351. *Pèdre* is rather an ingenious compromise between Pedro and Pierre. The King of Aragon is always spoken of by the author as Pierre.

of the gallant men of two nations; and her husband's behaviour, which amounted not only to a domestic outrage, but to almost a national affront, did not rouse the spiritless Valois who lost his kingdom at Poictiers to strike one blow for the protection of a princess of France.

The record of the first fifteen years of the reign of Peter of Castile is not only odious, but it is also supremely uninteresting. One of the most brilliant of modern French historians has essayed with moderate success to invest the story with something of his own romance; but the fact remains that if Peter was not absolutely the most cruel of men, he was assuredly one of the greatest blackguards that ever sat upon a throne.

The one agreeable feature of his character is that he was affable with his humbler subjects, that he took an interest in their everyday life, and that he was wont, after the manner of the Caliph Harun Al Rashid, whose legendary exploits were no doubt familiar to him, to spend many of his nights in some humble disguise, seeking adventures and information in the streets of Seville.[1] This was at least human. But such displays of his humanity were rare. His sham reconciliation with his brother, in order to rid himself of his own too powerful friend Albuquerque, who had unhappily raised him to power, is only surpassed in atrocity by his sham marriage with Juana de Castro, whom he dishonoured and abandoned after the gratification of a passing whim, under cover of a most astounding sacrilege.

Peter indeed was married to no less than three wives, all alive at the same time, before he was twenty-one. According to the solemn pronouncement of the Archbishop of Toledo, he was lawfully married in 1352 to the lady who passed during her entire life as his mistress, Juana de Padilla; he was certainly married to Blanche of Bourbon in 1353; and his seduction, or rather his violation of Juana de Castro was accomplished by a third profanation of the sacrament, when the Bishops of Salamanca and Avila, both accessories to the king's scandalous bigamy, pronounced the blessing of the Church upon his brutal dishonour of a noble lady.

Whether Peter's marriage with Maria de Padilla,[2] which

[1] As to the legendary origin of the name of the Calle del Candilejo at Seville, and the king's interrupted duel—the tale is too long to be told here—see Mérimée, *op. cit.*, pp. 135, 136, and Zuñiga, *Ann. Eccles. de Seville*, tom. ii., p. 136.

[2] Ayala, 350. Zuñiga, *Ann. Eccles. Sev.*, ii., 162.

was never spoken of until after the lady's death,[1] was itself a royal and archiepiscopal figment, suggested as M. Mérimée would have it, by the famous rehabilitation of Iñez de Castro in Portugal about the same time, is obviously uncertain. But if it is true, it only renders the king's treatment of Blanche de Bourbon the more odious and the more flagitious.

Of the league of outraged nobles, including the brother of Juana de Castro and the supporters of Queen Blanche; of the king's imprisonment, and subsequent escape from the city of Toro by the skill and the ducats of his Hebrew treasurer, Don Samuel Levi, who was afterwards strangled by the king's order (1362); of the massacre of Jewish merchants on the taking of Toledo in 1355, and the still more dreadful massacre of Christian nobles on the taking of Toro in 1356, when the queen-mother, with her trembling ladies, stood up to their ankles in the blood of her knights and nobles, as they were butchered in cold blood in the presence of the king; of the constant schemes for the murder of his relations, the tale is but a wearisome and odious iteration of treachery and bloodshed.[2] Nor have we by any means filled up the cup of horrors. For the next event in the life of Peter that compels our unwilling attention is the assassination in his own presence, if not with his own hand, of his brother Fadrique, Grand Master of Santiago, a guest under his own royal safe conduct in his palace at Seville. Don Fadrique was knocked down by the king's attendants, but the *coup de grace* was given with the royal dagger,[3] and the royal assassin insisted on dining in the room in which the bloody corpse of his brother yet lay: while he poignarded with his own hand one of his brother's followers who had fled for protection into the presence of his own daughter.

After the murder of Don Fadrique, couriers were dispatched in every direction bearing orders for the killing of all his friends and partisans throughout Spain; and in due time[4] these

[1] Maria de Padilla being found *enceinte* in 1354, and no longer pleasing to her royal lover, was appointed superior of a convent, specially founded in her honour by Innocent VI. under the protection of St. Clare. Rainaldi, *Ann. Eccl. ann.*, 1354. On the birth of the child Constance, who was afterwards married to John of Gaunt, the vows were forgotten. Thus arose the English Lancastrian claims to the throne of Spain.

[2] Ayala, 200-212.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 237-243. M. Prosper Mérimée can find nothing better to say in extenuation of this dinner *devant son ennemi mort*, but that *ses repas ne resemblaient pas à ceux de Vitellius!*

[4] Mérimée, 259 *et seq.*

terrible messengers returned, each one bringing, suspended from his saddle-bow, the heads of the men who had been obnoxious to the king.[1] This savage treachery is characteristically accentuated by the fact that some few weeks before (29th May, 1358) the king had administered to his kinsman, Don John of Aragon, an oath upon the Gospels and in the presence of the crucifix, that he would assassinate his brother, receiving as his reward the lordship of the province of Biscay. To such uses were devoted the emblems of religion. The king's sanguinary promptitude, however, rendered superfluous the services of this princely agent; and six weeks after the murder of Don Fadrique, the royal principal anticipated any awkward claims upon Biscay by the murder of Don John.

Queen Leonora, Isabella de Lara, the widow of the murdered Don John of Aragon, and the wife of Don Tello, the king's brother, honourable hostages in his hands, were the next victims; and their taking off, in 1358, was followed by the murder of the king's youngest brother, a boy of but fourteen years of age,[2] in 1359.

The betrayal of the Portuguese knights, who had sought and found an asylum in Castile, to his savage namesake, at Lisbon, and the hideous tortures inflicted by him at Seville, in 1361, on the Castilian nobles delivered over to him as the price of this base surrender; the murder of Gutier Fernandez, his ambassador to Rome,[3] of Gomez Carrillo, the governor of Algeciras, and of his faithful Hebrew treasurer, the saviour of his own life at Toro;[4] the murder by his own hand, almost at his own table, of his friend and ally, Abu Said, the King of Granada; all these things, and many of similar character may be found set forth in great detail in the chronicles of Castile.[5] But they form but sad and profitless reading. Nor is the

[1] Ayala, 247. (It must be repeated that Ayala is not a fair witness against Peter without confirmation.—H.)

[2] *Ibid.*, 292. By the year 1360 Peter had taken to boiling his enemies in huge earthen pots, as well as burning them alive. See Ayala, pp. 303-4, and note (4) in ed. of Llaguno, Amirola (1780). As to the pots themselves, M. Mérimée says, Leur forme est tout antique. On sait que le tonneau de Diogène etait un vase de terre. Mérimée, 299.

[3] *Ibid.*, 313-315.

[4] He died in 1368, upon the rack, after having been despoiled of all his riches by the king. *Ibid.*, 322.

[5] Not content with the treacherous slaughter of his royal guest, the King of Castile set him on an ass and made his body the mark for his javelins (cañas) and those of his companions. *Ibid.*, 339; Conde, *Dominacion de los Arabes*, part. iv., chap. xxv.

history of the constant warfare with Aragon—warfare without fruit and without honour[1]—more interesting or more profitable as a study. And it is only in so far as these wars encouraged the pretensions of Henry of Trastamara to the throne of his brother that they had any lasting influence upon the fortunes of Spain.

It was to the north of the Pyrenees that the alliances were formed which changed the succession in Castile. The French and English soldiers on the Continent, set free by the peace of Bretigny in 1360, had formed themselves into bands of military marauders, which, under the name of the Free Companies,[2] ravaged and desolated France: and to the celebrated Bertrand du Guesclin, the new king, Charles V., entrusted the delicate enterprise of enlisting these unruly soldiers in a regular army, and marching them into Spain, nominally in quest of plunder and military glory, but really as the only means of ridding himself of their presence. Du Guesclin accepted the charge; and the best lance and the most popular soldier of fortune in Europe had no difficulty in enrolling, under his free banner every military adventurer in the kingdom. The Count de la Marche, a prince of the blood royal, and the Sire de Beaujeu, both relations of the unfortunate Blanche de Bourbon, took service in du Guesclin's army; and, eager to avenge the murder of their queen, they proposed to chastise or dethrone her odious husband in Castile. The million of gold pieces that the avarice of her royal executioner was supposed to have accumulated at Toledo was a sufficient *casus belli* for the general body of adventurers. Nor did the alliance between Peter and Edward of England,[3] unhappily entered into at Bordeaux in the early

[1] Cette guerre de siège et de pillage qui semblait n'avoir d'autre but que la ruine complète du pays. Mérimée, 415. That Peter devoted his entire attention to the *plunder* of the towns, and that he was conspicuously cowardly in the field, is more than once admitted by his French apologist, *op. cit.*, 411-419.

[2] Or *Compagnies blanches:* for what reason is now uncertain. In Spain they are known as the *Grandes Compañias.* Lafuente, vii., 264-5. The French name may refer to the plate armour of white steel which was worn by the men-at-arms of the companies, in contradistinction to the chain armour or coats of mail, which were going out of fashion. The adventurers were the best-armed men in Europe. Ayala, 399. Mr. Conan Doyle's spirited romance entitled *The White Company* has been published since this note was first written.

Du Guesclin had been taken prisoner by John of Chandos at the battle of Auray, and released on payment of 100,000 marcs, paid jointly by the King of France, the Pope, and Henry of Trastamara. Longman, *Edward III.*, vol. ii., p. 109.

[3] This treaty was first signed in London, in St. Paul's Cathedral, on the 22nd of June, 1362, by William Lord Latimer, and John Stretleye, plenipotentiaries of

part of 1363, prohibit, according to the custom of the times, Sir Hugh Calverley from taking the command of the English companions, whose avowed destination was the island of Cyprus,[1] and whose nominal enemies were the Saracens.

In the early autumn of the year 1365 the army set out by way of Avignon, where temporal and spiritual favours were somewhat rudely demanded of the Pope[2] by the adventurers, who continued their march over the eastern Pyrenees, and arrived in due time at Barcelona.

Meanwhile Peter IV. of Aragon had welcomed to his court Henry of Trastamara, the eldest son of Alfonso XI. and Leonora de Guzman, and the eldest step-brother of Peter of Castile. A large number of knights and nobles espoused the cause of the elder brother, bastard though he was, against that of the more legitimate monster who disgraced the throne of Castile. With these men du Guesclin and his adventurers had gladly consented to act, and by them he was anxiously awaited to the south of the Pyrenees.

On his arrival in Aragon, du Guesclin was received by Peter of Aragon and Henry of Trastamara with almost royal honours. His free companions were treated not only with consideration but with liberality. Gold pieces were the form of welcome most heartily appreciated by every soldier in the invading army. Persuaded that the safety of his kingdom depended upon the destruction of his rival in Castile, Peter IV. of Aragon shrank from no sacrifice to take advantage of this great opportunity. His treasury was exhausted, but he pledged his private property to provide for the entertainment of the 12,000 mercenaries at his gates.[3] But du Guesclin was not in truth so much the ally of Peter of Aragon as of Henry of Trastamara, pretender to the crown of Castile. And after a preliminary victory of Sir Hugh Calverley at Borja, in March, 1366, had opened the road to fortune, "the Count,"[4] as Trastamara was

the King of England, on the one part, and Diego Sanchez Terraza, Cavallero, and Alvaro Sanchez de Cuellar, bachelor of laws, ambassadors of the King of Castile, on the other; and was confirmed at the Palace of Westminster on the 3rd of September following. Rymer, iii., part ii., p. 73; Ayala, p. 364.

[1] See Rymer, sub. 6th December, 1365; and *Cron. de du Guesclin*, v., 7549.

[2] The behaviour of the new crusaders to Pope Urban V. at Avignon is told at length in the *Chronique de du Guesclin*, and is worth reading.

[3] *Arch. Gen. de Aragon*, Reg. 1213, p. 42; Carbonell, p. 196.

[4] Don Enrique, Conde de Trastamara, is generally thus designated. He subscribes himself as "El Conde". He was then, in fact, the only count in Castile; the *Ricos Hombres* did not yet bear titles. They, however, greatly coveted them;

familiarly called, was escorted in triumph to Calahorra, where he was solemnly proclaimed King of Castile.

Peter the Cruel had assembled a considerable force at Burgos; but his craven heart did not suffer him to await the approach of the invader. He found time, indeed, to put to death Juan de Tovar, whose brother had been vanquished at Calahorra, and then he stole out of Burgos without notice or instructions to his supporters; and accompanied only by a few Moslem horsemen, he turned and fled to Toledo, leaving the faithful citizens at the mercy of the invader. Within a few days Henry was in the palace, and having sworn to maintain the liberties of Burgos and of Castile, he was crowned with great pomp in the church at Las Huelgas.

The accession of Henry II. was accompanied by no murders nor executions, but only by honours and rewards. Du Guesclin was gratified with the rich lordships of Molina and Trastamara; to Sir Hugh Calverley was given the title and rich appanage of Count of Carrion. Every relation, every friend, every man who had assisted Henry of Trastamara was gratefully and substantially rewarded. For himself the victor reserved not a maravedi, not an acre of land, not a castle. He was content, he said, to be King of Castile.

II.—*Edward the Black Prince.*

Peter, flying from Toledo, and thence, on rumours of pursuit, to Santiago in Gallicia, gratified himself by the murder of the archbishop, Suero de Toledo, in the Cathedral[1] of Compostella, and the plunder of his private and ecclesiastical property; and making his way from the sacred city to the port of Corunna, he set sail for Bayonne, to seek the assistance of his English ally, Edward the Black Prince, who held his court at Bordeaux. Unhappily both for England and for Spain, the royal refugee

and the first act of Don Enrique after his coronation at Burgos, was to create a large number of dukes, marquises and counts. His father, Alfonso XI., had refused the ducal title to Don Juan Manuel, the grandson of Ferdinand III., and the most powerful noble in the kingdom.

The old Gothic ceremonial customary on such occasions was then revived. Three sops were put into a cup of wine and set before the king and his favourite, and the king said: "*Comed Conde*, eat, count"; and the count said: "*Comed Rey*, eat, king". This having been said three times by both, they ate of those sops; whereupon the bystanders exclaimed: "Evad el Conde! Evad el Conde!" . . . *Cronica del Rey Don Alfonso XI.*, p. 117.

[1] Ayala, *Abr.*, 418.

was hospitably received;[1] his wickedness was ignored or forgotten; and his misfortunes excited the ready sympathy of his generous but imprudent host. A parliament was held at Bordeaux. The Grand Master of Alcantara was sent to London to implore the favour and support of Edward III. The king's answer was favourable. The parliament was not unwilling. The Black Prince was eager to appear as a supporter of a distressed and legitimate monarch; and it was decided to send an expedition into Spain to restore Peter to his sovereign rights.

The gallant Sir John Chandos, one of the original knights of the most noble Order of the Garter, did his best to dissuade the prince from engaging in so disgraceful an alliance, but his remonstrances proving of no effect, he accepted an important command in the army.

By the Treaty of Libourne (23rd September, 1366) between Edward, Peter and Charles the Bad of Navarre, the Black Prince advanced to the King of Castile 600,000 golden florins, repayable in one year, and undertook to restore him to his throne by force of arms, receiving as his reward the lordship of Biscay, or of certain seaports on the coast, of great value to Edward as Lord of Guyenne and Gascony; while Charles of Navarre, who had already received 60,000 florins from Henry of Trastamara as the price of his oath to close the pass of Roncesvalles[2] against the Prince of Wales, accepted 56,000 florins from his new allies as ths price of his oath to give them free passage.[3] Charles of Navarre observed all his oaths by stationing troops at the entrance to Roncesvalles, and giving private orders to their commander to run away at the approach of the enemy; and by procuring that he himself should be taken prisoner by a friendly knight, and kept in confinement until the issue of the invasion was decided![4]

The Black Prince, the most loyal and perfect knight in Europe, unable to raise the promised subsidy with sufficient

[1] Don Pedro had been affianced when very young to a daughter of Edward III. The young princess, however, died at Bayonne on her way from England to Castile. The treaty for a matrimonial alliance between Alfonso XI.'s son and Edward III.'s daughter may be seen in Rymer's *Fœdera*, iii., part 2.

[2] The only route across the western Pyrenees from Guyenne to Castile. Yanguas, t. ii., p. 203; Ayala, *Abr.*, p. 435.

[3] For all that concerns Navarre, and Charles the Bad of that kingdom, at this time, the best modern authority is Secousse, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Charles II. (le Mauvais) de Navarre* (Paris, 1758), one vol.; and the *Receuil des Pièces*, supplementary to the same, though published previously, Paris, 1755.

[4] Ayala, 436-464; Froissart, i., part ii., cap. ccxxiv.

despatch, melted down his plate to provide funds for the expedition. Peter of Castile was no less prodigal of promises; but of more current coin not a maravedi was forthcoming.[1] Meanwhile, Henry, who had been received with enthusiasm both at Toledo and at Seville, made such preparations as were possible to him, with the resources at his command, to defend his kingdom against the invaders.

Summoned by the Black Prince to return to their allegiance, Sir Hugh Calverley of Carrion and his English adventurers[2] were constrained to abandon the cause of Henry of Trastamara and to range themselves in the ranks of their countrymen; while the French companions were content to remain in the service of the bastard, not only to fight against an English prince, but against the assassin of a French princess. Nor is it entirely impertinent to recall the fact that 450 years later, a descendant of the Calverleys drew sword against the French in Castile, in defence of the liberties of the Spanish people, when Sir Stapleton Cotton won for himself a new title[3] of honour on the glorious field of Salamanca.

The English army at length marched through Roncesvalles[4] without opposition from either Castile or Navarre. Henry awaited the invaders at Salvatierra, on the road from Alava to Burgos, and the first encounter, if it was honourable to English valour, was disastrous to the English arms. For at Ariñez, some five miles from Vittoria—where 450 years later the defeat was nobly avenged—the advanced guard of less than 500 horse and foot, under the command of Sir Thomas Fuller, was surprised and entirely cut to pieces, after a long and heroic struggle, by a body of over 3000 troops under the experienced leadership of the French Marshal d'Audeneham.[5] The Black Prince was too prudent a general to give battle on ground that had been chosen by his enemy. He retreated as far as Viana in Navarre, and then once more advancing, sought to turn the enemy's position

[1] See John Talbot Dillon, *Peter the Cruel* (1788), vol. ii., pp. 21, 22.

[2] Mérimée, 484.

[3] Not of Carrion, but of Combermere. The name of Calverley is still maintained in the family of Cotton. Sir Hugh, Lord of Carrion, is mentioned in *Camden* and in *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. i., p. 274. Sir Stapleton Cotton was not a descendant of this Sir Hugh, as he died without issue, but probably of some member of his family. See Ormerod's *Cheshire*, ii., 263, and 766-9.

[4] During the preparations for this expedition, Richard, eldest son of the Black Prince, and afterwards Richard II. of England, was born at Bordeaux.

[5] Mérimée, 487. The fault would seem to have lain with that ever unskilful general, John of Gaunt.

by a march upon Logroño. At length, on the 3rd of April, 1367, the two armies met in a level plain between Najera and Navarrete, where Henry had imprudently or chivalrously descended to give formal battle. The issue was never doubtful. The army that was led by Henry consisted of not more than 5000 men-at-arms and some 20,000 light troops, for the most part untrained to serious warfare, and armed only with slings and javelins.[1] The Black Prince commanded 10,000 English and foreign knights, as many archers, and a large force of the best infantry in Europe. The Duke of Lancaster, brother of Edward the Black Prince, John Chandos, and Jacme, titular king of Majorca, all had commands in the invading army. The victory of the English was complete. Don Sancho, the king's brother, Bertrand du Guesclin, Bègue de Vilaines, the Marshal d'Audeneham, the Grand Masters of Santiago and Calatrava were among the prisoners of war. "England," says Dunham, "fruitful as she has been in heroes, can boast of few such glorious fields." To my thinking, the victory is one of which every decent Englishman should be heartily ashamed.[2] If the glory of war consists not in the cause in which valour is displayed, but in the mere amount of the slaughter, then the battles of Tamerlane and Genghis, the massacres of Perpignan and Beziers, are nobler than Thermopylæ or Albuera.

Henry of Trastamara, no longer king in Spain, made good his escape into Aragon, where he was sheltered by that Cardinal Pedro de Luna, afterwards so celebrated as Benedict XIII.; and his rival returned to his old courses as Peter the Cruel. Invested with the honour of knighthood at the hands of the Black Prince, Peter had sworn to do no violence to any of his prisoners. He had distinguished himself at Navarrete, not in the heat of the battle, but in pursuit of the fugitives. Mounted on a black charger, when the day was won, he had galloped about the field, crying out for the death of his brother; and returning unsuccessful to the quarters of the victorious Plantagenet[3] he slew with his own hand a Castilian prisoner who had taken refuge under the standard of the Black Prince.

This violation, not only of the laws of battle, but of his knightly oath, called for a severe rebuke from his English patron; but Peter, unabashed, demanded the persons of all

[1] Ayala, 443.

[2] It must not be forgotten, however, that Peter was the legitimate sovereign of Castile, and that Henry was a bastard and a usurper.—H.

[3] Froissart, chap. ccxxvi.; *ibid.*, 238; Ayala, 471.

his captured subjects, that he might deal with them according to his evil pleasure. Having succeeded, moreover, on some pretext in securing three Castilian nobles of specially exalted position, he caused them immediately to be killed in his own tent.[1]

The victory at Navarrete and the presence of the English army opened the way to Burgos; and Peter, as soon as he was safe within its walls, had no other thought but to defraud his English defenders, and to wreak his vengeance upon his Castilian subjects. In both respects he was completely successful. Fraudulent conveyances took the place of the money that was due. False charters took the place of the territory that had been promised. The streets of Burgos were red with the noblest blood of Castile.

Having sworn before the high altar in the Cathedral of Burgos to hand over the city of Soria to John Chandos, and to invest the Black Prince with the lordship of Biscay, the king delivered charters or letters patent in fulfilment of his vow, but, at the same time, he sent word to the Biscayans and to the Sorians forbidding them to suffer their new masters to take possession of their territories, or to admit any of their representatives within their boundaries.

The arrival of Peter at his capital was the signal for an immense number of executions or murders; among others, the burning alive of Doña Urraca de Osorio, a noble lady, guilty of absolutely no crime, real or imaginary, beyond her relationship to another victim.

At length the royal miscreant ran away to Seville, leaving the Black Prince and his army, not only without money, but absolutely without food, on the burning plains of Castile.[2] The greater part of the English troops died of famine and disease. An attempt was made to poison the prince, from the effects of which he never recovered.[3] And the gallant defender of royal rights was fain to leave Spain (September, 1367), with the loss of his soldiers, of his money, and of his health, befooled and cheated in one of the worst causes in which English blood and English treasure have ever been squandered on the continent of Europe.

[1] D. Gomez Carillo, D. Sancho Moscoso, grand master of Santiago; D. Garcia Tenorio, son of the admiral of Castile. M. Mérimée speaks with admiration of the conduct of the Prince of Wales, not only during, but after the battle.

[2] Knighton, c. 2629; Walsingham, t. 305; Ayala, 500.

[3] Edward retired invalided to England in 1368, though he did not actually die till 1374.

The French, moreover, emboldened by the discomfiture of the Black Prince—not by his enemies but by his *ally* in Spain—determined to drive the English out of Aquitaine. And thus Edward's interference in the affairs of Spain directly led to the declaration of war against England by Charles V. in April, 1369, and to all the disasters that followed. Nor did the English intervention secure the wretched object of the expedition. Peter, relieved of the presence of his benefactor, entered upon a new career of bloodshed; and within a year after the retirement of the Black Prince from the deadly camp on the plains of Valladolid, Henry of Trastamara once more took the field in Castile.

Crossing the Pyrenees from his asylum in Languedoc, and passing through Aragon and Navarre at the head of a little body of 400 knights, the count was joyfully received by his old friends at Calahorra and Burgos in August, 1369. Madrid and other cities as far south as Cordova declared for the deliverer. Toledo alone held out for Peter, who, after a fruitless alliance with Mohammed V. of Granada, found himself closely invested by his rival in the castle of Montiel in La Mancha. Seeking, as usual, to extricate himself from his difficulties by some skilful treaty, he entered into negotiations with Bertrand du Guesclin,[1] who once more commanded the French contingent in the service of Henry of Trastamara. A bribe of 200,000 doubloons, or rather, a promise of that sum, was offered to du Guesclin as the price of his dishonour. The Breton knight affected to be convinced. Henry was to be delivered into the hands of his brother. Thus extricated, as he hoped, from a position that had become untenable, Peter, on the night of the 23rd March, 1369, stole from his famine-stricken retreat. Guided by a trusty hand to the tent of du Guesclin, he found no confederate, but Henry of Trastamara himself—not his victim, but his executioner. He died unregretted by man or woman in Castile, and his death brought relief and prosperity to Spain.[2]

[1] The story of his ransom, fixed by *himself* at the enormous sum of 100,000 gold florins, and faithfully paid to Edward the Black Prince, is told by both Froissart and Ayala, and is a delightful contrast to the sordid and faithless barbarism of the contemporary court of Spain. Froissart, chap. ccxlvii.; Ayala, 466-470.

[2] In the hour of his supreme danger the only men found to strike a blow in defence of Peter the Cruel were two Englishmen, Sir Ralph Holmes and Jame Rowland, faithful to their commander, odious though he was, as became true knights and soldiers. But that any Englishman should have been in his service after his treatment of Edward the Black Prince, is certainly strange. See Froissart, i., 242.

Peter the Cruel, according to all authentic history, was a man so completely detestable that it would be strange if he had not attracted the attention of apologists. At the despotic court of Ferdinand and Isabella, it was a species of *lèse majesté* to speak of any King of Castile as unworthy. There was something in Peter's destruction of his powerful nobles not entirely displeasing to the autocratic Ferdinand; and it was ordained that he was no longer to be known as the Cruel, but as *El Justiciero*, the doer of justice—the title more worthily borne by his father.

In the time of Philip II. a courtly author and royal herald, *Pedro de Gratia Dei*—rather a strange surname, once adopted by a celebrated Jew on his conversion—published another vindication of the character of Peter the Cruel, under the title of a *Life of the Worthy King*.[1]

Prosper Mérimée's Life of the King is a brilliant work,[2]

Peter was not struck down by his brother's dagger without a struggle, and the brothers fighting hand to hand in the midst of a ring of French men-at-arms, who called for fair play (Franc jeu), rolled over in a deadly embrace. Don Henry, according to the most celebrated of the many legends, fell undermost, when Rocaberti, an Aragonese knight, caught hold of Don Peter and allowed his assailant to get the upper hand, saying:—

Ni quito Rey, ni pongo Rey,
Pero ayudo á mi Señor.

According to Argote de Molina and the *Romances del Rey Don Pedro*, the name of the knight was Fernando Perez de Andrada, and it is du Guesclin himself who is sometimes said to have intervened at the critical moment. Froissart, ch. ccliv. Carbonell, p. 197. Mérimée, chap. xxiii. According to another account, Peter escaped from Montiel, but was captured outside the walls by a French knight, Bègue de Vilaine, by whom he was delivered into the hands of his brother. The man must have been more or less than human who could have suffered Peter to escape from his clutches.

(The struggle in which Peter was engaged during the whole of his reign was that initiated by his father; namely the power of the crown against that of the nobles. That he was savage and cruel in a savage age and a cruel contest is certain; but his failure finally to conquer the nobles and their puppet Henry threw Spain back, and prevented for at least a century the humbling of the feudal lords. James the Conqueror of Aragon was of course a far greater man than Peter, and he partially effected what the latter tried to do. But it was a contest in which neither of them was over scrupulous; only, in one case the history of it was written by the principal figure himself, and in the other by an enemy.—H.)

[1] It was printed (in 1790) in the *Semanario Erudito* of *Valladares*, tit. 27, 28. Philip II. says Zuñiga (*Anales de Sevilla, año* 1369) dió precepto de clamarle *Justiciero;* mas nunca se le borrava el titulo de *Cruel*.

More modern apologists are the Count de la Roca, *El Rey don Pedro defendido* (1648) and the licentiate Lerdo del Pozo, *Apologia*, etc. (1780).

A catalogue of the writers who have attempted *desacreditar la Cronica del Rey Don Pedro escrita por D. P. Lopez de Ayala* will be found in vol. xx. of the *Documentos ineditos*, p. 28 *et seq.*

[2] There is a very good note in which all the biographers of Peter are passed in review in Lafuente tom. ix., pp. 308-315. There is also a *Defensa de la veracidad*

impartial in profession, apologetic in tone, but full of damning facts. The chronicles of Froissart and of Ayala are the chief contemporary authorities.

No one has succeeded in making him an attractive character; and his long reign of nearly twenty years, which began in his boyhood, at the age of sixteen, and came to a close ere he had passed the prime of early manhood, does not include one single good deed in either his private or his public life, to relieve the general gloom of his wickedness.

de Don Pedro Lopez de Ayala en la cronica del Rey don Pedro, by Rafael de Floranes, in vol. xix. of the *Documentos Ineditos*, pp. 513-575.

Old Froissart, the Italian Matteo Villani, and Pedro Gomez de Albornoz give no uncertain confirmation of the records of Ayala, whose temperate language when chronicling the greatest villainies of his master is worthy of all respect.

CHAPTER XXX.

ARAGON IN SPAIN.

(1327—1416).

James II. of Aragon died in 1327, and was succeeded by his second son Alfonso, who reigned from 1327 to 1336 as Alfonso IV. His eldest son, in order the more freely to indulge his licentious appetities, had renounced his rights of succession, and embraced what is called a religious life. That a cloister should be preferred to a palace by a debauched youth as affording greater opportunities of self-indulgence, is sufficiently characteristic of the manners and morals of the times. It is at least creditable to the prince himself, and to the Order in which he sought his retirement, that he was content to abide by his renunciation, and that he gave no trouble to his younger brother during the whole course of his reign. He may possibly have killed himself with riotous living. At all events we hear no more of him in the history of his country. Alfonso IV. was crowned with great pomp at Saragossa, but his reign is neither glorious nor interesting. Constant warfare with the Genoese maintaining their ancient rights over the unhappy island of Sardinia, domestic quarrels between the king's eldest son and his children by a second marriage,[1] these were the principal features of his short reign. Alfonso died at Barcelona in 1336, and his son Peter inherited not only his kingdom, but his quarrels.

Peter, the fourth of that name in Aragon, is conventionally known to the Spanish historians as *El Ceremonioso*,[2] or the

[1] The first wife of Alfonso IV. was Teresa of Enteza, a niece of the Count de Urgel; his second was Eleanor of Castile.

[2] A study of the *Ordenanzas de la casa Real* of Peter IV. demonstrates the luxury and refinement of his court, not perhaps unnatural, seeing that Aragon had been in constant communication for so many generations with Italy, with Provence and with the further and greater East.

Formalist, from his excessive attention to matters of courtly etiquette and ceremonial, and his formalism[1] in affairs of legal and political procedure. But this excessive formalism did not prevent him from plundering[2] his neighbours, nor even from poisoning his friends. Nor was he prevented by his proverbial ceremoniousness, from placing, at his coronation in the cathedral at Saragossa,[3] his own crown on his own royal head, lest he should be supposed to accept or ratify in any way the unhappy surrender of Peter II. He was not content, like the prudent Peter III., with a protest or declaration of his royal independence of Rome; and the archbishop who presided at the august ceremony, was compelled like Pope Pius VII. in the presence of the first Napoleon, to remain an unwilling spectator of the act which his sacred hands were ready and willing to perform.

The long reign of Peter IV., thus rudely initiated, was distracted, rather after the fashion of Castile—by civil wars and troubles at home, or at least within the limits of the Peninsula, than after the fashion of Aragon—by interference in the wars and politics of foreign countries. The king's persecution of his stepmother, as soon as he was invested with the power of persecution, provoked the first war with Castile, and the dishonourable peace which brought that war to a close,[4] was followed by the unceasing disaffection of a great part of the nobility of Aragon.

In 1343, after some seven years of troubled rule in Aragon, the king took upon himself, in defiance of all existing treaties, both general and special, to drive his faithful vassal and kinsman, James of Majorca, out of the Balearic Islands, and to unite that little kingdom for ever to the crown of Aragon.[5] Yet was this impudent robbery justified or excused by the ceremonious Peter under a false pretence of legality. The most celebrated

[1] Lafuente, vii., 144-147.

[2] "No queria dar un paso fuera de la ley, y interpretandola a su antojo, cohenestaba en ella las mayores inquidades." Castelar, *Estudios Historicos*, p. 46.

[3] The opposition against Peter IV. on the part of the nobles, especially in Catalonia and Valencia, arose before his coronation, out of the claim of the Catalans that he should take the oath to observe the constitution of *Catalonia* before he was crowned King of *Aragon*. This was an innovation that the "Ceremonious" refused to accept; and the Catalans stayed away from the coronation at Saragossa. Pedro was subsequently crowned as Prince of Catalonia and King of Valencia, and duly took the respective oaths as such, but this failed to appease the nobles and Cortes.—H.

[4] The quarrel was submitted to arbitration, and Peter was adjudged to allow his half-brothers to enjoy their inheritance unmolested.—H.

[5] Jayme, or James, of Majorca was the husband of the king's sister.

hypocrites of fiction could never have conveyed their neighbours' property into their own possession with more punctilious formality, or expelled the rightful owner with a more meticulous regard for forms and procedure, than was displayed on this memorable occasion by Peter of Aragon.

An attempt to settle the crown on his daughter Constance rather than on his brother James, led to a popular outbreak, the last exercise in the kingdom of Aragon of the extraordinary *Privilege of Union*. The constitutional rebels assembled at Saragossa, and actually caused a seal to be engraved for their use, representing themselves kneeling respectfully at the feet of their king, with a background of tents and spears, denoting their readiness to assert their power,[1] in case they should be driven to extremities. Gentle and simple united under the banner of the Union, and under the leadership of the king's brother, James of Aragon, Count of Urgel. The prince was poisoned by royal command. But his brother Ferdinand took his place; the king was subjected to restraint, if not actually to imprisonment, at Murviedro; and Ferdinand, with a band of Castilian allies, was received with acclamation at Valencia.

But greater forces than those of the King of Aragon were found to fight against the Union. In May, 1348, the plague broke out in Valencia. The rebels were dismayed; their forces were decimated; their organisation was broken up; and Ferdinand retired to the north, where a *King's Party* had been formed among the more prudent spirits of Aragon. League was confronted with counter league; Union with anti-union. The opposing forces at length met in battle array at Epila near Saragossa in 1348, when Ferdinand and the authorised rebels were defeated with great slaughter. The dangerous Privilege of Union was immediately abrogated; the parchment on which it was engrossed was cut in pieces by the king with his own hand;[2] and the very words of the charter were blotted out of the records of Aragon.[3]

Yet were many excellent laws for the protection of the liberties of his subjects soon afterwards promulgated by Peter;

[1] *Sigillum Unionis Aragonum* in the legend.

[2] With his dagger; hence his surname of *del Puñal*—of the Poniard.

[3] According to Señor Castelar, it was the aristocracy of Aragon that perished at Epila; and, as may be supposed, the brilliant Republican writer expresses no regret. (*Estudios Historicos*, 142-4.) But popular liberties, he thinks, did not suffer. *La voluntad del pueblo . . . que aterroriza al Rey . . . era . . . mas grande que la victora*, etc., etc., etc.

and the pre-eminent and undisputed authority of the Grand Justiciary[1] of the kingdom may be dated from this period. But the king's laws were better than his manners. Nearly as cruel and quite as perverse as his more notorious namesake of Castile; restless, faithless, absolutely without scruples, he persecuted his nobility, harassed his neighbours, stirred up strife among the members of his own family, and kept faith with no man. Civil war; family intrigue; domestic dissension; broken treaties; these were the features of his reign. Prince James had been poisoned at Barcelona, Queen Leonora was murdered in Castile, Prince Ferdinand was cut down at the very table of the king his brother, in pursuance of a secret treaty made between Peter of Aragon and Peter of Castile, and promoted by the Papal legate[2]

The long struggle with Castile; the war against Peter the Cruel by land and by sea; the alliance of Henry of Trastamara; the support of France; the intrigues with Navarre, and the three invasions of Spain by the bold-spirited pretender, who at length reigned as Henry II. of Castile, all these things would take long to tell, and have been already referred to in the chapter on Peter the Cruel. An attempt that was made by the Aragonese in 1349 to reduce Sardinia was in every way unfortunate; and after negotiations and revolutions extending over the greater part of forty years, after much fighting and little glory, Peter of Aragon was fain to content himself, in 1386, with a divided empire with the Pisans and Genoese in that island. His still more rash interference in the affairs of Sicily brought him neither honour nor profit. An expedition to Greece secured him the recognition of his barren title of Duke of Athens; and the unholy appropriation of Tarragona, the sovereignty of which had long rested with the archbishop of that see, preceded by but a few months his death, in January, 1387, after a reign of fifty-one years.[3]

[1] From this time the office of justiciary was held for life. Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, ii., 53.

[2] One condition of this treaty was the murder of Henry of Trastamara. But Peter of Aragon evaded this clause, suspecting bad faith, and wishing to preserve a friend in Castile, in case of the cruel king's treachery.

[3] Señor Castelar, who is certainly an admirer of Peter IV., and who has devoted four eloquent chapters to the story of his victory over the Union (*Estudios Historicos* (ed. 1875, pp. 22-115), is compelled to admit that he never spoke the truth, and never *abrigaba recta intencion.*

During the reign of Peter IV. the Spanish Era was abolished in Aragon, and the Christian Era adopted in the national chronology, as from 1350.

Small of stature, weak of frame, and with a delicate constitution, Peter was compact of political ambition, devoured by lust of power. False by nature, and a dissembler by system, his cruelty never led him to rash deeds of violence, nor did any gentler feelings deter him from the most atrocious crimes. The most Machiavelian prince in Europe before Machiavel, if Peter IV. was not the first of Spanish diplomatists, he was one of the greatest of Spanish intriguers.

The first act of John I., who succeeded his father Peter IV., in 1387, is sufficiently characteristic of the times. It was to order his step-mother, Queen Sybilla of France, Peter IV's fourth wife, with whom he was on bad terms, to be accused of witchcraft, and to be immediately put to the torture with a view to her condemnation and execution. The intervention of a humane legate, and the abandonment by the queen of all her possessions, saved her from a shameful death; but twenty-nine of her companions were executed on the charge of aiding and abetting her in the enchantment of the late king.

Yet John I. was far from being either a fool or a savage. A lover of pleasure rather than of war or of faction, and known alike by the title of *The Sportsman* and *The Indolent*, he was especially devoted to music, an art in which his Queen Violante equally excelled; and the court at Saragossa became the resort of all that was most excellent among the singers and musicians of the day.[1] Poets and troubadours and lovers of the gay science vied with each other in the floral games, and at the courts of love, which constituted the more serious occupation of the palace; while concerts of vocal and instrumental music were often thrice repeated in the course of a single day.

It was a gay and graceful life, but it was not appreciated by the graver subjects of King John. It was more moral than murder, and less costly than foreign wars. But it did not please the commons of Aragon. The Cortes of Monzon called the king to order in 1388; and if the musicians were not all summarily dismissed, a limit was placed upon the expenses of the court.

In the ruder pastime of the chase, His Majesty was still permitted to take his pleasure unrestrained; and when hunting the wolf near Saragossa in May, 1395, he was thrown from his horse and killed, after the manner of his namesake and brother King John of Castile.

[1] Zurita, *Anales*, x., 43

Not the least important event of this short and uninteresting reign was the election of Pedro de Luna, the great scholar, and Cardinal of Aragon, to the Popedom, under the title of Benedict XIII., to the intense satisfaction of both Aragon and Castile. Yet the doubtful honour was productive only of ecclesiastical and political confusion in the Peninsula. After many disputes and discussions, the validity of the Papal election was recognised only in Spain, and in far away Scotland; and the intractable Benedict was forced to live shut up at Avignon, a prisoner, not in form, but in fact—with his palace-fortress defended by a gallant band of Aragonese soldiers, under the command of sundry militant cardinals, bishops and priests.[1]

John of Aragon was succeeded by his brother Martin, surnamed *El Humano*, or the humane; and in spite of the feeble opposition of Count Matthew de Foix, who had married the eldest daughter of the late king, he was generally acknowledged as King of Aragon, in 1395.

A more serious rival was found at the Vatican, where Boniface IX. stirred up civil war in ever-turbulent Sardinia, in order to punish the Aragonese for their support of his rival, Pope Benedict XIII. Nor was Boniface content with merely promoting strife in the king's dominions. He made a formal grant not only of Sardinia but of Sicily to an Italian favourite, and treated the king as degraded, dispossessed and discrowned. But the Sicilians were loyal to Aragon; and Prince Martin, the king's eldest son, had no difficulty in maintaining his power in the island. He was even enabled to undertake an expedition to Sardinia at the head of a large army of his faithful subjects, to defend his father's rights. But though victorious in battle over Brancaleone Doria, the chief of the rebels, Prince Martin fell a victim to the ever-deadly Sardinian fever on the 24th of July, 1409. His father, King Martin, died in the next year; and Aragon was once more distracted by rival pretenders to the throne.

Six of these royal claimants were justified in different degrees in asserting their rights of succession. Jacme of Urgel; the Duke of Calabria; the Count of Luna; the Count

[1] The progress of the *Great Schism*: the proceedings of the Council of Pisa in 1409, and the various intrigues and incidents of the struggle are dwelt on at length by the Spanish historians, as they certainly were not without influence on the history of Spain. Yet is the connection somewhat too indirect to be insisted upon in a brief sketch like the present.

of Prades; the Duke of Gandia; and Ferdinand, Regent of Castile.[1]

Further and rival pretenders sought to acquire the sovereignty of Sicily, of Corsica and of Sardinia. The affairs of the Papacy were still unsettled. Alexander V., who had succeeded Boniface IX., had just been poisoned at Rome; and Benedict XIII. had passed over into Aragon to make his Papal influence felt in the selection of a king. His unruly cousin, Antonio de Luna, supported the pretensions of the Count of Urgel to the crown of Aragon; and these worthies, having invited their ecclesiastical adversary, the Archbishop of Saragossa, to a solemn conference upon the affairs of the kingdom, waylaid him in a secluded spot as he rode by upon his mule to the appointed place of meeting, and murdered him on the high-road in open day. Such were the incidents that accompanied a change of government in the fifteenth century.

And yet in Aragon, if there was civil war, there was no administrative anarchy. The Parliament[2] of Catalonia continued to sit after the death of the king; and the Justiciary of Aragon, whose administrative authority was even greater than that of the king himself, carried on the civil government much as usual. In Valencia, indeed, there was actual warfare; nor could the States General be brought together to deliberate upon the critical condition of the commonwealth. But on the whole, the absence of a king like Peter IV., or even like John I., was perhaps not very prejudicial to good government.

The character of the rebellion or disaffection in the north-west was widely different from what it was in the south-east. In Aragon it was purely aristocratic. In Valencia it was purely democratic. The Catalans for once were undisturbed, and it was their pacific patriotism that saved the kingdom. An Aragonese Parliament had assembled, indeed, in 1411, at Calatayud. But they had separated without having come to

[1] (1) Jacme or James, Count of Urgel, lieutenant-general of the kingdom in the time of the late king, great-grandson of Alfonso IV.
(2) Louis, Duke of Calabria, great-grandson of Peter III.
(3) Fadrique, Count of Luna, grandson of Martin, the late King of Aragon.
(4) John, Count of Prades, grandson of King James II.
(5) Alfonso, Duke of Gandia, great-grandson of James II.
(6) Prince Ferdinand, Regent of Castile, nephew of the late king, and brother of Henry of Castile.

[2] When the estates were assembled under the presidency of the king, the assembly was called the *Cortes;* when the king was dead—perhaps even when he was merely absent—the august body was known by the name of Parliament.

any decision upon the merits of the rival candidates; and the helm of the state was held by the commons of Catalonia.

At length, in spite of the hostile forces that were everywhere present throughout the country, the Aragonese and even the Valencians were persuaded to send delegates to a Parliament at Alcañiz, where they were met by the Catalans; and a court or council of nine judges, three from each of the great provinces, was constituted,[1] and invested with full powers to elect a sovereign from among the various claimants to the throne, who should be acknowledged by the nobles and commons as King of Aragon.

Five of these novel functionaries were ecclesiastics, chief and most noteworthy of whom was Vincent Ferrer, Archbishop of Valencia—who was afterwards canonised by his friend Calixtus III.—and four lawyers, all honourable and respectable personages.

This august college of electors met on the 29th of March, 1412, at Caspe, a quiet town on the banks of the Ebro, removed by some sixty miles from the capital at Saragossa. The first thirty days were devoted to a patient hearing of the contentions of the rival princes, represented by counsel before the assembly. Two months more elapsed before the examination of the claims and the deliberation upon the various legal arguments were brought to a conclusion. At length, on the 24th of June, the conclave proceeded to the actual selection or election of a king. Six voices out of nine were given in favour of Ferdinand of Castile, but no immediate announcement was made of the result; and we are told that the secret was kept for the greater part of four days.

On the 28th of June these grave and memorable deliberations were brought to a fitting conclusion. On rising ground between the church and the castle of Caspe a lofty dais was erected, with a canopy of scarlet and gold, worthy of the candidates and their judges, and flanked on either side by less imposing stages or platforms for the accommodation of the advocates and representatives of the high contending parties. And under the early morning sun of the 28th of June, the judges and councillors, with a guard of knights and men-at-arms, marshalled by the Alcaldes of the three great provinces, filed in solemn procession before an immense concourse of

[1] These delegates, though *approved* by, and representative of, the three estates of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, were *nominated* by the justiciary of the realm,

spectators. They made their way first into the church, where mass was sung, and then to the judgment seat, where the future saint[1] read aloud the finding of the court. The royal standard was displayed once more over the walls of the castle, and the vast assembly shouted aloud, "Long live Lord Ferdinand, King of Aragon!"

Ferdinand was at Cuenca when he received the news of his election; and it was at Cuenca not many days afterwards that the commissioners of Catalonia waited upon him, with dutiful demands that he would respect their liberties, their usages and their *Fueros*, as they had been respected in days gone by. Ferdinand was ready to promise, and he was no less ready to perform. His first act was to summon the States General of the Aragonese nation to meet at Saragossa on the 25th of August, 1412, when he took the accustomed oath of fidelity to the constitution, and received the homage, not only of his new subjects, but of two of the competitors for the crown which he had won.[2]

The king's oath was repeated within the year, at the Cortes of Lerida, for the kingdom of Valencia, and Barcelona, where the most powerful of his late rivals, the Count of Urgel, offered the hand of his daughter to the Infante Henry, grand master of Santiago, and second son of King Ferdinand—an offer which was courteously refused.

Yet En Jacme of Urgel was far from being reconciled to Ferdinand's elevation to the throne of Aragon; and counting upon foreign alliances and foreign aid, he sought once more to plunge the kingdom into bloodshed and confusion. Encouraged, at least in the first instance, by the Duke of Clarence, second son of Henry IV. of England, and supported once more by the abandoned Antonio de Luna, James of Urgel marched on Lerida at the head of a small army, composed of Gascons and English, and renegades from every part of France and Spain. But after sustaining a severe defeat at Alcolea (July 10th, 1413) the

[1] Saint Vincent (*San Vicente Ferrer*).

[2] The Duke of Gandia did homage for the County of Ribagorza; and Don Fadrique of Aragon for the County of Luna. The Count of Urgel did not dispute the choice of the electors, but excused his attendance at the king's court on the plea of illness. Nothing can show more clearly than these entire proceedings the respect for law and tribunals that so remarkably characterised the people of Aragon. (This is the more conspicuous in this case, because from motives of policy the candidate chosen, Ferdinand of Castile, was certainly less entitled than Jacme to succeed; the custom of Aragon having been generally opposed to the recognition of the rights of the female line to the crown.—H.)

pretender's forces were scattered, and he himself was forced to take refuge in the fortified town of Balaguer on the Segre. The Duke of Clarence was in England, and sent no help to the rebel. His cousin, the Duke of York, offered his friendship and his alliance to Ferdinand. Balaguer surrendered on the 31st of October, 1413; and Ferdinand, displaying a noble clemency to the rebel, and disregarding even the formal sentence of death that was passed by the tribunal before whom the Count of Urgel was arraigned on a charge of high treason, contented himself with the mitigated punishment or precaution of imprisonment in the fortress of Xativa.

Relieved thus honourably from all rivals or rivalry, Ferdinand was crowned, together with his good Queen Leonora, with unaccustomed pomp at Saragossa in January, 1414. His eldest son Alfonso was invested at the same time with the new title of *Prince of Gerona*.[1] His second son John, created Duke of Peñafiel, was appointed governor of the kingdom of Sicily; and a marriage treaty by which the young prince was engaged to marry Queen Joan of Naples—providing for the union of the crowns of Naples and Sicily in the line of Aragon—was signed in the course of the same year. This union, however, was not destined to take place. Queen Joan suddenly changed her mind, and married the Count de la Marche (Feb., 1415), as her affianced husband was actually on his voyage from Barcelona to Naples. Prince John made the best of his disappointment, and married Blanche, daughter of Charles the Noble, through whom he ultimately succeeded to the throne of Navarre. The eldest son of King Ferdinand, Alfonso Prince of Gerona, married in the June of the same year (1415) the Infanta Maria, sister of King John II. of Castile.

Sardinia was pacified about the same time by the purchase of the rights of the Viscount of Narbonne to a large part of the island; and the only great national or international difficulty that baffled all the efforts of Ferdinand successfully to solve, was that of the *Great Schism* perpetuated by the obstinacy and longevity of the gallant Spaniard, Pedro de Luna—the anti-Pope Benedict XIII.[2]

[1] Intended to be the hereditary title of the eldest son of the King of Aragon, in imitation of the newly-created principality of *Asturias* in the royal house of Castile, and that of *Wales* in the royal family of England.

[2] The Council of Constance in 1417, the formal deposition of Benedict XIII. and the election of Martin V. in the same year, had no influence upon the determined Pedro de Luna, who lived shut up in his castle at Peñiscola, maintaining to

Unhappily for Spain and for Europe, Ferdinand fell ill at Perpignan in the course of these negotiations [1] and died soon after (2nd April, 1416) at Igualada, at the early age of thirty-seven. A just man, a kind father, a loyal regent, an honest suitor, a devoted king, a gallant soldier, a true knight; Ferdinand of Castile, after his brief reign of only four years in Aragon, has left behind him a reputation which is gloriously perpetuated in the unaccustomed titles of *The Honest* and *The Just.*

the day of his death, in 1423, his infallibility as the only legitimate Pope of Rome. This memorable Spaniard was no less than ninety years of age when he died, in the thirteenth year of his Pontificate. And with his death was practically concluded the *Great Schism* that had vexed Christendom for nearly forty years.

[1] Shortly before his death he signed an act by which he withdrew his own allegiance and that of all his states from Benedict XIII.; whom he had fruitlessly urged to abdicate his assumed Papacy. This important defection from the anti-Pope practically settled the question, although Benedict personally continued obstinate.—H.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CASTILE BEYOND THE SEA.

(1369-1407.)

I.—*The Lancastrian Claims to Castile.*

The cheerful recognition of Henry the Bastard as King of Castile was due less to his own merits than to the enormous satisfaction that every one must have felt at the death of his legitimate brother. If the cause of the Cid's popularity was his opposition to a despotic king, then Henry of Trastamara should have been the darling of Castile. If steadfast perseverance in spite of adverse fortune, if bravery in the field, if a generous heart and a liberal hand are ever appreciated in a leader and a king, then Henry II. scarcely needs the dark foil of his brother's wickedness to display his own royal and knightly graces.

Yet it was but natural that his assumption of the reins of power should not be entirely without opposition. The legitimate heir to his brother's throne was Ferdinand, King of Portugal, a grandson of Beatrix, the daughter of Sancho the *Bravo* of Castile. John of Lancaster was at least a powerful claimant. Logroño, Vittoria and other cities on the northern frontier were in the power of Charles the Bad of Navarre. Molina Requena placed itself under the protection of Aragon; and Carmona—fortified and victualled as his last stronghold by Peter the Cruel—refused to open its gates to his successor. But within a year Henry had defeated a Portuguese fleet at the mouth of the Guadalquivir, and had possessed himself not only of Carmona (10th May, 1371) but of almost every other city that had at first hesitated to acknowledge his title to the crown.

One of his first acts was to summon a Cortes at Toro (1369), where, among many excellent laws for the protection of the

community, it was ordained that punishments of special severity should be inflicted upon assassins, whether gentle or simple. And at the Cortes that met at Toro in 1371, a very complete system of criminal procedure, known as the *Ordenamiento sobre la administracion de justicia*, was added to the already excellent laws of Spain.

A projected alliance between one of Henry's daughters—the Infanta Leonora—with Ferdinand, King of Portugal, might have not only removed a dangerous rival, but in the event of surviving issue, would have united the crowns of Portugal and Castile. Ferdinand, however, preferred chicanery to honourable alliance, and having broken off the match, and declared war against Henry, was handsomely beaten by the Castilians both on land and at sea. And the king, thus relieved from all anxiety on the side of Portugal, flew at higher game beyond his northern frontier.

John of Lancaster, and Edmund, Earl of Cambridge, afterwards Duke of York,[1] two sons of Edward III. of England, had married, as we have already seen, the ladies Constance and Isabella, the daughters of Peter the Cruel and Maria de Padilla; and Lancaster, on the death of his worthy father-in-law, laid claim, in right of his wife, to the crown of Spain. Had Peter been really married to his acknowledged mistress, Constance was undoubtedly Queen of Castile; but the oath of a trebly-perjured king, supported by the declaration of a servile archbishop, were not of much account as evidence; and, bastard for bastard, the claims of Henry, king in possession, were surely greater than those of his niece, the wife of a foreign duke.

Whatever may have been their results in Castile, the pretensions of John of Lancaster were attended with nothing but evil fortune for himself and for England. The first reply that was given by Henry to the Lancastrian claims upon Spain, which were formulated in June, 1372, was the despatch of a fleet under his admiral, Ambrosio Bocanegra, who fell in with an English squadron under the Earl of Pembroke off La Rochelle, and totally defeated it. Charles V. of France on his side took advantage of the victory, and overran the whole of Guienne; and Lancaster, as captain-general of the English forces, engaged in many by no means successful campaigns in various parts of

[1] The marriages took place at Roquefort, near Bordeaux, at the end of 1371; the brothers and sisters went to England in the spring of 1372; and on 25th June John of Gaunt first styled himself King of Castile. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, sub tit. John of Gaunt.

France, forgot, for the time being, his own claims to a more distant throne.[1]

Henry of Trastamara thus reigned in peace until his death on 30th May, 1379, at the early age of forty-six, when his eldest son was proclaimed king in his room; and was soon afterwards crowned at Las Huelgas, near Burgos, as John I. of Castile. His first care, following his father's example, was to summon a Cortes; and the Ordinances of Burgos, in 1379, contained many new and interesting provisions, including a prohibition of the bestowal of ecclesiastical benefices upon strangers, and many remarkable sumptuary laws.[2]

But the greatest glory of King John's reign was his successful expedition against the coasts of England, to punish the presumption of the Duke of Lancaster, who had taken advantage of the death of Henry II. to reassert his rights to the throne of Castile. Once more the maintenance of the Lancastrian claims was the signal for the destruction of a British fleet. Not content with threatening the ports, the Castilians, emboldened by former successes, sailed up the Thames, and took or burned the shipping in the river almost within sight of London (1380).[3]

But the English claims were not thereby defeated. At the invitation of the most unlikely of all allies, Ferdinand of Portugal, himself the legitimate heir to the crown of Castile, Edmund, Earl of Cambridge, was despatched to the Peninsula in 1381, to maintain his brother's cause against John. But after some desultory fighting, he returned to England without honour or profit, upon the signature of the peace between Ferdinand of Portugal and John of Castile in 1382.

An interrupted treaty of marriage (March, 1383), was the signal for a fresh outbreak of the war between the Peninsular kingdoms; and by the death of Ferdinand in the same year, the Portuguese were involved in domestic discord, which was only abated by the election of John of Avis[4] to the vacant throne of Portugal (6th April, 1385).

The accession of this ambitious and capable soldier was

[1] In the autumn of 1378 another English fleet was defeated near Plymouth by the Castilians. *Dict. Nat. Biog., ubi supra.*

[2] Sempere y Guarinos, *Hist. del Luxo* (1788), p. 165; Mariana, lib. xviii., cap. iii.; Lafuente, vii., 350-352; Essay, "A fight against Finery," in the year after the Armada, etc., by Martin A. S. Hume.

[3] As Ayala has it *el rio artamisa.*

[4] John, grand master of the Order of Avis, was the bastard son of King Peter of Portugal, who died in 1367, the contemporary of Peter the Cruel of Castile. As to the Order of Avis, see *ante*, chap. xxiii.

for the time disastrous to the Castilian army; and on the memorable field of Aljubarrota, John of Castile was defeated by John of Portugal with great and long-remembered slaughter (14th August, 1383). The king was ill before the battle, and was carried to and from the field in a litter, while his entire army was suffering from some epidemic sickness. The slain amounted, it is said, to 10,000 of the bravest soldiers of Castile. The king hardly escaped with his life; and among the prisoners was Pedro Lopez de Ayala, the chronicler, to whose work we have so often referred.

But the most immediate result of the victory was the re-appearance of an English claimant in Castile.[1] In John of Avis, at least, John of Gaunt had no possible rival. The duke, moreover, had become obnoxious to the court of London; and his nephew, Richard II., glad of any pretext to remove him from England, prevailed upon him to assert his claims in the Peninsula. The opportunity was eagerly embraced at once by the duke and by his English opponents. An expedition was fitted out in England at the beginning of 1386, and the *King and Queen of Castile,* after a solemn coronation at the hands of Richard II., set sail from Plymouth on the 7th of July, accompanied by a numerous fleet, and an army of no less than 20,000 men. Landing at Corunna on the 9th of August, Lancaster occupied Gallicia, and joined his forces with those of John of Portugal, who married the duke's daughter,[2] Philippa, in pledge of closer alliance and support (1387). As a military enterprise this magnificent expedition was a complete failure. John of Gaunt was ever unfortunate in the field. He was indeed able to occupy the sacred city of Compostella; and many of the Gallician knights acknowledged him as their sovereign.[3] But Castile remained faithful to John of Trastamara.

[1] It was the English who assisted John of Avis, and confirmed at once his regal title and the independence of Portugal, at Aljubarrota; and from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century this English protection was ever a potent factor in the destinies of Portugal. (In the previous treaty with Portugal it was arranged that the bastard son of Henry II. of Castile, Fadrique, should marry Beatrix, the daughter of Fernando of Portugal. At the instance of her father she was, however, subsequently betrothed to the legitimate son of Juan I. of Castile, Don Fernando. The latter, however, dying soon afterwards, the bride was married to his father, John I., and on the death of Fernando of Portugal the King of Castile claimed the Portuguese crown for his wife.—H.)

[2] Not a daughter of his by Constance of Castile, but by his first wife, Blanche of Lancaster. It was this marriage which was the foundation of Philip II.'s claim to the crown of England.

[3] The claim of John of Gaunt was supported by a Bull of Urban VI. proclaiming him "King of Castile and Leon, Duke of Lancaster". Lafuente, vii.,

The war was concluded, however, not by a victory on either side, but by a happy marriage which, if it did not place a crown on the head of the Duke of Lancaster, and if it failed to please the King of Portugal, who was not even consulted by his faithful ally, put an end, at least, to the campaign, and brought peace to two countries. By a treaty, which was signed at Troncoso in Portugal in the winter of 1387, the Duke and Duchess of Lancaster gave up all their rights or claims to the crown of Castile to their only daughter Katherine, and that splendid heiress was betrothed and shortly afterwards married to Henry, the eldest son of John I., who, in emulation of the happy precedent so lately set by Edward of England, received the title of *Prince of Asturias*, a title which has ever since been borne by the eldest son of the reigning king of Castile.[1]

The death of Charles the Bad of Navarre on New Year's Day, 1387, and the accession of his son Charles the Noble, who was a good friend to John of Castile, was of considerable advantage to Spain. Peter IV. of Aragon died only five days later, the last of the three Peters—Peter of Aragon, Peter of Portugal, and Peter of Castile, who had reigned at the same time in the Peninsula. But in the year 1387 we have no less than four royal Johns—John of Avis, John of Aragon, John of Castile, and John of Gaunt.

The constitutional history of the reign of John I. is not unimportant. The Cortes of Briviesca (December, 1387) is celebrated in the history of Spanish jurisprudence. In the Cortes of Guadalajara (1390) the power of the third estate is usually considered to have reached the summit of its power in Castile. The *Ordenamiento de lanzas* revolutionised the military system. The *Ordenamiento de Perlados* recognised and affirmed certain clerical exemptions, and showed the rising power of the clergy; while the *Ordenamiento de Sacas* forbade, according to the economic theories of the day, the export of the precious metals from the kingdom.

The reign of John I. is also noteworthy as being that in which the *Spanish Era* or *Era of Cæsar* was abolished; and the Castilian chronologists were content to compute their dates

377. The anti-Pope, Clement VII., naturally supported John, the son of Henry. Rymer, vii., 507.

[1] The marriage of the Prince of Asturias, then only nine years of age, took place with the utmost pomp and splendour at Palencia, 1388; his bride, Katharine, was fourteen. Constance, Duchess of Lancaster, died in June, 1394; and her husband in February, 1399.

from the nativity of our Saviour Christ, on and after the 25th of December, 1384.

John did not long survive the peaceful settlement of the affairs of his kingdom. He fell from his horse at some Moorish sports at Alcala de Henares, on the 9th of October, 1390, and, like his contemporary, John of Aragon, was killed on the spot, leaving his crown to his son, a delicate boy of only eleven years of age.

II.—*The Embassy to Tamerlane.*

Henry, Prince of Asturias, was but eleven years old at the time of his father's death, and the question of a regency vexed the palace, without injuring the nation, for some time after his accession as Henry III. A Junta of nine regents—each one jealous of all the others in general, and of the Archbishop of Toledo in particular—was at length accepted as a necessary and temporary evil. This august council was dismissed, to the general satisfaction of the nation, by the young king, on his attaining his legal majority, at fourteen years of age, in August, 1393. The son-in-law of Lancaster, and the grandson of Henry of Trastamara, he reigned over a contented people, and enjoyed the respect both of his subjects and of his neighbours. The commons were independent but loyal, respecting and respected by the king. The universities increased in power and in importance, and found protection and abundant endowments at the hand of Henry III. A feeble attempt by the Portuguese, which was promptly defeated, in 1398, both on land and at sea, and some intrigues of Eleanor of Navarre,[1] scarcely troubled the general tranquillity.

Yusuf Ibn Abdullah, who had succeeded Mohammed of Granada in 1391, Charles VI. of France, Pope Clement VII., Charles the Noble of Navarre, John I. of Aragon, and the Duke of Lancaster, all sent envoys with offers and assurances of friendship and goodwill. Castile, thus respected, was tranquil, prosperous and contented; and Henry, at peace with all his neighbours, sought to establish friendly relations, not only with the sovereigns of Europe, but with the rulers of distant countries. He sent an embassy to the emperor at Constan-

[1] Queen Eleanor was a daughter of Henry of Trastamara, and was thus the aunt of Henry of Castile. She had married Charles the Noble of Navarre, and was the cause of strife between her husband and her nephew, two excellent princes.

tinople, and, turning his eyes still further to the East, despatched a diplomatic mission to seek out Bajazet and Tamerlane, in the unknown region of Central Asia.[1] Pelayo Gomez de Sotomayor, and Hernan Sanchez de Palazuelos, the Castilian envoys, arrived in Asia Minor at a critical moment; and they were actually present on that tremendous battle-field when the two great Asiatic conquerors, brought at length face to face, fought for the supremacy of the East.

The defeat of Bajazet at *Angora* is one of the landmarks of history. The ambassadors of Castile were prompt to offer their congratulations to the victorious Tamerlane, who received the strangers with great favour, and sent them back to their sovereign with rich presents and complimentary messages, accompanied by a special envoy, Mohammed el Cadi, to the court of Toledo.

The greatest of Asiatic conquerors gratified the Castilian spectators of his triumph, not only with some of the rich spoils of battle, with jewels and costly stuffs, but he handed over to them two beauteous Christian captives, the Lady Angelina and the Lady Maria, to be conducted to the farthest west of Europe. One of these adventurous ladies, Doña Angelina, who is said to have been a niece of the King of Hungary, returning to Spain with the envoy, married Don Diego Gonzalez de Contreras, *Regidor* of the city of Segovia. The other, Doña Maria de Pelayo, gained the affections of the envoy, Gomez, who was afterwards compelled by John II. to make her his wife.[2]

[1] He is said even to have sent a mission to seek the fabled Prester John in Abyssinia, or further Hindostan. Argote de Molina, *Itinerario*, etc. (Madrid, 1782).

[2] Maria was a Greek, Angelina a Hungarian, both probably taken prisoners after the fatal battle of Nicopolis, fought between Turks and Hungarians in 1386. They were both taken by Tamerlane at Angora from the vanquished Bajazet.

No mistake can be greater than to confound the ambitious dreams of universal sovereignty, of the destruction of bad governments, and of the spread of Islam, that characterised Timour the Lame, with the rude and cruel barbarism of Genghis Khan, or the more modern savagery of Nadir Shah. The character of Timour, the patron of Hafiz, the summoner of councils, the founder of empires, has suffered greatly from the animosity of his biographer, the Syrian Ahmed Ibn Arabshah, whose work, composed in 1440 under the title of *Ajaib al Makdur* (Wonders of Destiny), was edited by Golius in 1636, and translated into Latin by Manger in 1772. This history is a coarse satire, little worthy of credit, devoted to blackening the character of Timour. A just appreciation of his greatness and an admirable sketch of his life will be found in Gibbon, chap. lxv. Sir John Malcolm in his *History of Persia*, sums up his character as "one of the greatest of warriors, and one of the worst of monarchs. Able, brave, generous, but ambitious, cruel and oppressive." But with the exception of Mohammed he was the most remarkable man that Asia has produced from the death of Christ to the present day.

King Henry was not ungrateful for these gifts and favours, and he despatched a second embassy to the court of Tamerlane, under the guidance of the returning Mohammed el Cadi, consisting of a Doctor of Divinity, Don Alfonso de Santa Maria, a Chamberlain, and an officer of the Royal Guards, who set out from Madrid on 21st May, 1403.

These *Ambassadors extraordinary*, after traversing well nigh the entire breadth of the known world, reached Timour at Samarcand; and Gonzalez de Clavijo, who alone returned in safety to Spain, has left us an account of the embassy, and of his adventures from May, 1403, to March, 1406, which forms by no means the least interesting of the early books of travel of mediæval Europe.

Setting sail in their carack from port St. Mary, the adventurous envoys touched at Malaga, Naples, Messina, Rhodes, Mitylene and Constantinople, of which a very full account is given by Clavijo—after various perils of the sea. From the Bosphorus they set sail in a new ship to Sinopoli or Sinope, and Trebizonde, where they landed; and whence they marched by way of Arsinga (Ersingan), on the Euphrates, Calmarin (possibly Etchmiazin) which was said to be the first city in the world built after the Deluge, to Teheran; and they continued their strange journey across mountains and deserts by way of Meshed and Merv, over the Murgab and the Oxus, which they crossed by a bridge of boats a league in length constructed by Timour himself, until at length they came up with the conqueror at Samarcand. They were received by the Lord of Asia with the greatest distinction, and welcomed with the most magnificent hospitality; and, after a brief sojourn, they set out on their return by the way they had come—through manifold perils by land and by water—to their home in western Spain.

Clavijo's story is simple and graphic,[1] and bears upon it the impress of truth and reality. It is not only of the utmost interest as a record of early and romantic travel, but it is of solid historic value. For Clavijo is far from content, like so many later travellers, with a mere record of his own troubles, or the relation of idle tales that he has heard from others. Constantinople, Trebizonde, Teheran and far away Samarcand are minutely and intelligently described, together with many

[1] Clavijo's works were not printed until 1582, when the indefatigable Argote de Molina produced them under the delusive title of *Vida del Gran Tamerlan*. The work was subsequently published in 1782 at Madrid. I have consulted both editions. See also Mariana, xix., 11.

curious details of the court life of the greatest of Asiatic sovereigns.

If Señor Clavijo did not travel as far, nor remain absent as long, as Marco Polo, who preceded him by over a hundred years (1272-1294), he greatly outstripped our own Sir John Mandeville (1322-1355) in the extent as well as in the interest of his travels.[1]

III.—*The Canary Islands.*

The glories of the reign of Henry III., whether in the farthest east or nearer home, were entirely diplomatic. He added, indeed, to the territory of Castile; but the new possessions came not by war, but by negotiations, which led to the ultimate incorporation of the *Canary Islands* into the great empire of Spain.

Some eighty years before the Christian era, Sertorius, flying from his persecutors in Italy, and before he had established his dominion in Spain, was minded to pass on beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, and to seek an asylum and a home in the islands of the blest which were fabled to exist in the far western sea. But his ambition prevailed over his dream of African repose. He accepted the flattering invitation of the Spaniards, and turned aside to earn undying honour and fame in Europe. And for nigh on fourteen centuries nothing was heard of the Fortunate Isles—lying as they did within a few days' sail of Cadiz or Lisbon—by any of the princes or people of the civilised world. Then at length a banished Spaniard turned his attention to the happy land that had so long before attracted a banished Roman.[2]

Alfonso, *Infante de la Cerda,* the grandson of Alfonso X., retiring, disinherited, as has been already related, to the court of his uncle, Philip the Fair, married a French lady, who bore

[1] It was strange indeed that their first visit saw the defeat of Bajazet, who died soon after the battle of Angora, and that their second visit, but three years later, should have been brought to a close by the death of his victorious rival, Tamerlane.

Anything like a detailed account of the travels and adventures of the Castilian envoys would be out of place here; but the story may be read *in English*, and very entertaining reading it is, in one of the volumes of the Hakluyt Society, published in 1859 by Mr. Clements Markham, with an excellent map.

[2] Pliny the elder (*Nat. Hist.*, vi., 37), refers to them by name, and more especially tells us that *Canaria* (Grand Canary) was so called from the number and size of the dogs (*vocari a multitudine canium ingentis magnitudinis*).

Nivaria (Teneriffe) was so called from the snow with which its great mountain is covered.

him a son well-known in contemporary history as Don Luis de la Cerda, Admiral of France. Moved by the accounts of a new and beautiful country within easy reach of the south of Spain, the exile obtained a grant, dated 15th June, 1343, from Clement VI. at Avignon, of the lordship of the Canary Islands, with the title of Prince of Fortune.

But Luis de la Cerda was unworthy either of his fortune or of his title. The King of Portugal objected to the grant, on the ground of prior discovery in 1341; and neither the Spanish prince nor the Portuguese king did anything further in the matter. It was reserved for a Norman adventurer, one Jean de Bethencourt, after the lapse of over half a century, to undertake the conquest of the islands, in the first place, no doubt, for himself, but ultimately for the King of Spain.

De Bethencourt, after some preliminary negotiations, set sail from La Rochelle in May, 1402, and after touching at Corunna and Cadiz, and having received supplies and reinforcements from Henry III., took possession of some, if not all the islands, without serious opposition; and having induced the native king to accept not only the dominion but the religion of Spain, he caused him to be baptised a Christian, under the name, strangely enough, of Luis, in 1404.[1] The adventurous Norman was accompanied by a monk or priest, who not only assisted in the conversion of the inhabitants, but was ready, no doubt, like the other adventurous ecclesiastics of the day, to lend a hand with a spear in time of need, and who wrote an account of the expeditions—a story, in many respects, of great value and interest. De Bethencourt, after some negotiations in Spain, obtained for himself the lordship of the Canary Islands, under the crown of Castile, with the right to impose taxes, to coin money, and generally to exercise such very independent powers that he is frequently spoken of as king. But he never, apparently, claimed any formal or titular sovereignty. The lordship passed at his death to one Diego Herrera, and was afterwards granted to three Spanish adventurers of no importance or capacity. But after much trouble and misery, arising from the uncertain and unstable conquests of the private administrators and invaders, the Catholic kings took the matter into their own hands,[2] and

[1] See *Le Canarien, livre de la conqueste et conversion faicte des Canariens . . . en l'an*, 1402, par Messire Jehan de Bethencourt . . . by Pierre Bontier, Moyne, et Jean le Verrier, prestre, serviteurs du dit de Bethencourt. Translated by R. H. Major, for the Hakluyt Society, London, 1872.

[2] From 1476 to 1495. An account of the final conquest of the islands will be found in George Glas, *Hist. of the Canary Islands*, etc., etc. Lond., 1764, pp. 82-125.

on the 20th of February, 1487, at Salamanca, the islands were, with great solemnity, incorporated into the dominions of Castile, with the title of kingdom, while the inhabitants were declared free from all *pechos* and *alcavalas*, and other taxes paid in Spain. In the same year, Pope Innocent VIII. gave the patronage of the bishopric of Canaria, with its benefices, to the King of Spain and his successors for ever.

It is supposed that the islands, previous to de Bethencourt's conquest and occupation, were peopled by a race akin to the aborigines of the nearest part of northern Africa; and it is sufficiently curious that, as we learn from all the early adventurers and settlers, entirely different manners, customs and laws were observed in each one of the seven islands,[1] Palma, Hierro, Gomera, Teneriffe, Gran Canaria, Feurteventura and Lanzarote. It is even more strange that the Spanish Arabs and the Spanish Moors, constant and intimate as were their relations with the African coast, should have apparently known nothing, and should certainly have cared nothing, about the Fortunate Islands in the possession of their fellows.[2]

The single misfortune of the honourable and prosperous reign of Henry III. of Castile was its sudden and unhappy termination. For within less than two years after the nation had been gratified by the appearance of a Prince of Asturias (March, 1405) the king sickened and died at Toledo on Christmas Day, 1406, leaving the crown once more on the head of an infant, who reigned over Castile for nearly fifty years as John II.

[1] The names are given in order, as the islands lie from west to east.

The modern administrative capital of the group is Las Palmas in Grand Canary. Santa Cruz in Teneriffe is also an important town.

See Major, Trans. of *Bontier and Le Verrier*, Introd., xxxix.-li.

[2] There is a very complete account of the conquest of Grand Canary, with a less detailed record of that of Teneriffe and the other islands in *La Conquista y antiguedades de las islas de Gran Canaria* (written by the licentiate Juan de la Peña, 1676), being the first volume of a work published at Santa Cruz de Teneriffe in 1847. There is a copy in the British Museum Library. [12,231-e.]

The topography and an historical description of all the islands by D. Pedro de Castillo (1848) constitutes the second volume, and there is a most interesting treatise on the local ethnography, with notes on the various dialects spoken in the islands, and a comparison between their vocabularies and that of the language of the mainland of Africa, as a third volume, by Malibran and Berthelot. The entire series is called the *Biblioteca Isleña*, and should be studied by all who take any interest in the islands. See also José de Viera y Clavijo, *Noticia de la historia de las islas de Canaria;* Bontier et Leverrier, Trad. Ramirez, *Historia del primer descubrimiento*, etc. (Santa Cruz, 1847). Don J. M. Bremont y Cabello, *Bosquejo historico de las islas Canarias* (Madrid, 1847), and Pulgar, *Cron.*, iii., xviii. See also Webb and Berthelot, *Histoire naturelle des Iles Canaris* (Paris, 1835); Chil y Naranyo, *Estudios historicos climatologicos y patologicos de las islas Canarias* (Las Palmas, 1876), with maps and plans; and Augustin Millares, *Historia general de las islas Canarias* (Las Palmas, 1881).

IV.—*Pedro Lopez de Ayala.*

Within a few months after the death of Henry, died the old courtier and chronicler to whose powers of observation and fidelity of narrative we owe the greater part of our knowledge of the affairs and the life of Peter the Cruel, and of his immediate successor on the throne of Castile.

Pedro Lopez de Ayala was the son of Fernan Perez de Ayala, Adelantado of Murcia in the time of Peter the Cruel. He was attached at a very early age to the Duke of Albuquerque, and remaining at court after that minister's murder, he served his dangerous sovereign until 1366, accompanying him even in his retreat to Burgos. But on the appeal to foreign intervention, Ayala held for Castile, and transferred his services to "the Count". He fought at Navarrete against the invaders, was taken prisoner, and ransomed by Henry of Trastamara. Restored to Spain, he remained at court until the death of Henry II., and afterwards under John I., as Chancellor of Castile. He served as *Alferez mayor*, or major-general at the disastrous battle of Albujarrota, where he was once more taken prisoner by the enemy. But he once more regained his liberty, and lived to serve a fourth king of Castile, Henry III., and to die in the reign of a fifth sovereign, John II., in 1407, at the ripe age of seventy-nine.

His Chronicle[1] is of peculiar interest and value, not only as that of an eye-witness, but of an actor in many of the scenes which he records. His style is simple and dignified, and the worst horrors of the king his master are related with a candour that is never malevolent, and with a sobriety that compels belief. Nor in spite of much hostile criticism in modern times has the accuracy of his history ever been seriously impeached.

Ayala was a writer of verse as well as of prose. A courtier at all times, his poem, entitled the *Rimado de Palacio*, treats of the duties of kings and grandees, and is illustrated with many interesting allusions, presenting on the whole a most vivid picture of court life in Castile in the fourteenth century, abundantly worthy of study by every reader of the author's more serious Chronicles. The *Rimado*, moreover, marks an epoch in the progress of Castilian letters; and the chancellor is frequently spoken of as the *restorer* of Castilian poetry.[2]

[1] *Cronicas de los Reyes de Castilla D. Pedro, D. Enrique II., D. Juan I., D. Enrique III.*, por D. Pedro Lopez de Ayala. The best edition is that with the notes of Zurita and Llaguno Amirola; Madrid, 1779.

[2] See *Documentos ineditos*, vol. xix., pp. 184 *et seq.* Ticknor, ed. Gayangos, i., 105-107.

The Rimado at times recalls the freedom and variety of treatment of the arch-priest of Hita, though the Muse of Ayala is essentially more serious than that of Ruiz. Nor was Don Pedro content only with his verses and his Chronicle. He was also the author of a practical treatise on falconry, and the care and management of hawks; and his work, one of the most complete that has ever been published on the subject, was annotated by no less distinguished a successor than Beltran de la Cueva, Duke of Albuquerque.[1]

A statesman and a chronicler, a poet and a sportsman, a soldier and a politician, Pedro Lopez de Ayala is very far from being a mere court scribe; and, if he is best known to posterity by his admirable history of his own times, it must not be forgotten that he was one of the most admired and one of the most admirable among the Castilian gentlemen of his day.[2]

[1] The best edition of *El Libro de los Aves de Caça del Canciller*, Pedro Lopez de Ayala, is that published in Madrid, 1869, with an introduction by Don Pascual de Gayangos. See also Casiri, *Biblioteca Arab. Hist. Escurial.*, i., 231.

The noble and knightly pastime of falconry was introduced into Spain by the Arabs, having been in all probability adopted by their ancestors from their neighbours the Persians. Falconry is constantly referred to in the Shah Namah of Firdusi. The number of Arabic MSS. treating of falconry in the Escurial would abundantly suffice to prove the oriental origin of Spanish falconry, even if it were not that the vocabulary or technical language of the sport is so largely Arabic that any doubt upon the question is impossible. *Cetreria*, indeed, is from the Latin *accipiter;* but most of the special or technical words connected with Spanish falconry speak plainly of their Arab origin, such as: *Azor*, a hawk; *Alcahaz*, bird-cage; *Alcaravan*, a buzzard or marsh harrier; *Alcotan*, sparrow hawk; *Alfaneque*, Tunis hawk, white with brown spots; *Bahari*, gentle falcon; *Sacre*, lanner or hen harrier; *Alcandara*, perch for hawks; *Alcatraz*, water fowl; *Alcadera*, water fowl; *Alcasubor*, a kind of drum to startle water fowl. Many other similar words are given by Don Pascual de Gayangos in his edition (1869) of Ayala's work, above referred to.

[2] The whole of vol. xix. of the *Documentos Ineditos*, 575 pp., is taken up with a biographical memoir and essay, concluded only in vol. xx., of Ayala, by Rafael de Floranes, to which the student is referred, not only for all that can be said or written about the old chronicler, but for a very interesting treatise upon the rise or *restoration* of polite letters in Christian Spain, a restoration in which Ayala no doubt played a very important part.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.[1]

The Feudal System, which has left so deep and lasting an impression upon social and political life in a great part of Europe, can hardly be said even to have existed in mediæval Spain. The magnates of Castile and Leon, ever warring against their Moslem rivals as a constant duty, and against their Christian neighbours as a no less constant pleasure, did not and could not remain in dignified seclusion in their baronial halls, ruling over their vassals, and administering their estates by undisputed law and custom, after the manner of the great lords of France and England. Engaged in a perpetual crusade against the Infidel on the frontier, the Spanish nobles lived rather in the field than in the castle, ever pushing forward the Christian possessions to the south. Soldiers rather than *seigneurs* for over five hundred years (711-1252), they had neither taste nor leisure for the development of their territorial, as distinguished from their military power. The castle was rather an opportune fortress than a permanent home. The plantation of forests, the great pride of a landed aristocracy, was almost unknown. The Spanish nobles learned all too little from their Arab neighbours. Yet as regards forestry, there was but little to be learned. Tree-planting is not an oriental virtue. It was a feudal aristocracy alone that in western Europe preserved the

[1] A very interesting account of the Cortes of Madrid (1390) is to be found in Geddes' *Tracts*, vol. i. (See also Danvila y Collado's *Poder Civil en España*, *Histoire des Cortés d'Espagne*, *Sampère*. and *Historia de la Legislatura española*, *Antiquera*. Cardenas *Ensayo sobre la Historia de la propriedad territorial en España* should also be consulted.—H.)

One hundred and twenty-four members or deputies attended, as the representatives of forty-eight cities or burghs. Two members seem to have been usually returned by each town, while Burgos and Salamanca each sent no less than eight, Leon five, Toledo and Soria each four, and some few cities only one. The lord sometimes possessed rights of independent jurisdiction, not only as under the feudal system, as incident to his own territorial authority, but by special grant from the crown, as in the case of municipal towns. Viardot, *Essei*, ii., 112.

forests from the ravages of woodmen and waste, of wandering shepherds and fitful cultivation. It was a feudal aristocracy alone that cared for existing timber, and planted trees in every direction, with a view to sport, to profit, and to personal dignity. A manor-house would be but a grange without its surrounding woods; a park would be but a field without its stately trees. And many a mere field in England possesses finer timber than is to be found in tens of leagues of the plain country of Castile. The Arab and the Moor in their best days were gallant warriors and honourable foes. But their social system admitted of nothing resembling a Christian landed aristocracy, nor a society of hereditary classes and orders of men. Under the Commander of the Faithful all good Moslems were socially equal. Official position, indeed, conferred temporary rank, but the Grand Vizier was as liable to the bowstring as the door-keeper of the palace, and a still humbler official might find himself Prime Minister or Commander-in-Chief. Hereditary rank was unknown. Family succession, as it is understood in the West, was rendered impossible, alike by the manners and customs of the people, and by the operation of the Mohammedan law; at this very day there is no such thing as a surname in the whole of Islam.

When Moor and Christian stood face to face, and strove for mastery in the south-west of Europe, it was not merely a contest between two religions, but between two social systems. The Moslem was a dweller in towns—a builder of palaces, a layer-out of gardens, a director of water-courses. The trees he planted were the olive and the pomegranate, the fig and the almond; orchards rather than forests grew round his dwelling-places. His castles were designed only for war, as impregnable fortresses, and not as noble residences. And the Christian lords, if they did not embellish their cities, established their *casas solariegas* or family mansions by preference within the walls of a town, and disregarded the comfort and material beauty of their country seats, which for long years were never safe from attack, and even from occupation by the Infidel.

For nearly four centuries after the victorious march of Taric and Musa there was a constant ebb and flow in the tide of conquest in mediæval Spain. What was Moorish territory to-day became Christian to-morrow; and when a knight from Leon or Castile had fixed his banner on the battlements of a conquered castle, some new wave from Andalusia or from Africa would sweep over the country and leave him without sod or stone.

In the middle of the tenth century the Christian frontiers had been pushed forward as far south as Simancas. Before the opening of the eleventh century the Moorish arms were carried northward to the Atlantic and the mountains of Biscay. But the tide of victory set strongly towards the south; and the territory conquered, or recovered as it was called, from year to year from the Arabs, was treated as waste land, and became the property, not of the king, but of the conquerors.

The power of the common soldier who himself acquired the land of the Infidel, and of the municipality who early enjoyed independent government, were also much greater than in any other part of Europe. The Moslems were either slaughtered, or found safety in flight. But the number of the exiles was not usually excessive. The Mozarabic or Christian population, who formed a large share of the commonalty of the Moslem empire, were ready no doubt to welcome their new and Christian masters; and while religious bitterness as yet lay dormant in Spain, not a few renegades were easily permitted to return to their ancient fold. Towns sprang up or increased in importance in the newly acquired territories, as they were colonised by Christians both *old* and *new*,[1] and endowed with charters by successive kings, long before municipal privileges were known in England or France.[2] The earliest instance is said to be in 1020, when Alfonso V., in the Cortes of Leon, established the privileges of that city.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the only hope for the future, whether as regards art or science or religion, or even humanity itself, lay in the steady growth of the towns.[3] And it was in the number and growing importance of free municipalities that Spain was then, and had ever been, pre-eminently distinguished. Municipal institutions of what may be called the modern type, are of greater antiquity in Spain than in any other country in Europe—Italy, perhaps, excepted;

[1] An old Christian was one who had no tinge nor taint of Moslem or Jewish blood in his ancestry. Such a lineage was rare and highly prized. "*Yo Christiano viejo soy*," says Sancho Panza in *Don Quixote* . . . "and that is as good as if I were a count". This was in 1610. In 1210 the line of demarcation between the Moslem, the Mozarab and the Christian was very uncertain in any of the districts south of the Tagus. The Moslem and the Mozarab conversed in a kind of patois, known as Aljamia, a word said by Engelmann in his *Glossaire* to be derived from the Arabic *a'jam* = barbarous.

[2] Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ii., 6; Marina, *Ensayo*, i., 180-182; Castelar, *Estudios Historicos*, 183.

[3] Jessop, *The Coming of the Friars*, v.

and charters of privilege were common from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. Communities were of four classes: *Realengo*, holding of the king; *Abadengo*, holding of some religious magnate; *Solariego*, holding of some nobleman; and *Behetria*, a tenure peculiar to Castile, by which the community, holding under some noble and ancient family, was entitled to choose the individual lord to whom, for the time being, the community should be subject; or, in some cases, to select an administrator or chief at their own absolute pleasure, without regard to family or foundation. Thus the Behetrias were little semi-independent republics within the kingdom, changing their lord-president, within defined limits, at their good pleasure. Yet such changes depended also largely upon the good pleasure of the lord, and were, in practice, not infrequently, accompanied by armed resistance and armed intervention. The superior nobility, moreover, were jealous of these Behetrias, and constantly sought to have them suppressed, that their territories might be added to the possessions of the nearest local magnate.[1]

Rich and influential, bound to a limited and honourable service, but ever ready to harry the Moslem, and to extend their individual or corporate property, the burgesses of Spain were free men, inferior only in rank, but not in personal dignity, to the nobles and knights with whom they stood shoulder to shoulder in the field of battle: and as such it was but natural that they should be independent, bold and haughty to an extent undreamed of by the timid shopkeepers of less favoured lands. Instead of a population of villeins, of artizans, and of tradesmen, the division of classes in town or country was not into noble and base-born, but into *Cavalleros*, or citizens who owned a war horse, and *Pecheros*, or those who fought on foot[2]: and the difference at first was rather one of fortune than of birth. The towns as a rule were fortified. The townsmen were in all cases well trained in the use of arms for its defence. A large tract of country in the immediate neighbourhood belonged to them.

[1] The celebrated *Becerro de las Behetrias*, a collection of the rights and privileges of every Castilian town that enjoyed the benefits of Behetria, was commenced by order of Alfonso XI. There is an interesting treatise on the Behetrias of Castile in vol. xx. of the *Documentos Ineditos*, pp. 406-475, with a number of lists of all the Behetrias, with other catalogues, and full extracts from various ordinances and decrees of councils. Amongst other curious facts, it seems that the Behetrias had their capital or political centre in the town of *Santa Maria del Campo* near Burgos, where the *Juntas* were held, with a chapter house and chancery where the archives were deposited, p. 407. The treatise is by D. Rafael Floranes and was written about 1790, and published in 1852.

[2] Or literally those who offered their *breasts* to the foe.—H.

They appointed their own magistrates, whose jurisdiction excluded that of the king's judges, and whose decrees were executed by their own local authority.[1] Appeals from the municipal *alcaldes* or judges lay to the *alcaldes* of the chief towns of the district, and from them only as a last resort to the royal judges or governors.

In the Cortes of Ocaña, in 1422, the Commons presented a petition that every town and commune should be entrusted with the entire civil and criminal jurisdiction within the limits of the municipality, and that the king should not send a corregidor without the positive request of the inhabitants or local authority. Their petition was granted as of right: but as it was repeated in 1442, we may suppose that the king's judges were already beginning to encroach upon the jurisdiction of the local courts, although the local rights were acknowledged both by king and council.[2] From the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the kings began to appoint *corregidores*—not corregidor, but corregidores, officers with a jurisdiction concurrent with that of the regidores or municipal magistrates. It is uncertain whether Saint Ferdinand or Alfonso X. first appointed these judges. But in all cases an appeal lay first to the Adelantado or governor of the province, and from him *en dernier ressort* to the tribunal or Supreme Court of Royal Alcaldes.[3]

Besides the ordinary and provincial courts, there were many others in the district of each *Adelantado*, presided over by a class of magistrates whose functions are not clearly defined. They were called *Merinos*, and the territory over which their jurisdiction extended, a *Merindad*. Sometimes it was confined to a single village or town; sometimes it extended over many. The *Merinos* were entrusted with twofold powers—with the execution of the sentences pronounced by the provincial tribunals, and with the cognisance of certain offences, such as rape, highway robbery, insurrection, notorious violence, or high treason. The *Merino mayor* was a highly distinguished personage, who sometimes presided over a province, with the same judicial authority as the *Adelantado*, but, unlike that personage, who was both civil and military chief, he had no soldiers at his call.[4]

[1] As to the Cortes of Zamora, 1274, see Marina, *Teoria de las Cortes*, i., iv.

[2] As to the theoretical and practical independence of the ordinary judges, see Marina, *Teoria de las Cortes*, i., iv.

[3] Lafuente, ix., p. 11.

[4] See Dunham, *Spain and Portugal* iv., p. 70, 1832. As to the *Merinos* in Navarre, and their provincial districts or *Merindades*, see *post*, chapter xxxviii.

The germ of all this remarkable independence of the royal authority is, no doubt, to be found in the policy of Imperial Rome; but in no country in Europe was the principle more fully developed than in Castile.[1] The Spanish citizen is the descendant at once of the unconquerable Cantabrians of the Asturias, and of the unconquered Romans of the Empire. After centuries of oppression and misgovernment,[2] he is at the present day at once the poorest and the proudest man in Europe—the most courtly, the most conservative, and the most silent of the champions of equality and the rights of man. The Spanish people, take it for all in all, is perhaps the best in the world. Idleness is entirely a modern vice in the Peninsula. Too much gold, unwise fiscal policy, and too little liberty in the sixteenth century demoralised the race; but throughout the Middle Ages the Spanish handicrafts-men were recognised as pecularily skilful, especially in cloth weaving and working in metals. They were associated in all the cities and towns in guilds,[3] and usually inhabited separate quarters according to their trade or craft.

But if municipal institutions sprang from Roman seed, representative government was a plant of later growth, introduced from more northern regions by the ruder hands of the Visigoth. However imperfectly the representative principle was found in the early councils under the Gothic kings of Spain, however unfortunate may have been their actual influence upon the fortunes of the sovereign and of the people, it is at least certain that the ancient Councils were *Cortes* for civil as well as for ecclesiastical business; and the preponderating number of Churchmen, which is said by Marina to have been due only to the desire of the kings to have the most enlightened citizens for their councillors,[4] was in any case only the assumption of power in a deliberative assembly by those who are most qualified to exercise it, that is to be seen in every ancient and modern Parliament. Yet the mediæval Cortes is the child of free Cantabria. Ramiro II. in 930, and Ramiro III. in 974, are said to have assembled the magnates of the kingdom to consult upon affairs of State, but the first Council or Cortes of which the acts have been preserved was that held at Leon by Alfonso

[1] Lafuente, ii., 259-261.

[2] Domiciliary visits were expressly forbidden to the royal officers as being "contrary to the law and custom of Castile," by Ferdinand IV. as early as 1300. Marina, *Teoria de las Cortes*, i., iv.

[3] Zuñiga, *Ann. Eccl. de Sevilla*, pp. 74-78; Sempere, *Hist. del Luxo*, i., 80.

[4] Marina, *Teoria de las Cortes*, i., iv.

V. in 1020. The Council of Coyanza, in 1050, was more distinctly a legislative assembly, but the elective principle had not even then asserted itself in its composition.

These early councils may have, no doubt, fairly reflected the feelings of the nation. But by the end of the twelfth century representation was more direct; and deputies from the towns were included, who asserted the importance, and vindicated the independence of the municipal system. The earliest recorded instance of direct popular representation in Castile is at the Cortes of Burgos, in 1169, when, nearly a century before the more celebrated English Parliament of Leicester, the cities of Castile were represented by burgesses elected by the free votes of the citizens.[1]

In the first instance, these early members of Parliament were elected by the householders of their cities; in later times, the elective franchise was restricted to the municipalities; and from that day the corrupt influence of the crown became paramount.[2] Within a few years, certainly by 1188, the presence of the burgesses or their "deputies chosen by lot,"[3] had become quite a matter of course. Every corporation would seem to have been, at least theoretically, entitled to send a deputy to the great Council of the nation, but the practice was by no means uniform. To the Cortes of Burgos, in 1315, ninety towns sent 192 representatives; to that of Madrid, in 1391, 126 deputies represented fifty towns. And in the important Council of 1348, when the *Siete Partidas* was first published, no single deputy was present from the whole of the province or kingdom of Leon.[4] In the reign of Ferdinand IV. (1295-1312) great progress was made in the power and influence of the Cortes. Not a year passed without a session. Not a maravedi was paid without popular sanction. A standing Privy Council, composed of members of the assembly, accompanied the king when Parliament was not actually sitting.[5] The Commons were ever on the alert.[6]

[1] Marina, lib. xi., cap. ii.

[2] Capmany, *Practica y Estilo de Celebrar Cortes*, p. 230.

[3] Dunham, iv., 154.

[4] See generally F. Martinez Marina, *Ensayo.*

[5] This was more in the sense of a permanent Recess Committee, whose duty it was to watch over the expenditure and the rights of Parliament generally. In cases of emergency it had the power of calling special meetings to receive reports, or for the purpose of deliberation. In later years this Recess Committee was greatly abused by the sovereigns, who made use of it to confirm customary supply from year to year for long periods, without any formal meetings of Parliament.—H.

[6] In the Cortes of Valladolid, 1295, and Cuellar, 1297, a permanent Council of State (Supreme Council) was imposed upon the king, Ferdinand IV., by the

A still more important Council, that met at the same city[1] in 1351, formulated important laws against the sturdy beggars, who were dealt with in England some 200 years later; fixed the wages of labourers; reformed the abuses of the Behetrias or Free Communities, and confirmed and amended the *Ordenamiento de Alcala*. Throughout the whole of the fourteenth century, until the time of John I. of Castile (1379-1391), when the power of the Cortes is usually considered to have reached the culminating point of its power and influence, the progress was constant, although it was by no means uniform. An immense number of important laws were enacted under John during his short reign of eleven years; and even more significant than the laws, are the debates upon Treaties and Alliances, on Peace and War, on Policies and Principalities, that regularly took place in the Council Chamber. Absolute monarchy was introduced into Spain only by Ferdinand and Isabella.

The absence of a Senate or Second Chamber was a distinguishing feature of the political system of Castile. The privileged orders, the *Ricos*[2] *hombres* or statesmen, the *Hidalgos* or lesser nobility, the *Caballeros* or knights, and the clergy, were all exempt from taxation. Whatever may have been the right of the nobility in earlier days to attend the meetings of the Cortes, it is clear that their sanction was not deemed essential to the validity of any legislative act, inasmuch as their presence was not required in many of the most important assemblies of the nation during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[3] That the Commons, who alone contributed to the national exchequer, should alone be called upon to collect the national revenue and to supervise the national expenditure, may not have appeared unreasonable. Yet the absence of the hereditary and landed aristocracy from the early Council Chambers was productive of that unhappy want of

Cortes, tired of the favourites chosen by his father Sancho. This was confirmed and developed by John I. at Bibiesca, 1387, and Segovia, 1390; by Henry III. in 1406, and John II. in 1443. Marina, *Teoria de las Cortes*, i., iv.

[1] Mérimée, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-90.

[2] Prescott, *Ferd. and Isab.*, i., 28. Not *Ricos* = rich; but *Reichs* (Gothic) = of the realm.

[3] It must be remembered that in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Cortes was composed only of deputies from the towns and the members of the King's Council. The bishops and the grandees always sat in the Councils as public functionaries, not as bishops or territorial lords. Marina, *Teoria de las Cortes, ubi supra.* (It must be understood that the author here is only referring to the Cortes of Castile. His remarks with regard to the attendance of the nobles and Churchmen in Cortes do not apply to Aragon, Catalonia or Valencia, where the "*three arms*" were always recognised.—H.)

union between noble and simple that proved ultimately so fatal to the liberties of Spain.[1]

But from the death of John I. the powers of the Commons in Cortes assembled began to decline in Castile. In the reign of John II. the number of enfranchised cities came to be limited, not by precedent, but by arbitrary power. Alvaro de Luna was not a man to encourage popular representation; and his submissive sovereign fixed the number of privileged cities at seventeen—Burgos, Toledo, Leon, Granada, Cordova, Murcia, Jaen, Zamora, Toro, Soria, Valladolid, Salamanca, Segovia, Avila, Madrid, Guadalajara and Cuenca. This was the beginning of dissolution. But paradoxical as it may appear, the final cause of the ultimate destruction of the power of the burgesses was not that they had become too weak, but that they had become too strong. They perished from excess of independence. In the day of their power they despised the territorial aristocracy. They stood by while the nobles were decimated by the king, and rejoiced at their exclusion from the Cortes. Nor did they even enjoy the political sympathy of the clergy. The priest indeed had little popular influence in Spain before the time of Ferdinand and Isabella.[2] Thus to the Commons of mediæval Castile, as to their ancestors in the days of Strabo, friendship and union were less dear than independence. And their independence was selfishly enjoyed.[3]

The parliamentary powers and political importance of the nobles, and the older legislative power of the ecclesiastics thus became gradually less and less, until by the time of Charles V. neither nobles nor clerics were even summoned to attend the meetings of the Cortes of Castile.[4]

But even before the end of the fifteenth century the power

[1] Nothing is said about the Commons at the Council of Toledo, 1135, when Alfonso VII. was recognised as emperor. Where affairs of great magnitude were to be treated, says an *Edinburgh Reviewer*, in 1813 (vol. xxii., p. 607), it is probable that every one was summoned to the Cortes whose concurrence could add weight to their deliberations or give effect to the laws and decisions which they adopted. To obtain additional authority for his government was the object of the king in calling for the advice of his subjects, and it was, therefore, his interest to make his Cortes numerous and respectable. The National Assemblies were always convoked at the spot where the king was at the time holding his court, and not at any fixed capital.

[2] Lafuente, tom. ix., pp. 22-24.

[3] See *ante*, chap. iii., pp. 29, 30.

[4] *None* of the prelates were summoned to the Cortes of 1299 and 1301; neither prelates nor nobles to those of 1370 and 1373, of 1480 and 1505. Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, ii., 23. As to the powerlessness of the king to legislate without consent of the Cortes, *Id.*, 23, 26, 28.

and the independence of the Commons had alike declined. Already in the reign of Henry IV., the king was able to send instructions to Seville that the citizens should elect certain persons named by him to be their representatives in the Cortes. In the last year of the reign of Henry III. the Cortes authorised the king, who so well deserved the confidence of the people, to levy such a subsidy as he might require in the future; a bad precedent, which paved the way for the gradual loss of power and authority by the Commons, under kings less virtuous than the third Henry of Castile. By such encroachments and by such surrenders, and above all by such selfishness, the king's authority became paramount. And the Commons, without allies or sympathisers among the other orders in the nation, the burgesses who had looked on with jealous satisfaction at the destruction of the nobility by Peter and by Ferdinand, were in their turn reduced to insignificance and to impotence by Charles and Philip II. The Cortes became a byword for all that was powerless and contemptible. Nor did the boasted freedom of Castile survive the wreck of its most cherished institution.[1]

But in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Commons were free and powerful. No tax could be imposed without their consent in the Cortes, and they watched, not only over the granting, and the collection, but over the expenditure of the revenue that was raised by their authority. The judges and officers of the realm, and even the private affairs of the king himself, were subjected to their scrutiny and their interference, and that to an extent which would not be endured even in modern democratic England.[2]

In the Cortes of Valladolid, in 1258, for example, the Commons went so far as to take upon themselves the control of the expenditure of the king's household, and limited the expenses of the royal table to 150 maravedis a day.[3]

[1] The process of the decadence of parliamentary institutions in Castile followed the usual course. The constituent Town Councils were packed with nominated and hereditary members, and the members of Cortes were bribed enormously by direct grants and by the gift of offices. The rule of payment of members by the towns and the delegation of resident townsmen to the Cortes, fell into desuetude until, by the end of the reign of Philip II., the Cortes of Castile had lost all vigour and independence. So much was this the case that Philip II. insisted upon the *regular* supply being considered as a tribute which Cortes was bound to vote without conditions. — H.

[2] The Cortes of Valladolid, in 1351, fixed the price of a day's labour and the wages of husbandmen and artisans (*Ordenamiento de Menestrales*). The sixth article of the *Ordenamiento de Prelados* has been interpreted as a prohibition to the labourer to change his master. Mérimée, *Don Pèdre*, i., p. 32.

[3] As to the supervision exercised by the Cortes over the persons and morals of the kings as well as their marriages, treaties, etc., from the time of Ramiro III. of

Nor were the affairs of the humbler classes disregarded by these parliamentary administrators. No law could be made or repealed save in the great Council of the nation.[1] Nor was any serious attempt made to evade these constitutional principles until the reign of John II., whose royal proclamation, dictated by Alvaro de Luna, sought to over-ride the authority of the Cortes.

The deputies were elected by the Municipal Councils or *Concejos*,[2] and were not permitted to receive any "favour or gratification" from the king or his ministers during the period of their deputation. The Municipal Councils furnished their deputy with instructions not only verbal, but in writing; and he was thus the mandatory or representative, not of the nation, but of his own municipality.

The members of the Cortes were summoned by writ, almost exactly coincident in expression with that in use in England.[3] The persons of the deputies were inviolable. By the beginning of the fifteenth century a smaller or Privy Council obtained some of the authority which resided in the Cortes. But sitting in permanence, and at the king's court, the members were exposed to powerful influences unfavourable to freedom; and when soon afterwards they came to be chosen by the king himself, they can have exercised but a very slender check upon any arbitrary acts of royal power.

In the reign of Henry III. four delegates of the Cortes, selected by that body, were added to the Privy Council, and their presence was judged to be of the utmost value to the commonwealth.

This royal or administrative Council was reorganised by Ferdinand and Isabella, and although the nominal right of the great nobles and ecclesiastics to a seat was still recognised, the professional jurists or *Law Lords* were practically invested with both the judicial and the consultative functions of the whole Privy Council.[4]

The constitution of Aragon was at once less popular and more liberal than that of Castile. The institutions of the

Leon (967), see Marina, *Teoria de las Cortes*, ii., 4. (See also in this respect the essay "A fight against finery" in *The year after the Armada*, by the present editor.—H.)

[1] See protest of Cortes of 1506. *apud* Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, ii., 30.

[2] Marina, *Teoria*, ii., 1.

[3] Marina, *Teoria*, ii., 3; Hallam, ii., 28.

[4] *Ordenanzas Reales de Castilla* (Burgos, 1528).

former was rather aristocratic; those of the latter tended to absolute monarchy. The arbitrary power of the king was more effectually checked by the nobles of Aragon than by the Commons of Castile. For in Aragon, gentle and simple, the classes and the masses, stood shoulder to shoulder in defence of their common liberties. And even the great royal victory at Epila in 1348, which crippled the power of the aristocracy, and abolished the formal privilege of union, did not sever the bonds that held together the knight and the burgess, the priest and the landed proprietor, who still maintained their liberties against Peter IV. "The aristocracy of Aragon,"[1] says Señor Castelar, who is certainly no friend to aristocracies, "fought at all times, not for power, but for popular liberty."

In Castile it was far otherwise. For there the Commons and the king were ever united against the nobility; and the nobles fought, not for liberty, but for personal aggrandisement. Thus, on the whole, political life was freer and larger; the people of all conditions were far more united in Aragon than in Castile.

Neither state enjoyed the priceless boon of trial by jury; but in Castile there was no Justiciary, as in Aragon, no *Habeas Corpus*,[2] no writ of *Certiorari*.[3] To the Castilians was given no *General Privilege*, such as was accorded to their neighbours by Peter III. Yet the *Privilege of Union*, the most tremendous power ever conceded by a king to his subjects, had its milder, and indeed its far more practical counterpart in Castile,[4] in the *Hermandades*, or brotherhoods of citizens, which have already been spoken of in treating of the turbulent reign of Ferdinand IV.[5]

Throughout the long and distracted reigns of John II. and Henry IV. the Hermandad was a necessity. With the return of good government and civil order it became superfluous; until at length the orderly and autocratic Isabella reduced turbulent Spain to complete submission, and replaced the old popular brotherhoods of a harassed and distracted country by the "Holy Brotherhood," the well-organised constabulary of a united kingdom.

[1] Castelar, *Estudios Historicos*, 49, 50.

[2] *Manifestacion.* [3] *Jurisfirma* or *Firma del derecho.*

[4] The Cortes of Castile became a Congress of Deputies from a few cities, too limited in number and too unconnected with the territorial aristocracy to maintain a just balance against the crown. Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, ii., 38.

[5] The Hermandad is considered by Señor Vicente de Lafuente as among the *secret societies* of Spain, partaking of the nature of freemasonry. *Hist. de las Sociedades Secretas* (Lugo, 1870), p. 44.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ALFONSO OF ARAGON AND NAPLES.

(1416—1453.)

The early death of Ferdinand I., after his brief but worthy reign of only four years, was in every way disastrous to Aragon. For Ferdinand, who had been one of the best regents of Castile, and one of the best kings of Aragon, was not a man to be easily replaced. And his son and successor, partly from his adventurous disposition, and partly from the force of circumstances, was led to embark once more upon the stormy sea of Italian politics, and to waste the blood and treasure of Aragon and Catalonia in enterprises without interest or advantage to Spain. The record of the reign of Alfonso V. is Italian rather than Spanish; and Aragon, ably administered by Queen Maria during the king's absence beyond the sea, prospered as a country that has no history.

King Alfonso's surname of The Magnanimous is said to have been earned by a refusal to investigate an alleged conspiracy against his succession, when he found himself firmly seated upon the throne; but the first act of his reign was unworthy of so noble a title. Jealous of the influence and popularity of his brother John in Sicily, where he resided as viceroy of the kingdom, Alfonso recalled him to Spain. And the prince, deprived of his honourable occupation in the peaceable administration of an important province, was led, most unhappily, to engage in intrigues and armed interference, in company with his brothers Henry and Peter, in the troubled affairs of neighbouring Castile. It was in Italy, in his maturer years, that Alfonso was at once more magnanimous and more successful in his dealings with his fellow-men; and well deserved the proud title by which he is known in the history of two countries. The years of his personal rule in Aragon were neither many nor glorious; and if it could be asserted, with any show of truth, that he was "the most ex-

cellent prince that had been seen in Italy from the time of Charlemagne," [1] the best that may be said of his rule in Aragon is that it was superior to that of his cousin in Castile. In 1420 he turned his attention to his eastern possessions, and undertook an expedition against Corsica and Sardinia, whence he retired the next year without having materially advanced the interests of Aragon. A dispute with the justiciary of the kingdom in the same year was less honourable to the king than to the judge. And it is chiefly interesting in that the Cortes of Alcañiz took advantage of the opportunity to formulate a decree that the justiciary should in future hold his office independent of the king's pleasure.[2] But it was in 1421 that Alfonso undertook the expedition which determined the course of his future life, and had a far-reaching influence on the future history of United Spain.

Joanna of Naples, sometime the affianced bride of John of Sicily—the self-willed queen who had so hastily married his rival, the French Count de la Marche—had soon grown tired of her chosen husband, and had relieved herself of his distasteful presence by throwing him into prison; and then turning her eyes once more to Aragon, she proposed to Alfonso, who had so narrowly escaped being her brother-in-law, that he should become her adopted son, with a right of succession to the crown of Naples. Alfonso accepted the tempting offer, which was confirmed by a formal treaty, sanctioned by a Bull of Martin V.; and despite the expected opposition of the Angevin, he proceeded to establish himself at Naples. His adopted mother, as a matter of course, soon changed her mind; and disinheriting Alfonso as formally as she had previously accepted him as her chosen successor, she adopted as her son and heir his rival and hereditary enemy, Louis of Anjou. Alfonso had already taken possession of Naples (June, 1423), but his position was uncertain and embarrassing; new intrigues were set on foot in Italy; and after war and siege with varying fortune, the king of Aragon was glad to return to Spain. Sailing near Marseilles with his well-equipped fleet, he took advantage of the opportunity to attack and plunder the city. The town was burned. The inhabitants were massacred. But we are told that the relics of St. Louis of Toulouse were piously rescued by the assailants from the general destruction, and were welcomed on board the

[1] Zurita, lib. xvi., cap. 42.

[2] Like our own judges, *quamdiu se bene gesserint*.

king's ship with the utmost consideration and reverence. (November, 1423).[1]

The Infante Peter, left by his brother to maintain the authority of Aragon at Naples, found himself soon reduced to the possession of the two notable forts—the Castel Nuovo and the Castel D'Uovo—so celebrated in the subsequent history of Central Italy; and for twelve years the war was continued with varying fortunes and ever changing policies, leagues and counter-leagues, excommunications, disappointments, lies and intrigues of every kind, Papal, royal, noble, Italian, Spanish and French.

At length, in November, 1434, Louis of Anjou died; and his adoptive mother, who had been faithful to him for nearly twelve years, did not long survive him.[2] René of Anjou, the brother and legitimate successor of Louis, was a prisoner in the hands of the Duke of Burgundy; and Alfonso was free to assert his claim to the vacant throne. But the Pope was hostile, and the Duke of Milan was chosen to oppose the Aragonese, who had invested Gaeta by land and by sea.[3] The king was an unskilful admiral; the Italian leaguers were favoured by fortune; and the Spaniards were defeated off the coast near Terracina[4] with the loss of their entire fleet. The king and his two brothers, with the flower of the nobility of Aragon, were taken prisoners on that fatal day (August, 1435), and the generous treatment[5] accorded to the captives by the Duke of Milan, is one of the pleasantest features in the story of the long and ignoble struggle for the supreme power in Italy.

As soon as the news of the defeat at Terracina reached Spain, Queen Maria, who was acting as regent of Aragon during the absence of her husband, summoned a Cortes at Monzon, and prepared an army and a fleet to restore the fortunes of her country. But, after a few months captivity, Alfonso and his brother were set at liberty; and the king was able once more to take the field in person. For so rapid were

[1] El rey ordenô que con toda reverencia fuese llevada y depositada en su galera tan preciosa joya. Lafuente, viii., 291.

[2] Queen Joanna died in November, 1435.

[3] Some accounts and papers, with lists of ships and names of officers and nobles, with the number of men-at-arms provided by each, for Alfonso's second Neapolitan expedition in 1432, will be found in vol xiii. of *Documentos Ineditos* (1848), p. 477. *Libre ordinari de dates, Fetes per en Bernat Sirvent, tesorer general, desde maig de* 1432 *fins le derrer die de Decembre apres seguent.*

[4] The Isla de Ponza. This battle is the subject of the celebrated dramatic poem of the Marquis de Santillana.

[5] They were treated *no como prisioneros sino como principes,*

the changes in Italian politics that the Duke of Milan, his captor, had already changed sides on the question of the sovereignty of Naples, and was soon (1439) an ardent supporter of his opponent of two years before. Gaeta was given up to the king of Aragon. René of Anjou, who had been ransomed in 1438 from the hands of the Duke of Burgundy, was now to be opposed at all hazards. Alfonso threw himself heart and soul into the struggle. He purchased the support of the new Pope by a promise of his assistance in the recovery of certain territory, and by a money payment of 200,000 ducats; he conciliated many of the Italian princes by diplomatic concessions; and, if ill fortune at first attended his arms, he was in the end completely successful. On the 2nd of June, 1442, Naples was taken and sacked, and René of Anjou driven into the accustomed refuge of the Castel Nuovo. Escaping thence, he made his way to Florence, where Pope Eugenius was bold enough to embrace the opportunity of formally investing him with the sovereignty of Naples, while his rival of Aragon made his triumphant entry into the city in February, 1443. A Parliament was summoned after the good old Aragonese fashion. The victor granted an amnesty to all his vanquished enemies, a fashion no less good, and by no means so old, in either Aragon or Italy; and he reigned over Naples, in spite of Popes and leaguers, to the day of his death in 1458, as Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Aragon and of the Two Sicilies.

Within six months of the conquest, Pope Eugenius had invested him (July, 1443), with the sovereign rights that he had already acquired, and had recognised his bastard son, Ferdinand, as his legitimate child and successor on the throne of Naples. Alfonso, in return for these favours, assisted the Pope in his struggles against his old allies the Sforzas; and he was at once so discreet and so successful that he was soon recognised as the "pacificator-general of Italy" (1446). Every State and every signor sought his alliance or his protection. The Duke of Milan, dying in August, 1447, bequeathed to him the whole of his dominions; and Alfonso's noble and prudent conduct with regard to his succession, raised his reputation still higher in the eyes of all his contemporaries. He not only abandoned the Duchy to Franciso Sforza and his wife, the daughter of the late duke, but he actually assisted them by force of arms against the attacks of the Florentines and the Venetians. Occupied thus worthily in the affairs of Italy, Alfonso turned his back, unhappily, upon Spain. His rule over Aragon was the

rule of the absentee; and far from seeking, even after his renunciation of Milan, to turn his steps to the west, he was actually projecting an expedition to succour the Christians in the extreme east of Europe,[1] when the taking of Constantinople by Mohammed II. (29th May, 1453), put an end to all further schemes of protection.

For 1100 years no Spaniard had ruled the world from Rome. Pope Damasus, celebrated for his share in the persecution of Priscillian, had died in 367. An obscure scholar known as Peter of Lisbon, Bishop of Braga, who took the title of John XXI. in 1276, may possibly have been a native of the Peninsula. But his tenure of office did not extend beyond a few months, and his identity is supremely uncertain. Pedro de Luna (Benedict XIII.) himself never entered the Vatican, and was never recognised as Pope by more than a portion of Christendom. But on the death of Nicholas V., Alfonso de Borja, a poor priest of Xativa, who had been consecrated Bishop of Valencia, was elevated to the Papal throne, and assumed the title of Calixtus III. His name, in the Italian form of *Borgia*, descended to his nephew, who had been created a cardinal within a year of the elevation of his uncle Calixtus to the Papacy; and Roderic Borgia, succeeding after a lapse of some thirty years to his uncle's tiara, earned for himself and his family an imperishable notoriety under the name of Alexander VI. The earlier Borgia has no such title to fame. But he took good care of all nephews,[2] Borgias and Valencians at Rome. Nor were the interests of his native province forgotten in his canonisation of the last but one of the titular Saints Vincent—Saint Vincent Ferrer, the most worthy of the nine arbitrators of 1412.

One of the twenty-seven saints of the Romish Church who bear the name of Vincent, of whom nine are natives of Spain, Vincent Ferrer is one of the last of his countrymen who has

[1] Alfonso, in 1456, proposed to Calixtus III., the Spaniard, Alfonso Borgia, that he should be intrusted with the command of a crusade against the Turks. But Calixtus viewed the scheme with little favour.

[2] The following list of the members of the family of Calixtus, invested with the scarlet hat in half a century, is interesting and instructive:—

1.	Cardinal	Alfonso	Borgia	1444
2.	,,	Roderic	,,	1456
3.	,,	Juan	,,	1492
4.	,,	Cæsar	,,	1493
5.	,,	Juan	,,	1496
6.	,,	Luis	,,	1500
7.	,,	Francisco	,,	1550

attained the honour of canonisation.[1] He was born at Valencia in 1357, and assumed the habit of a Dominican in 1374. At the age of twenty-four he proceeded to the University of Barcelona, and afterwards to Lerida, where he studied with uncommon diligence and success. Invested by Pedro de Luna with the degree of Doctor of Divinity, he continued the friend of that distinguished ecclesiastic for many years. On the death of Clement VII., in 1394, and the election of his patron to the anti-Papacy, Vincent repaired to Avignon, and was appointed master of the Sacred Palace by Benedict XIII. He refused a Cardinal's hat, however, at the hands of the anti-Pope; and in 1398 he returned to his native Valencia. Thence he travelled through a considerable portion of Europe, and accepting an invitation from Henry IV. to go over to England, he visited many of the principal towns in Great Britain, and even, it is said, in Ireland, preaching and working miracles, everywhere distinguished by his sanctity, his simplicity and his zeal. In 1406 he endeavoured, though without success, to induce Benedict XIII. to lay aside the Papal tiara, and so to put an end to the great schism in the Church; and travelling all over southern Europe until 1412, he returned to Aragon in time to be appointed, with general approbation, to act as one of the arbitrators, or electors of the kingdom; and the admirable choice of Ferdinand of Castile to fill the vacant throne, is said to be mainly due to his personal influence with his colleagues.[2] After this good work at home, though appointed by King Ferdinand to be his confessor and chaplain, Vincent continued his travels abroad, preaching to the poor, corresponding with popes and kings, and working innumerable well-authenticated miracles of healing the sick. He died at Vannes in Brittany in April, 1419; and his claims to titular sanctity, although rejected by the Italian Popes, Martin V., Eugenius IV., and Nicholas V., were admitted by his fellow-countryman Calixtus.[3]

But although the first of the Papal or Roman Borgias canonised a Spanish saint, he did not favour the Spanish

[1] The most celebrated of the various Saints Vincent was a Frenchman, Bishop of the Islands of the Lerins, opposite the little fishing village so well known to the modern frequenter of the French Riviera as Cannes. For a further account of Spanish saints, see *post*, vol. ii., chap. xlii., and *Appendix* on THE SPANISH POPES AND CARDINALS, and M. le Comte de Mas Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie* (Paris, 1889), pp. 893-4.

[2] Zurita, t. iii., f. 71.

[3] The last of the Saints Vincent, moreover, is said to have foretold the elevation of the first of the Borgias to the Papal throne.

sovereign. He refused to grant him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. An offer made by Alfonso to lead a crusade against the Turks was treated with scant courtesy. Nor did a proposal that Calixtus should assist him in his peaceful negotiations with Navarre and Castile find any favour at Rome. The King and the Pope—the Spaniard at Naples, and the Spaniard at Rome—died in the same year (1458), and a great change came over the affairs of Rome, of Naples, and above all of Aragon. Calixtus was succeeded by the learned Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; and Alfonso by his astute brother John, King of Navarre, who is known in history as John II. of Aragon, the father of Ferdinand the Catholic.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

JOHN II. OF CASTILE.

(1407—1454.)

I.—*The Good Regent Ferdinand.*

John II. of Castile was but two years of age at the time of his father's death. Castile was once more in the hands of a Council of Regency. Yet, among the regents of Spain, few, if any, may be compared in excellence with Ferdinand, the brother of the late king, who was associated with the widowed queen in the administration of the affairs of the realm. There was but one fault in his government of the king and of the kingdom—it was all too brief in its duration. Many were the counsellors, and they were not necessarily traitors to Castile, who urged the popular and capable uncle to mount the throne of the infant nephew. Could they but have foretold that the infant would live for fifty years without attaining the wisdom of a man, their demands might have been more strongly insisted upon. But Ferdinand refused to hear them. He acted with the most perfect loyalty to his brother's son, until the day when, unhappily for his own country, he was called to wear the crown, not of Castile, but of Aragon—the fruit of no intrigue,[1] the spoil of no civil war, but the free gift of a free people.

To find another Prince Regent with the conduct and qualities of Ferdinand of Castile, says Señor Modesto Lafuente,[2] we must

[1] In July, 1412. See *ante*, chapter xxxii. The administration of the kingdom of Castile was divided between the queen and her brother-in-law; the northern provinces being the share of the former, and the southern that of the latter. The war with Granada (1407-1410), ending with the conquest of Antequera, will be more particularly noticed in the chapter on the wars of Granada. See also Marina, xix., 22.

[2] Lafuente, ix., p. 16. It is agreeable to note and quote such liberal and just appreciation of the hereditary enemy. Señor Lafuente has now been my constant companion in study during nine volumes of his monumental work, and if I have

go back over five centuries, and find him in the distinguished stock of the Ommeyades of Cordova, in the noble and generous Prince Almudafar, the uncle and the protector of the child who lived to reign so gloriously as Abdurahman the Great.

The Council of Regency that was nominated in Castile on the departure of Ferdinand was not much more harmonious nor much more efficient than such associations usually were in mediæval Spain. But Castile continued at peace for four years under the effective if distant protection of Ferdinand of Aragon. That most worthy prince unhappily died in 1416. Queen Katherine, who, though far from being a second Berengaria, was at least an honest and affectionate guardian, died two years afterwards, in 1418; and a foolish boy of twelve years old was left to the society of dissolute favourites and the control of jealous regents. At the end of 1418 he was married to a daughter of the lamented Ferdinand. In 1419 he took into his feeble hands the reins of government, on attaining his fourteenth year. But from the death of Ferdinand, the real sovereign of Castile was the celebrated Alvaro de Luna, a relation of the indomitable anti-Pope Benedict XIII., and, like that stubborn ecclesiastic, a bold and masterful Spaniard.

II.—*Alvaro de Luna.*

The boldest knight, the ablest intriguer, the most fascinating companion at the king's court was Alvaro de Luna, by common consent the strongest head and the bravest heart in Castile. More skilful in the use of arms, more dexterous in every game and sport than any of his compeers, he was the best horseman, the most graceful dancer, the most accomplished troubadour, eloquent, magnificent, courageous, refined, the most brilliant cavalier in all Spain.[1] And the Castilian historians, partly, no doubt, to palliate the contemptible submissiveness of King John II., are never weary of insisting upon his almost supernatural vigour, both of mind and body. But a man far less bold, whether in the field or in the closet, than the far-famed Constable of

not always been able to agree with him, I have consulted his pages with much sympathy, and with unvarying respect.

[1] *Alvaro de Luna era el hombre mas politico, disimulado, y astuto de su tiempo.* Quintana, *Vida de Españoles celebres*, supplementary vol. (Madrid, 1833), pp. 1-253; and Lafuente, ix., 24-30. Yet he was short of stature, the victim of premature baldness, and disfigured by small eyes and bad teeth.

Castile, would have had little difficulty in mastering the weak and docile John.

Magnificent in an age of magnificence, Don Alvaro de Luna made display at once his pleasure and his business. The mere enumeration of his titles, as he grew in power and dignity, would fill a page of this history. As Constable of the Kingdom and Grand Master of Santiago, he would already have been the first man in Spain, yet he did not disdain the minor honours of the Dukedom of Truxillo, the Counties of Gormaz, San Esteban and Ledesma, and the lordships of no less than seventy towns or castles.

His brother was made Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of all Spain. His daughter was married to Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, second Duke of Infantado, of the bluest blood in Castile. His retinue was more magnificent than that of the king. His revenues exceeded those of the kingdom. Yet if he was permitted for well-nigh forty years to rule the king and the kingdom of Castile, it does not follow that John II. who obeyed so masterful a favourite, was either a fool or a simpleton. The king, indeed, was at once unwarlike and weak. And these were just the qualities which contemporary Castilians neither understood nor endured in their sovereigns.

Alfonso X., who was one of the greatest intellects of the thirteenth century, was despised by his subjects for his peaceful policy ; and it was not likely that John, who lived in still more troubled times, under the shadow of a masterful regent, and who showed his intelligence chiefly by dabbling in poetry and patronising university professors, should have commanded the respect of his subjects, or even of their patriotic posterity. John, indeed, never had what may be called a fair chance as king. The ocean of political intrigue was deep and stormy from the very day when the loss of his uncle left the ship of State, already labouring in the growing tempest, to his feeble and uncertain command. For ere he had enjoyed his nominal independence for twelve months, his cousin and brother-in-law, Henry, Infante of Aragon, surprised him (July, 1420), at Tordesillas, possessed himself, apparently without let or hindrance, of his royal person, and kept him a close prisoner in his own palace until he had been brought to consent to the marriage of this princely adventurer with his sister, the Infanta Katharine of Castile.

The insolence of the successful adventurer, the pusillanimity of the king, the indifference of Alvaro de Luna, are equally

strange and equally contemptible. Henry was rewarded not only with a royal wife but with honours and estates. The king was released from captivity. Alvaro de Luna was restored to favour, and appointed Constable of Castile (1425).

The tale of the long reign of John II. is scarcely worth telling in any detail. Castile, in spite of aristocratic intrigues and unmeaning civil war, grew gradually richer and stronger, and more civilised—in spite of king or constable, rather than on account of any political intelligence on the part of any leader in Castile. Literature, indeed, was encouraged, and men of letters were protected by the court. The life of no man is entirely contemptible. The king, who could not go to bed without the permission of his favourite, extended a generous and not unintelligent patronage to literature and the arts. A student, if not a scholar, and a respecter not only of Alvaro de Luna but of men of learning and science, an appreciative musician, a mild poet, a man fond of good manners and graceful diction, it must ever be remembered to the honour of John II. that he encouraged the Universities of Castile as they had not been encouraged since the days of Alfonso the Learned, and that he endowed them as they had never been endowed before.[1]

But politically the king's life was contemptible in the extreme. Such an episode as that known as the *Seguro de Tordesillas*, more particularly referred to in a subsequent chapter upon contemporary literature, would seem to mark the nadir of royal influence and national honour in Castile. Plots for the destruction of the over-powerful favourite were ever encouraged by the king's weakness, and brought to nought by his timidity. The rebellion of Henry, Prince of Asturias, and the attack on the king at Medina del Campo in 1441; the long civil war which culminated on the battle-field of Olmedo in May, 1445, and the defeat and banishment of Henry of Aragon and John of Navarre; the lamentable death of the constable; the constant vacillation of the king—all these things are neither interesting nor profitable to recall.

Amid all the unimportant and inglorious disputes with Navarre and Aragon, troubles and disturbances in every part of Castile, and the leagues and counter-leagues that characterise this long and dreary reign, one single feat of arms which Spanish historians recall with satisfaction was the victory over the Moors

[1] *Cronica de D. Juan II.* (*año* 1454), cap. 2; *Generaciones y Semblanzas*, cap. 33. There is a chapter in vol. xix. of the *Documentos Ineditos*, pp. 435-454, on the *Erudicion del Rey Juan II.*, which is worth looking at.

at Sierra Elvira, or Higueruela, in July, 1431. Yet the Christian action or intervention had been suggested only by civil war in Granada; and for many years after the bootless victory, the Moslems ravaged the Castilian frontiers with an impunity unknown for over 200 years.

John II. of Castile, indeed, did one thing, and one thing only for posterity, and that was to leave behind him a daughter who in no way resembled her father. By his first wife, Mary of Aragon, the king had but one son, born in 1425, who succeeded him as Henry IV. The queen died in 1445, and John, it is said, desired to take for a second wife a princess of the royal house of France. His master,[1] however, willed otherwise; and by order of Alvaro de Luna, the submissive monarch espoused Isabella of Portugal, a grand-daughter of King John I. The marriage took place in 1450, and a son, Alfonso, Prince of Asturias, was born in 1453. But two years previously, in 1451, a daughter had been given to the royal pair, who was destined to change the fortunes of Spain, and who received in honour of her high-spirited mother the ever famous name of Isabella.

If this Portuguese marriage thus brought everlasting honour to Spain, it sealed the fate of Alvaro de Luna. For the queen of his choice, far from becoming either his agent or his ally, emboldened the king, her lord, to assert his independence of his favourite; and Alvaro de Luna, like many greater and better men, fell by the hand of a woman.

If the great *Hajib* at Cordova was too strong for Sobeyra the queen-mother, the Constable was no match for the superior attractions of Isabella the wife. And at length, delivered by the king, in a fit of momentary vigour, into the hands of the executioner, the favourite died, before his ever-vacillating sovereign could summon up resolution to remit the sentence, on the 2nd of June, 1453. One year only did the king survive the Constable; and on the 21st of July, 1454, was John II. gathered to his fathers.

The one person who stands out in bold relief among his rest-

[1] The subjection of the king to the favourite was so complete that it extended to the most personal and private acts of his daily life. *Aun en los autos naturales se dió asi à la ordenanza del condestable, que seyendo él mozo y bien complexionado, y teniendo à la reyna su mujer moza y fermosa, si el condestable se lo contradixiese, no iria à dormir à su cama della.* Perez de Guzman, *Cronica de D. Juan*, ii. (Ed. 1779), p. 602, col. 1. (A similar control over the marital conduct of young Philip on his first marriage was established by his father Charles V. in favour of the prince's governor, Don Juan de Zuñiga, though Philip, unlike John II., soon evaded it.—H.)

less contemporaries is, of course, Alvaro de Luna. Yet, superior as he no doubt was to his contemporaries, and to his inevitable successor, to the ungrateful Villena and to the scandalous Beltran de la Cueva, his renown is due rather to his domination of the feeble monarch who abandoned to him for forty years the absolute government of Castile, than to any enormous merits of his own. In spite of much historical glorification, Alvaro de Luna must be considered as a somewhat commonplace favourite, of the more magnificent order; a strong and unscrupulous minister, who ruled a weak and submissive king by the accustomed methods, and who perished in the accustomed manner. His success, great as it was, was purely personal. With almost unlimited power, his administration of Castile was to the last degree disastrous: and his strength of character was never for forty years displayed in the good government of Spain. Magnificent he certainly was, a commanding and an attractive figure in Spanish history, admired by his contemporaries, celebrated in a fascinating *Chronicle*, and ennobled by a tragic and dignified death, he may rank higher among the rulers of his country than Lerma or Godoy, but he is unworthy of a moment's comparison with Almanzor.[1]

[1] I have derived much information from the *Cronica de D. Alvaro de Luna*, etc., etc., etc., ed. *con varios apendices* by D. Josef Miguel de Flores, *Secretario de la Real Academia de Historia* (Madrid, 1784). Among the *apendices*, printed at pp. 1-112, is The SEGURO DE TORDESILLAS, by Don Pedro Hernandez de Velasco, Conde de Haro, referred to in the text, and also the *Libro del Passo Honroso defendido por el Excelente Caballero Suero de Quiñones*, compiled by Pero Rodriguez Velena and edited by Juan de Pineda, pp. 1-68. The whole is preceded by a good *Prologo*, and makes a most interesting volume. (The archives of the present Count de Haro (the Duke of Frias) contain a great quantity of documents referring to the curious affair of the "Seguro de Tordesillas" by which the "good" Count de Haro guaranteed the safety of all parties to the conference. I am indebted to the Duke of Frias for the abstracts of these documents, of which also a full catalogue has just (1899) been printed in Madrid.—H.)

TABLES AND APPENDICES.

TABLES.

TABLE I.

VISIGOTHIC KINGS.

FROM THE DEATH OF ALARIC.

Name.	Date of Death.	Seat of Government.
*Atawulf	415	*Barcelona.*
*Sigeric	415	,,
Wallia	420	*Toulouse.*
*Theodoric (Theodored)	451	,,
*Thorismund	452	,,
*Theodoric	466	,,
Euric	483	,,
*Alaric II.	507	,,
Gesalic	511	*Narbonne.*
*Amalaric	531	,,
*Theudis	548	,,
*Theudisel	550	,,
*Agila	554	*Merida?*
Athanagild	567	*Toledo.*
Liuva	572	*Narbonne.*
Leovgild	586	*Toledo.*
Reccared	601	,,
*Liuva II.	603	,,
*Witeric	610	,,
Gundemar	612	,,
Sisebut (Sisebert)	620	,,
Reccared II.	621	,,
Swinthila	631	,,
Sisenand	636	,,
Chindila (Kintila)	640	,,
Tulga	642	,,
Chindaswind (Kindasvinth)	653	,,
Recceswind	672	,,
Wamba	680	,,
Erwig (Ervigius)	687	,,
Egica	701	,,
Witiza (Witica)	710?	,,
*Roderic	711?	,,
Theodemir	743	*Tadmir?*
Athanagild II.	755	,,

*Those kings whose names are marked * died a violent death. Tulga, Wamba and Erwig died in confinement.*

TABLE II.

KINGS OF THE ASTURIAS AND LEON.

Name.	Date of Accession.
Pelayo	718 ?
Favila	737
Alfonso I.	739
Fruela I.	757
Aurelio	768
Mauregato	774
Bermudo I.	788
Alfonso II.	791
Ramiro I.	842
Ordoño I.	850
Alfonso III.	866
Garcia	910
Ordoño II.	914
Fruela II.	923
Alfonso IV.	925
Ramiro II.	930
Ordoño III.	950
Sancho	955
Ramiro III.	967
Bermudo II.	982
Alfonso V.	999
Bermudo III.	1027

On the death of Bermudo III. in 1037, the kingdom of Leon fell to Ferdinand I. of Castile, who had married Sancha, a daughter of Sancho the Great.

Their second son Alfonso succeeded, in 1065, to the crown of *Leon*, and in 1072 to that of *Castile*, as Alfonso VI.

TABLE III.

THE HOUSES OF ARAGON AND BARCELONA.

ARAGON.

Sancho the Great *of Navarre*. ..... *ob.* 1035.
Ramiro I. .... 1035-1063.
Sancho Ramirez .... 1063-1094.
Peter I. .... 1094-1104.
Alfonso I., *el Batallador*..... ..... 1104-1134.
Ramiro II., *the Monk* .... 1134-1137.

Petronilla .... 1137-1162.

BARCELONA.

Bera (first Count) .... 801-820.
?
Wilfrid, *the Hairy* (first Hereditary Count) .... 898-906.
?
Ramon .... 992-1017.
Berenguer Ramon I. .... 1017-1035.
Ramon Berenguer I. .... 1035-1076.
Ramon Berenguer II., *Cap d'Estopa* 1076-1082.
Berenguer Ramon II. .... 1076-1096.
Ramon Berenguer III. .... 1096-1131.
Ramon Berenguer IV. .... 1131-1162.

= Petronilla .... 1137-1162. = Ramon Berenguer IV. .... 1131-1162.

Alfonso II.,
1162-1196.

Peter II.,
1196-1213.

TABLE IV.

THE UNIONS AND SEPARATIONS OF THE CROWNS OF LEON AND CASTILE IN THE XI., XII. AND XIII. CENTURIES.

	Leon.	Castile.	United Kingdom.
Bermudo III., *ob. s. p.*	1027-1037	.....	.....
Ferdinand I.	.....	1033-1037	.....
„	.....	.....	1037-1065
Sancho II.....	.....	1065-1072	.....
Alfonso VI.	1065-1072	.....	.....
„	.....	.....	1072-1109
Urraca	.....	.....	1109-1126
Alfonso, *el Emperador*	.....	.....	1126-1157
Sancho III.	.....	1157-1158	.....
Ferdinand II.	1157-1188	.....	.....
Alfonso III. (VIII.)	.....	1158-1214	.....
Alfonso IX.	1188-1230	.....	.....
Henry I.	.....	1214-1217	.....
Berengaria	.....	1217	.....
Saint Ferdinand	.....	1217	.....
„ „	.....	.....	1230

TABLE V.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ROYAL HOUSES OF CASTILE AND ENGLAND.

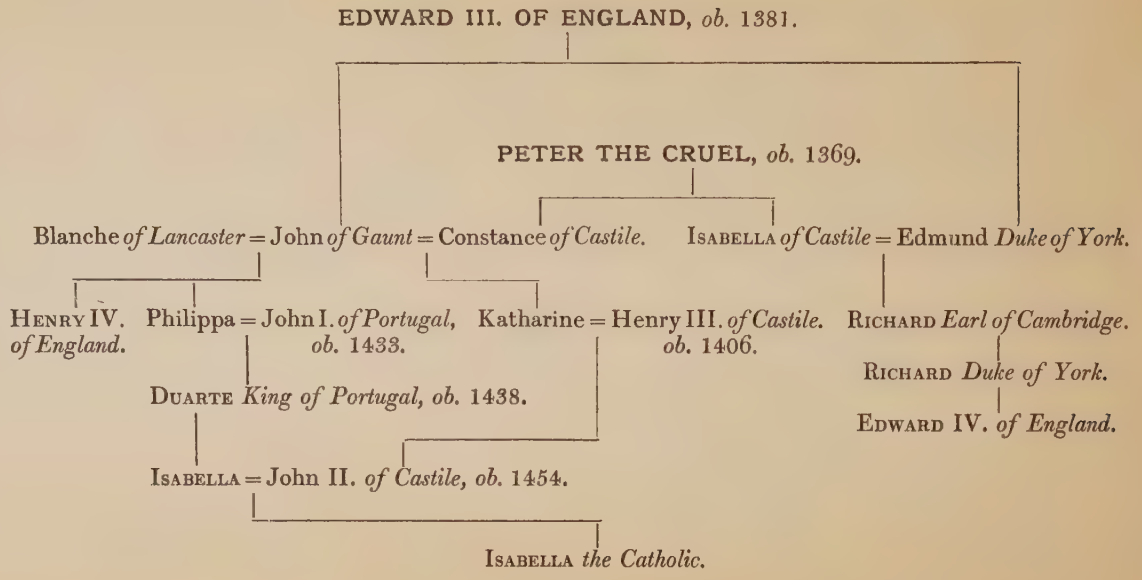

EDWARD III. OF ENGLAND, ob. 1381.
PETER THE CRUEL, ob. 1369.
Blanche of Lancaster = John of Gaunt = Constance of Castile.
Isabella of Castile = Edmund Duke of York.
Henry IV. of England.
Philippa = John I. of Portugal, ob. 1433.
Katharine = Henry III. of Castile. ob. 1406.
Richard Earl of Cambridge.
Richard Duke of York.
Edward IV. of England.
Duarte King of Portugal, ob. 1438.
Isabella = John II. of Castile, ob. 1454.
Isabella the Catholic.

TABLE VI.

THE KINGS OF CASTILE AND ARAGON.

FROM THE UNION OF LEON AND CASTILE.

Saint FERDINAND III.
1230-1252.
ALFONSO X., *the Learned,*
1252-1284.
SANCHO IV., *the Bravo,*
1284-1295.
FERDINAND IV., *the Summoned,*
1295-1312.
ALFONSO XI., *the Judge,*
1312-1350.
PETER, *the Cruel,*
1350-1369.
HENRY II., *of Trastamara,*
1369-1379.
JOHN I.,
1379-1391.
HENRY III., *the Invalid,*
1391-1407.
JOHN II.,
1407-1454.
HENRY IV., *the Impotent,*
1454-1474.
ISABELLA, *the Catholic,* =
1474-1504.

JAMES I., *the Conqueror,*
1213-1270.
PETER III., *the Great,*
1270-1285.
ALFONSO III.,
1285-1291.
JAMES II.,
1291-1327.
ALFONSO IV.,
1327-1336.
PETER IV., *the Ceremonious,*
1336-1387.
JOHN I., *the Hunter,*
1387-1395.
MARTIN, *the Humane,*
1395-1412.
FERDINAND I., *the Honest,*
1412-1416.
ALFONSO V., *the Magnanimous,*
1416-1458.
JOHN II.,
1458-1479.
FERDINAND II., *the Catholic,*
1479-1516.

JOANNA, *the Crazy,*
QUEEN OF SPAIN.

TABLE VII.

THE AMIRS AND CALIPHS OF CORDOVA.

Abdur Rahman I.	755-787
Hisham	787-796
Hakam	796-821
Abdur Rahman II.	821-852
Mohammed	852-886
Al Mondhir	886-888
Abdullah	888-912
Abdur Rahman III. *an Nasir*	912-961
Hakam II.	961-976
Hisham II.	976-1012
Anarchy	1012-1094

Seventy-nine Moslem Sovereigns are given in M. de Mas la Trie's "Trésor de Chronologie," as having reigned in Spain between 1012 *and* 1094.

THE ALMORAVIDES.

Yusuf ibn Tashfin	1094-1107
Ali ibn Yusuf	1107-1144
Tashfin ibn Ali	1144-1147
Ibrahim ibn Ali ibn Yusuf	1147-1149

THE ALMOHADES.

Abdul Mumin	1149-1163
Yusuf ibn Yacub	1163-1199
Mohammed an Nasir	1199-1214
Yusuf	1214-1224
Abdul Wahid	1224-1225
Al Mamun	1225-1232
Abdul Wahid II.	1232-1238

TABLE VIII.

THE MOSLEM KINGS OF GRANADA.

Mohammed I., *al Ahmar*	1238
Mohammed II., *al Amir*	1273
Mohammed III.	1302
An Nasir	1309
Ismail I.	1314
Mohammed IV.	1325
Yusuf I.	1333
Mohammed V.	1354
Ismail II.	1359
Abu Saïd	1360
Mohammed V. (*second time*)	1362
Yusuf II.	1391
Mohammed VI.	1396
Yusuf III.	1408
Mohammed VII.	1423
Mohammed VIII.	1427
Mohammed VII. (*second time*)	1429
Yusuf IV.	1431
Mohammed VII. (*third time*)	1432
Mohammed IX.	1445
Ismail III.	1454
Ali, *Muley abul Hasan*	1466
Mohammed X., *abu Abdullah* (Boabdil)	1482
Mohammed XI. } together	1484
Abdullah *el Zagal* } together	1487
Mohammed X. (Boabdil) alone	1491

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

THE BASQUES.

The modern Basques, who call themselves *Escualdunac*, a word which is usually taken to signify either "eaters of acorns" (cf. *Don Quixote*, part i., chap. xi.), or "dwellers in oak forests," number at the present day, in the French and Spanish *Basque Provinces*, some 630,000 souls; in Guipizcoa, 180,000; in Biscaya, 150,000; in Alava, 10,000; in Navarre, 150,000; and in various parts of south-western France nearly 150,000. In addition to these, no less than 200,000 Basques are said to have emigrated during the last fifty years to South America, more especially to the Argentine Republic, where, from their great bodily strength, good conduct and industry, they are ever highly appreciated as colonists.

Among the many curious books that have been published about the Basques may be mentioned *L'Histoire des Cantabres, par l'Abbé d'Iharce de Bidassouet* (Paris, 1825). The Abbé, whose sense of humour is on a par with his critical faculty, proves, quite to his own satisfaction, that the Basque was the language of Noah, if not of Adam; that Europe was entirely colonised by Basques, whose language—"*la première langue de toute l'Europe*"—has influenced the geographical nomenclature of every European country; but whose descendants are now only to be found in the Basque Provinces of France and Spain. "*Je sarais tenté de croire,*" says the Abbé "*que les Phéniciens seraient une Colonie basque.*" After such temptations, it is impossible to attach very much importance to the Abbé's etymologies, though he is evidently a good Basque scholar, and appends an elaborate Escualdunac grammar to his work.

"*Escualdunac*" signifies, according to him, not "acorn-eating," but "ambi-dextrous". The word "Celts," says this author, is

but a curruption of the Basque *Zelaites*, the people of the plain. "Iberians," is from *Ibayens*, the people of the rivers (as to which see Lafuente, i., Introduction, p. 15); and the Celtiberians, as M. d'Iharce would have it, have nothing to do with either the Celts or the Iberians, but are the *Zaldiberians*, "the people of the fine horses". At one time I thought that the entire book was an elaborate *jeu d'esprit*, a satire upon the extravagance of etymologists, as for instance, when *Noah* is said to be the Basque for *wine*, and is connected with the patriarch's unhappy inebriety; but the dedication to the king of France renders such a theory untenable.

Yet, among, the vast number of books about the Basques which have come into my hands, some, it must be admitted, are very nearly as absurd as that of M. de Bidassouet.

A work of a very different character is *L'Histoire des Basques*, par A. Baudrimont (Paris, 1867)—a methodical treatise, dealing chiefly with matters linguistic. But even M. Baudrimont is not free from extravagance. *La langue Basque*, says he, *est, à n'en plus douter, la langue la plus ancienne qui soit parlée sur le globe*, p. 179; and he further maintains that the Basques are the common stock whence the Semitic and Indo-European families of language have their origin (p. 157)—and finds distinct traces of Basque influence in the language of the Polar regions! (164), and in the ancient languages of South America (pp. 154 and 176).

As to the etymology and signification of the word *Basque* = belonging to the forest? and *Escualdunac*, see a very learned disquisition in Marrast's edition of W. von Humboldt's *Recherches sur les habitants primitifs de l'Espagne* (51-55). In the same work (pp. 148-155) may be read an examination of the near relationship of the Basque language with the languages of America, a subject of much interest, but obviously beyond the limits of this work. Humboldt and Marrast may, however, be taken to have established the following propositions: (1) The ancient Iberian names of places are derived from the Basque; (2) the Basque was the language spoken by the primitive inhabitants of the entire Peninsula of Spain; (3) the Iberians, a great people, spoke Basque, or some language akin to it.

There is no such thing as a (special) Basque alphabet. Basque is written in ordinary Roman characters. The special Iberian or Keltiberian alphabet is akin to the Phœnician and other Levant alphabets; it is evidently derived from them, but still awaits an interpreter. See Professor E. Hübner's *Monu-*

menta Linguæ Ibericæ (Berolini, 1893). For a short notice see *The Classical Review*, Oct., 1894, p. 357; and *ante*, p. 3.

The word *Escualdun*, says Mr. Wentworth Webster, is evidently connected with the name of the language, *Escuara, Euscara*, which *may* mean "way of speaking," so that *Escualdun* would mean something like "men of the *Escuara*, men who use the *Escuara*"; other peoples would be to them like the "Barbaria" to Greeks or Romans. The oak and acorn-eating etymologies are absurd.

There are very few Celtic roots surviving, according to Humboldt, in Spanish names of places. What is far more remarkable is that no certain traces of Celtic are to be found in *Basque*.[1] But the word Gallicia is Celtic; and so are the two rivers *Deva* on the north coast with the same root as the English *Dee;* and the *Tambre* on the north-west akin to our English *Tamar;* and Brigantium, or Finisterre, embodies the Celtic *Briga*, so common in Gaul. But the equally common Celtic forms *Dunum, Magus, Vices* are not found in Spain. As to Ebro and its possible derivation from some such Celtic root as *Aber*, see *ante*, p. 2 note 4.

The following purely Iberian or Basque roots in Spanish local names are given by Humboldt:—

(1) *Uria* a town; *e.g.*, *Beturia*, Vittoria; *Graccuris*, town of Gracchus.

(2) *Ili*, a town, seen in composition with *berri*, new, in *Iliberis* or Elvira; also in *Bilbilis*, the town at the foot of the mountain, and *Bilbao?*

(3) *Mendi*, a mountain; in Monda, Mendiculeia and Mendigorri.

(4) *Navarra*, Navarre; *Nava*—plain near a mountain (as *las*

[1] It must be observed that this point is involved in considerable obscurity. I have identified a large number of words in Basque which are clearly traceable in the Irish form of Celtic; and the language also positively abounds with words of evidently direct Sanscrit origin. The latter set of words usually express primitive ideas, the former set more often indicating some amount of civilisation. It is possible, therefore, that the words that have reached Basque from a Sanscrit root through Celtic were grafted upon the language by their Celtic neighbours; or in some cases even by the Romans who had incorporated similar words in Latin. The words, however, reaching Basque apparently direct from Sanscrit may more probably have been introduced by the Iberians, who were conceivably a people speaking a Sanscrit tongue. I account for the rarity of Celtic place-names and the frequency, all over Spain, of Basque place-names, by the presumption that the Basques, being the primitive inhabitants of the Peninsula—perhaps from the stone age, had given names to the localities before the arrival of the Celtic-speaking races. Although there are many Celtic and Sanscrit *words* in Basque the *construction* of the latter language is quite distinct.—H.

navas de Tolosa); *Arra* is a very common Basque termination; *Nav-arra* is thus, the plain near the mountains. Humboldt, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 27, 29, 41, 47, and W. Webster, *Spain*, p. 72.

As to the area inhabited now or in historic times by a Basque-speaking people, and the difference between French and Spanish Basques, see *Revue d'Anthropologie*, iv. 29 (Paris, 1875), where there is also a valuable map by M. Broca. See also the excellent map of Prince L. L. Bonaparte; and A. Hovelacque, *La Linguistique* (Paris, 1876), pp. 87-89. Some very interesting notes on the origin of the Basques and their language will be found in *La Navarre Française*, par M. Bascle de la Grèze (Paris, 1881), vol. i., chaps. ii. and iii.

It may be mentioned in passing that many great Spaniards have been undoubted Basques, as for instance, Ignatius Loyola and St. Francis Xavier; and among the moderns, Señor Sarasate.

On the Basques, their country, their language, and their origin, an immense number of books have been published. In addition to those already cited the following may be consulted with advantage:—

Historia de las Naciones Bascas, J. A. Zamacola, 3 vols., 8vo (Auch, 1818); Humboldt, *Prüfung der Untersuchungen über dié Urbewohner Hispaniens* (Berlin, 1821), and the French translation, which notes by A. Marrast (Paris, 1866); *Le pays Basque, sa population, sa langue*, pas M. Francisque Michel (Paris, 1857); *Dissertation sur les Chants Heroiques des Basques*, J. F. Bladé (1866); *The Alphabet, Antiquity and Civilisation of the Basques*, by Erro y Aspiroz, translated by E. Erving (Boston, 1829); *Basque Legends*, by Rev. W. Webster (London, 1877); *Chants Populaires du pays Basque*, Salaberry (Bayonne, 1870); Cénac-Moncaut, *Histoire des peuples Pyrenéens* (Paris, 1874); *La Langue Ibérienne et la Langue Basque*, W. J. Van Eys, in the *Revue de Linguistique* (vii., 1874); José Manterola, *Cancionero Vasco* (3 vols., San Sebastian, 1877-80); Vinson, *Les Basques et le pays Basque* (Paris, 1882); and Campion, *Grammatica*, etc., 1886.

Larramendi, *El Imposible Vencido* (1729); *De la Antiguedad y Universalidad del Bazcuence en España* (1728), and *Diccionario trilingue del Castellano, Bazcuence y Latin* (1745).

A very interesting chapter on Basque proverbs, referring to various collections, will be found in Francisque Michel's *Pays Basque* (Paris, 1857); M. Michel being himself the editor of the most ancient and most remarkable collection, that of Oihenart (1657). See also *Notice sur les Proverbes Basques receuillis par*

Arnauld d'Oihenart, et sur quelques autres travaux rélatifs dans la langue euskarienne, par M. G. Brunet (Paris, 1859).

See in fine, the excellent articles *sub tit.* Basque, in *Chambers' Encyclopædia,* and in the *Grande Encyclopédie* recently published in Paris by L'Amirault.

My best thanks are due to the Rev. Wentworth Webster for most kindly looking over the proofs of this little *Appendix,* and thus giving to it a value which it would not otherwise have possessed.

APPENDIX II.

ON CUSTOMARY CONCUBINAGE, OR BARRAGANERIA.

The absence of any social stigma attaching to illegitimate birth in Spain is a remarkable feature in the domestic life throughout the Middle Ages, and has left an impress upon the national laws, which may be seen at the present day.

As the increase of the Christian population was a matter of prime necessity in the kingdom of northern Spain, and as the destruction of able-bodied men in battle was constant and excessive, it is not surprising that the marriage laws or customs should have been favourable to a modified form of polygamy, under the name of *Barraganeria,* by which every man, whether married or single, might entertain a *barragana,*[1] or lawful concubine, without scandal or reproach.

The children of the *barragana* shared in the division of the family estate with those of the more formally wedded wife ; and, in the absence of more legitimate children, they succeeded to their father's inheritance in preference to any of his collateral heirs. And thus it came to pass that birth out of wedlock was for long accounted no disgrace in Castile ; and even the children of *celibate* priests, by the customary *barragana,* succeeded to the inheritance of their fathers as a matter of right.

See *Edinburgh Review,* vol. xxii., p. 66.

The legal recognition of the concubine is, no doubt, of Moslem suggestion. Four wives were lawfully maintained by the Moor. It would have been hard if the Christian should have been less favoured, in this or any other respect, than his hated rival in Spain.

Even in the last edition of the Civil Code of Spain (as amended by the law of 1889, tit. v., arts. 108, 141) the question of legitimacy and illegitimacy is treated in a spirit very different

[1] The Barragana was defined in the early Spanish law as "*Uxor inferioris conditionis et sine jure dotali*".—H

from that to be found in the laws of most other European countries at the present day.

Thus (1) a child is presumed to be legitimate whose father has expressly or tacitly recognised him as such, as soon as the parents are actually married. (2) The children of unmarried parents are divided into two classes: First, *natural* children, and, second, *illegitimate* children, of which the former, being the offspring of persons who, at the time of the conception of the child, were free to marry, may at any time be recognised and declared legitimate by either father or mother, even by will, and take their place by the side of their brothers and sisters actually born in wedlock, (3) The marriage of father and mother, moreover, of itself legitimises all their natural children, recognised at the time as such.

A most interesting treatise on the meaning, origin, nature and legality of *Barraganeria* in Spain and in Navarre will be found in La Grèze, *Hist. de Navarre,* vol. ii., chap. iii. The author gives the following definition (pp. 189, 190) of the institution: "*Union sans solemnité, mais licite, autorisée, réglementée par ce droit du moyen age*". The *barragana*, according to him, was not a concubine, but a wife *infra dignitate uxoris.*

As to clerical *barraganeria*, see H. C. Lea, *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy* (1867), more especially pp. 204, 299, 324.

"Illegitimacy," says Richard Ford—*Quarterly Review*, vol. lxi., pp. 119, 120—"was no bar to the throne of Spain." . . . John of Gaunt claimed the crown of Castile, *jure optimo*, as was inscribed on his epitaph in Old St. Paul's—see Dugdale, *St. Paul's*, 91—in right of his wife Constance, the natural daughter of Peter the Cruel—nor was that plea ever demurred to. The same system ran through private families. To cite the two most powerful and celebrated of Andalusia; the dukedom of Medina Sidonia was first conferred on the descendant of *Guzman el Bueno,* himself a bastard, and extended by Henry IV. in 1460 to the illegitimate branches in default of legitimate.

Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, first Marquis of Cadiz and rival of the Guzman, was in the same predicament.

Natural children indeed were considered no loss to a family —rather a gain, hence the old Spanish term *hijos de ganarcia.*

See in fine, *Las Siete Partidas, Partida* iv., *Titulos* xiii., xiv., xv.

APPENDIX III.

THE LAWS OF THE VISIGOTHS.

I HAVE already spoken in the text (pp. 90, 94) of the introduction and promulgation of the Visigothic Law in Spain, and referred in a note on p. 94 to some of the authorities from which I have derived my information. I would now add to them the *Ensayo* of D. Francisco Martinez Marina (Madrid, 1834), and Masdeu, *Hist.*, etc., tom. xi., pp. 78-142. There are a few words upon the subject in Guizot's *History of Civilisation*, in lectures 3, 6, 10 and 11 ; and *Ed. Review*, lxviii., 382.

Upon the question of slavery under the Visigoths, a good deal that is valuable will be found in Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vols i. and ii. ; and in Ponthier, *de Stat. Servorum*.

I have also, in speaking of the *Siete Partidas* and the legislation of Alfonso X. (p. 270) referred to the *Fuero Juzgo*, the name by which the laws of the Visigothic code had come to be spoken of in mediæval Spain.

Alone of modern nations (says Mr. H. C. Lea in *Historical Review*, ii., 567) Spain can trace her laws back to Rome in almost unbroken descent. The Visigoths established their domination at a time when Roman civilisation was still an object of reverence; they adopted to a great extent its legal formulas, and their code in its comparative completeness and orderliness, offers the strongest contrast to the contemporary and subsequent Leges Barbarorum with which it is commonly classed. Elsewhere, the Franks, the Burgundians, the Saxons, the Bavarians, and the other founders of the European Commonwealths treated the Roman institutions with contempt, and regarded their own crude and barbarous customs as alone worthy of obedience by free-born warriors. Even in Italy the Lombards imposed their legislation on their subjects to the virtual extinction of the Imperial jurisprudence.

In Spain, even the Arab conquest did not overthrow the Visigothic code. Preserved by the Christian refugees in the

mountains of Asturias, when its language grew obsolete, it was translated into romance, and as the *Fuero Juzgo* it continued to be the law of the reconquered Peninsula. The code of the Visigoths was the first collection of laws published in Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire; and as such, if not for its own intrinsic merits, it is worthy of the study at once of the jurist and the historian. The reader who would most fully and fruitfully study its provisions is referred to the works of Dahn and Daroud Oghlou, described on p. 94. But a few notes upon the character of the early Visigothic laws may be allowed in this place.

The social conditions revealed by the *Leges Visigothorum* are in the highest degree remarkable.

The Goths alone were classed as *Nobiles*, divided into *primates* and *seniores*, or lords and gentlemen; the entire native or Hispano-Roman community were *Viliores*, who were further divided into *Ingenui* or free men, *Liberi* or freed men, and *slaves*, the depth of whose degradation was differentiated by the titles of *boni* and *viles*.

The condition of these last, as I have already pointed out on p. 116, was supremely wretched. Even manumission was not irrevocable; death alone released the slave of the Visigoths from the hard hands of his oppressors.

The slave of any degree who presumed to marry a free woman was burnt alive, and his accomplice shared his doom. For seduction or even for rape, no more dreadful punishment could be found.

The great twofold division into *Nobiles* and *Viliores*, easy enough, however impolitic, for some time after the Gothic invasion, became, of course, increasingly difficult to maintain. Yet it was not until the time of Recceswindth, less than fifty years before the route of the Guadalete, that marriage between Roman and Goth was made lawful in Spain.

But long before that time, no doubt, the social divisions had become, not by any means effaced, but very greatly confused; and there would seem to have been low class as well as high class Goths, and high class Hispano-Romans, all valued, so to speak, according to different scales, for the purpose of paying or receiving pecuniary compensation for crime. For among free men of every degree, Goths or *Viliores*, the punishment for every crime was graduated, not by the importance of the offence, but by the importance of the criminal. An injury committed by an *honestior* upon an *honestior* was atoned for by a

payment of ten gold pieces; for a similar injury to an inferior he would pay four. For a common assault upon a freeman a slave received 200 stripes; a freeman paid five sous.

From her birth to the age of fifteen a woman was, for the purpose of compensation, valued at only one-half the price of a man; from fifteen to twenty at the same as a man; from twenty to forty at one-sixth less than a man; and after forty at even less than half. Yet the rights of women were by no means disregarded. A lady could not marry without a dower, but it was paid not by, but to her parents, and by her future husband.

The Visigothic code contains various provisions of a sanitary character of the highest interest, and what is called in France the *Police de mœurs* existed in a modified form in seventh century Spain.

But the doctors were apparently the most hardly treated of any class of the community. It is not surprising that medical studies were, as we have remarked, by no means popular in Christian Spain.

Not only were the fees for special and general services of the most modest proportions—the specified reward for the successful couching a cataract would astonish Mr. Nettleship or even Dr. Pagenstecker—but the doctor who failed to cure his patient was entitled to no remuneration whatever, and was liable to an action at law by the next-of-kin if the case terminated fatally. In case of blood-letting, especially, if the early Sangrado withdrew so much that the patient died, he became the slave of the heir-at-law of the patient!

As regards the judiciary and officials of the law, the Spanish Visigoths are said to have been more influenced by the Roman system than any of the other German peoples.

The supreme jurisdiction in matters civil and criminal resided in the *dux* or *comes*, who was at once Commander-in-Chief and Chief Justice within his district. The regular judges were considered to be his deputies; but there were also royal judges invested with a special jurisdiction, with the title of *pacis assertores*.

The administration of justice was at once free and public. False testimony was severely punished. Torture was freely administered to servile witnesses, but its abuse was condemned. The unjust judge was both whipped and compelled to make restitution. Inferior to the death penalty, *Decalvation*, or judicial scalping, and *exoculation* were regularly prescribed.

Imprisonment was rare, and was usually in a monastery or religious house. But the rod was the universal remedy, the prescription and the cure for all evil-doing.

No hay tal razon, says the Spanish proverb, *que la del baston,* a rule of life or of law, as Sancho Panza has it, "as old as King Wamba". Yet even stripes could be avoided by a money payment, and the law prescribed with the utmost nicety the pecuniary importance of every blow, according to the rank of the condemned person, and that of the injured party. The *honestior* or the Goth paid for his peccadilloes in cash, the *vilior persona* offended only at the expense of his back.

One law for the rich and another for the poor is taken at the present day as the greatest possible denial of justice, but in Visigothic Spain there was not only a different law for every purse, but almost for every person.

APPENDIX IV.

ETYMOLOGY OF ANDALUSIA.

The word *Andalusia* has been derived from *Vandalusia*, or country of the Vandals, by Danville, *Etat de l'Europe*, etc., pp. 146-7. But Casiri's derivation from *Handalusia*, which signifies in Arabic: The region of the evening or of the West, the *Hesperia* of the Greeks, enjoys the honour of the approval of Gibbon (cap. li). Cf. *Biblioteca Arabico-Hispana*, tom. ii., 327.

The etymology of Andalusia, says my friend Mr. John Ormsby, is no doubt somewhat of a *crux*, but it seems that on the whole, the balance of evidence is on the *Vandal* side. The name is now unquestionably Arabic. The question is how and whence it got into that language. There is no doubt that the Vandals under Gaiseric crossed over from southern Spain into Barbary; and Spain would therefore be for many generations the "*Land of the Vandals*" to the Berbers of North Africa, and would be spoken of by them as such to the next conquerors, the Arabs. We cannot tell into what shape *Wandal* or *Vandal* may have been twisted by six or seven generations of Berbers; but it was from them that the Arabs, in all probability, got the name, and, having got it, fixed it in their literature.

Conde in his translation of Sharif al Edrisi's *Geography of Spain*, is distinctly in favour of *Vandal*; though, with his usual candour, he admits that it is quite open to any one who prefers it to adopt Casiri's views.

But, according to Conde, "*Andalus*" does not mean "region of the evening" but "*pais obscuro y tenebroso*". Conde, however, was not a very profound scholar.

Ibn Hayyán, Ibn Khaldún, and others derive Andalusia from Andalosh, a nation of barbarians—*i.e.*, the Vandals—who settled there, a derivation adopted by Don Pascual de Gayangos in his *Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, i., 1.

Ibn Sàid, however, derives the word from *Andalus*, son of Tubal, son of Yafeth, son of Núh, who settled in Spain, and gave

his name to the country, in like manner as his brother Sebt, son of Yafeth, peopled the opposite land, and gave his name to the city of Sebtah (Ceuta). Ibn Ghâlib is of the same opinion, but makes Andalus to be the son of Yafeth.

Don Pascual's note (44), vol. i., p. 322, is the last authority I shall permit myself to quote on this etymological question: "The Arabs, more than any other nation, corrupted proper names by accommodating them to the genius of their language; whenever a letter was of difficult pronunciation they suppressed it, especially if commencing the word. The V of Vandalucia was, therefore, omitted as well as the last two letters, which made the word too long. Furthermore, as a proof that the word *Andalus* is only a corruption of Vandalucia, it is not uncommon to find in Spanish MSS., even of the fifteenth century, the word Vandalucia employed to designate that portion of Spain which was still in the hands of the Moors," and see Abulfeda, ed. Paris, 1848, ii., 236.

Andres Bernaldez, who flourished towards the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, and who wrote a chronicle of Ferdinand and Isabella, long inedited (MS. Bib. Eg. in Brit. Mus., No. 306, fol. 784), but printed at Granada, 1850, and again at Madrid, 1870, says: "Y el adelantado de Vandalucia, con gran caballeria salió à recibir à los Reyes à la peña de los enamorados".

As to the name of *Al Jezirah*—the island—by which Andalusia was frequently spoken of by the Arabs, see Gayangos, *op. cit.*, vol. i., pp. 19, 20. The modern town of *Algeciras*, opposite Gibraltar on the mainland of Spain contains a similar etymology, as to which see Gayangos, vol. i., p. 317.

APPENDIX V.

SAINT GEORGE.

The development of George of Cappadocia into a Christian martyr and champion, and the patron of England, is one of the enigmas of history. An infamous and an extortionate tax-collector, a fraudulent food contractor, a fugitive from justice, he amused his exile by the accumulation of a library, and "embracing, with a real or affected zeal, the profession of Arianism," he was raised by a faction to the episcopal throne of Athanasius (A.D. 356). His cruelty, his avarice, his insolence were no less remarkable in the Arian Primate of Egypt than in the peculating bacon contractor of Syria; and George met his death by the fury, or rather by the justice, of the outraged population of Alexandria, a few days after the death of Constantine.

See Gibbon, chapter xxiii. Dr. Peter Heylin, *History of St. George* (1633), a most interesting book in many ways, and well worth reading; and the Rev. J. Milner's *Critical Enquiry into the Existence and Character of St. George* (1792), a thin tract of fifty-nine pages, is also worth consulting.

The rival of Athanasius, says Gibbon, was dear and sacred to the Arians; and the seeming conversion of these sectaries introduced his worship into the bosom of the Catholic Church; while the ignorant Crusaders no doubt brought back his name and his fame to England. See Ammianus, xxii., 11; Gregory Nazianzen, orat. xxi., 382-390; Epiphanius, *Hæres*, lxxvi., 912; Tillemont, *Mem. Ecclésiastiques*, vi., 713.

Yet even this hardly explains the fame and sanctity of St. George. The story, in the *Acta Sanctorum*, of another St. George, a soldier and a good Catholic, is only stranger than that of the Arian Archbishop, in that the George who is said to have been put to death by order of Decius in 303, at Nicomedia, is a personage absolutely unknown to history. For a full account of the legend, see Rohrbacher, *Eglise Catholique*, v., 643, and Socrates, *Eccl. Hist.*, liii., 2-4.

The dragon is first heard of in connection with the legend of St. George in Voragines' *Legenda Aurea.* See Dr. Peter Heylin, *op. cit.*, cap. ii. See also S. Baring Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages* (1869), where, in the course of a long disquisition, pp. 266-316, the learned author speaks of George as a Christianised Tammuz = the Sun = the Phœnician Adonis. Cf. Ezekiel viii. 14.

No less an authority than Dr. Döllinger (Von Kobel, *Conversations of Dr. Döllinger, trans. Gould*, ed. 1892, pp. 130-132), considers the accepted legend or history of St. George as *purely fanciful.*

It was in 1222 that the Parliament of Oxford prescribed the commemoration day of St. George as a national holiday for all England, in recognition of the services rendered by the saint to the English Crusaders in Palestine.

But long before St. George was chosen as the patron saint of the Order of the Garter, long even before the institution of the Order sacred to his military prowess and his Christian martyrdom in Aragon, an Imperial Order of St. George is traditionally said to have been founded by no less ancient and no less distinguished a personage than Constantine the Great, in 313, and the Emperor himself is counted as the first grand master!

However little Constantine may have understood of the Orders of chivalry, and however fanciful may be his institution of this military confraternity, it is at least certain that this *Imperial Order of St. George* existed until the death in 1699 of Guy Comnenus, Duke of Durazzo, the last survivor of the House of Comnenus, and titular Prince of Macedon, when the Order was reformed by Innocent XII., and practically ceased to exist.

See *Histoire des ordres militaires, ou des Chevaliers,* par Basnage, vol. i., 66-72 (Amsterdam, 1721), vol. ii., 61-70.

The knights of this Order of St. George are also known as *Angéliques* or *Dorés;* and the grand mastership is, since 1699, hereditary in the family of the Farnese Dukes of Parma.

See Giustiniani, *Istoria* (Venice, 1692); and Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Monastiques,* etc., vii., 13-23.

Thus the uncertain saint has at all times and in all countries been a most popular patron for orders of chivalry. A Burgundian Order of St. George was founded as early as 1390 (Helyot, *Ordres Monastiques,* tom. vii., p. 154).

The Emperor Frederick III. founded the military religious Order of St. George in 1468, and obtained from Paul II. a Bull of incorporation; and Alexander VI. approved and confirmed

the foundation in 1494 at the instance of Maximilian: Julius II. and Leo X. also patronised this Order, which was raised to the highest pitch of honour and dignity in the sixteenth century; but it decayed and perished among the religious wars of Germany. This Order was known as that of St. George of Carinthia.

Paul III. established a military religious Order of St. George of Ravenna, which was abolished by Gregory XIII. As to the supposed Order of St. George of Genoa, see Helyot, *Ordres Monastiques*. The Russian Order of St. George was founded by Catherine II., 1769, as a purely military Order.

There is also a Bavarian Order of St. George, referred to by Helyot in his *Ordres Monastiques*, vii., 358.

APPENDIX VI.

The curious confusion arising from a two-fold or three-fold system of numeration of the Alfonsos of Castile and Leon in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (see *ante*, pp. 232, 233) seems to me to call for some special notice.

Dunham, Romey, and other foreign historians and chronologists, among whom the Comte de Mas La Trie must ever be spoken of with the greatest respect, calls Alfonso *el Batallador*, of Aragon, Alfonso VII. of Leon and Castile, as in right of his wife Urraca; and thus numbers Alfonso *el Emperador* as VIII. as his successor; and keeps Alfonso III. of Castile out of the Leonese or *Junto* numeration altogether.

Thus and in other ways confusion has been introduced, and by imperfect explanation still worse confounded.

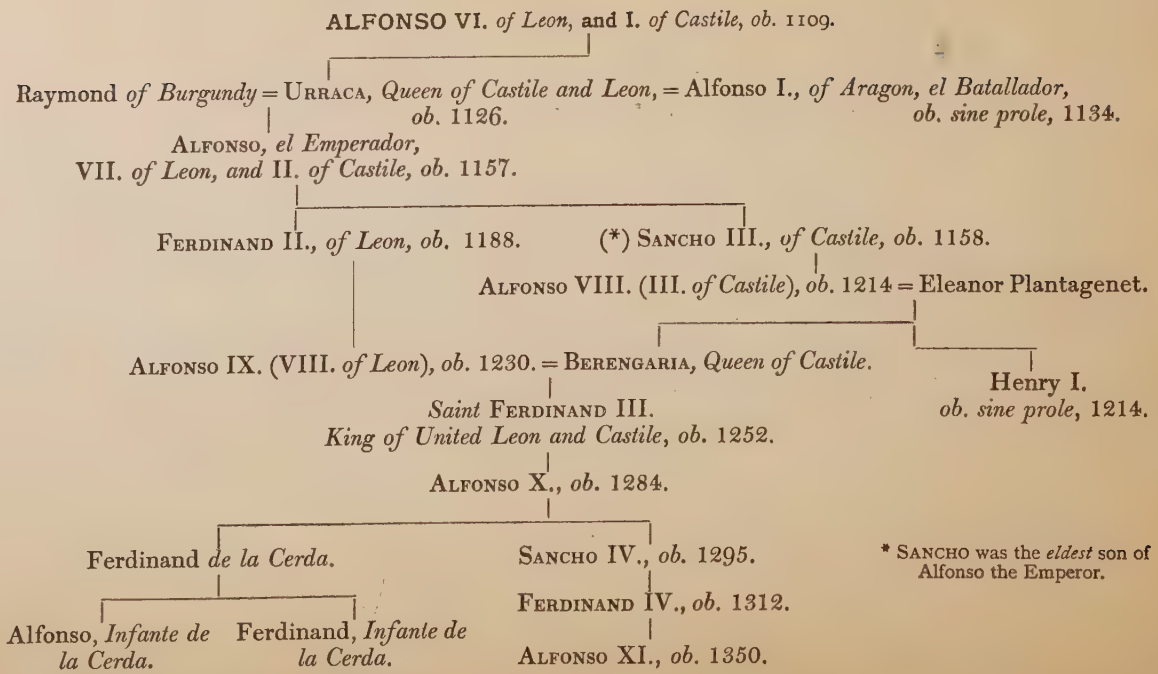
The following, it is to be hoped, is plain:—

Alfonso VI. of Leon was the *first* of the name to reign in Castile; and, as in the course of the next 150 years, the two kingdoms were sometimes under the same king, though not formally *united*, and sometimes each with a king of its own, the plan has been generally adopted by modern Spanish writers of numbering the Alfonsos of Leon and of Castile consecutively, without regard to the kingdoms over which they reigned, taking no account of the Alfonsos of Aragon. Thus Alfonso *el Sabio*, was Alfonso IV. of Castile, and Alfonso IX. of Leon, but Alfonso X. of the consecutive Alfonsos, by which title he is always known.

And it is by this numeration that the late King of Spain was Alfonso XII., and his present Majesty *q. D. g.* is Alfonso XIII.

The *Genealogical Table* on the next page will, I trust, make everything clear.

THE ALFONSOS OF LEON AND CASTILE


ALFONSO VI. of Leon, and I. of Castile, ob. 1109.
Raymond of Burgundy = URRACA, Queen of Castile and Leon, ob. 1126.
= Alfonso I., of Aragon, el Batallador, ob. sine prole, 1134.
ALFONSO, el Emperador, VII. of Leon, and II. of Castile, ob. 1157.
FERDINAND II., of Leon, ob. 1188.
(*) SANCHO III., of Castile, ob. 1158.
ALFONSO VIII. (III. of Castile), ob. 1214 = Eleanor Plantagenet.
ALFONSO IX. (VIII. of Leon), ob. 1230. = BERENGARIA, Queen of Castile.
Henry I. ob. sine prole, 1214.
Saint FERDINAND III. King of United Leon and Castile, ob. 1252.
ALFONSO X., ob. 1284.
Ferdinand de la Cerda.
SANCHO IV., ob. 1295.
Alfonso, Infante de la Cerda.
Ferdinand, Infante de la Cerda.
FERDINAND IV., ob. 1312.
ALFONSO XI., ob. 1350.

* SANCHO was the *eldest* son of Alfonso the Emperor.

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HISTORY OF SPAIN

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HISTORY OF SPAIN

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE DEATH OF FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC

BY

ULICK RALPH BURKE, M.A.

SECOND EDITION

EDITED, WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTION,

BY

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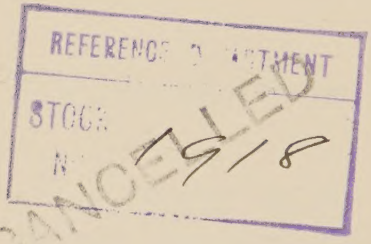
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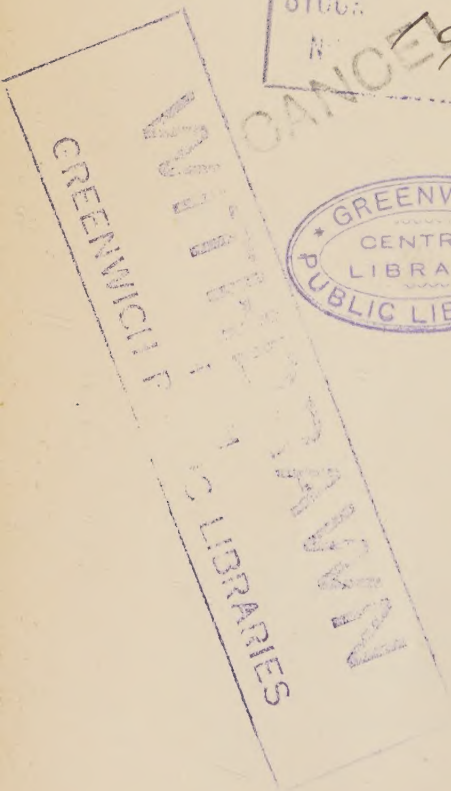
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CHAPTER XXXV.

LITERATURE.

(1375—1475.)

If Alvaro de Luna was at once the most important personage and the most remarkable man in the kingdom of Castile during the reign of John II., the king was not without more worthy and less masterful favourites, whose learning provoked no jealousy on the part of the minister. From the death of Alfonso X. neither science nor polite letters had been held in much esteem in Spain. His nephew, indeed, Don John Manuel, in his Moral Tales; the archpriest of Hita, in his fantastic poetry; Lopez de Ayala, in his simple Chronicle, had almost alone maintained the honour of Castilian letters from the days of *Count Lucanor* to the days of the Marquis of Santillana, a period of close upon 200 years.[1]

But with John II. a new era was opened in Castile. The temper of the king, unlike that of his great predecessor, was literary rather than scientific, pedantic rather than scholarly, formal rather than substantial, graceful rather than profound. The new influence came rather from Italy than from Andalusia. Aragon, the refuge and the home of the Provençal troubadours in the thirteenth century, had stretched out her hands in the fourteenth century to Sicily, and in the fifteenth century to Naples;[2] and long before the time of Ferdinand the Catholic,

[1] Gayangos and Ticknor, *Hist. de la literatura Española* (1864), Introd., p. 6. (Lopez de Ayala's *Rimado de Palacio* must not be forgotten. It is true that the three writers named were, with the author of the *Poema de José Sem Tob*, and Yañez the author of the rhymed chronicle of Alfonso XI., the only men who illustrated literature in Spain in the fourteenth century, yet they produced work of the first importance.—H.)

[2] According to Bruce-Whyte, *Histoire des Langues Romanes* (Paris, 1841), tom. ii., cap. xxviii., the Castilian language was hardly affected in its development by the language of the *Gay saber*; yet it was to some extent the Provençal that com-

who cared little for the polite letters of any nation or country, the kingdom of Aragon, rich with the intellectual as well as the material spoils of Italy, had conquered literary Castile. Yet the vanquished surpassed and survived the victor. The spirit of Italy died away in United Spain; the language of Provence was forgotten; and in another century the Castilian literature became the admiration of Europe, while the Castilian language was spoken throughout the world.[1]

As far as poetry is concerned, from the middle of the fourteenth century to the middle of the fifteenth century Aragon was far ahead of Castile. Peter the Cruel was not a man to cultivate polite letters. His rival at Saragossa was not only a poet, but a patron of poets; and it was for him that Jacme or Jayme, the first of the distinguished family of March, compiled, in 1371, the *Diccionario de Rimas*. His more distinguished namesake, Augustin or Ausias March, the great light of Aragonese literature in the fifteenth century, was born at Valencia, probably about 1405, and lived to 1460. He wrote a large number of *cants*, or small poems, in the style of Petrarch, which were applauded by his contemporaries, and frequently printed during the sixteenth century. His friend, Jaume or Jayme Roig, a Valencian like himself, who survived him by some eighteen years (*ob.* 1478), and who is supposed to have been court physician to the high-spirited Queen Maria, the regent of Aragon during the continued absence of Alfonso V., has left a *Libre de Consells*, directed chiefly against the female sex, and written nominally for the edification and government of his nephew Belthazar.[2]

pleted the Latin. *Ibid.*, i., 12. As regards literature, the Provençal influence was indirect rather than direct in Castile.

[1] The Provençal language or dialect had certainly died out in Aragon in the fourteenth century. And about the middle of that century the Catalan became the literary language of the country. Bruce-Whyte, *ubi supra*, tom. ii., 406-412. (This note conveys a somewhat false impression—Provençal was never the language of the people of the *Kingdom of Aragon*. It was the language of literature under the influence of the troubadours; and Catalan—a form of Provençal—was, and still is, the common speech of the Catalans; but the Aragonese have always spoken a similar language with Castilians.—H.)

[2] The philosophic basis of the works of Ausias March is insisted upon by Señor Menendez Pelayo, *Hist. de las ideas Esteticas en España*, i., 392-4, where will also be found some interesting references, and a list of the works in Spanish literature treating of Ausias March and his school. (The reader should be again reminded that the author is apt to refer to Catalans and Valencians, whose respective countries were ruled by kings of Aragon, as if they were Aragonese. This was very far from being the case. March was a pure Valencian, writing in the Valencian variety of Catalan, and his works reflected glory on Valencia and Catalonia, but in no sense upon the kingdom of Aragon.—H.)

Of the various minor poets whose names are scarce remembered, and whose works are assuredly forgotten, no more need be said than that they lived. And of the ephemeral verses of the refined cavaliers who vied with and patronised them, no more need be said than that they were written.

After Ferdinand of Castile had brought peace to Aragon at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the *Consistories* or feasts of poetry were revived with much enthusiasm at Tortosa; the king in person presided at the literary contests and distributed prizes among the successful competitors.

In Castile already in the reign of Henry III., Alfonso Alvarez de Villa Sandino of Illescas had written some verses in the Provençal or courtly style, which were admired by his contemporaries; and a certain Francisco Imperial, of a Sevillian family, wrote a poem in the early days of John II. upon an adventure in the camp of Tamerlane,[1] which has received the commendation of Ticknor.

The first notable man of letters in Castile after the death of Ayala, if not since the time of the archpriest of Hita, was Henry of Aragon, surnamed the Astrologer, and sometimes erroneously spoken of as Marquis of Villena,[2] a title which was borne only by his grandfather. Descended on his father's side from the royal house of Aragon, and on his mother's from the royal house of Castile,[3] Henry of Aragon sought fame neither as a soldier nor a politician; and he was the first royal or noble student in Castile since the days of Alfonso X. (except Juan Manual) who was content with the peaceful career of a scholar and a man of letters. Born in 1384, his youth was spent at the court of Castile. In 1412 he followed his kinsman Ferdinand to Aragon, and lived in his most honourable company until the king's death

[1] For this adventure and for the embassies sent by Henry III. to the court of Bajazet and Tamerlane, see *ante*, vol. i., chapter xxxi. (Francisco Imperial was the son of a Genoese settled in Seville, and was one of the first writers to introduce the new influence of the Italian spirit into Spanish poetry, imitating Dante, as he did closely.—H.)

[2] The old Marquis of Villena, the only grandee in Spain who was then entitled to use the title of marquis, had been invested with that dignity by the favour of Henry of Trastamara; but the title was withdrawn from him, we know not why, by Henry III. The mistake seems to have been first made by Pellicer, and has been copied by Ticknor and other writers. Vide Salazar de Mendoza, *Monarquia de España*, i., 206.

[3] Salazar de Mendoza, *Origen de las Dignidades* (1618), lib. iii., cap. xii.

In consequence of Ticknor's blunder, this Henry of Aragon, miscalled Marquis of Villena, had been further confounded with the contemptible favourite *Pacheco*, who assumed the title of Villena some years after the death of Henry of Aragon, by favour of the no less contemptible Henry IV.

only four years later, when he returned to Castile; and, having obtained the petty lordship of Iniestra, near Cuenca, he passed the rest of his life as a poor but contented student, ever welcome at the court of Castile, but enjoying, for the most part, a learned leisure at his country retreat. He died at Madrid in 1434, when his line became extinct; and his works have hardly sufficed to preserve his great name from oblivion. The *Arte Cisoria*, a prose treatise on carving, a curious pedantic composition of no literary merit, gives an interesting picture of the domestic economy of the palace and the service at the royal table in the fifteenth century. The *Arte de Trovar* or *Gaya Ciencia*,[1]—a work of a very different character—a translation[2] of Cicero's *Rhetoric*, and a translation of Dante's *Divina Commedia*[3] have all perished; and the interest that now attaches to them is rather that such works were written at all, than for any literary merit they may have possessed. Of a translation of Virgil's *Æneid*, seven books only of very poor verse have been preserved. It is the man himself rather than any of his works that is interesting to us, as he undoubtedly was to his contemporaries.

A barbarous age, indeed, could see in the varied accomplishments of this learned and cultivated student only the necromantic skill so suggestive to the popular imagination. Neglected as he was, and despised during his life, popular exaggeration speedily converted him into a magician of wondrous power; the legend grew until there was nothing too wild to be attributed to him. He had caused himself to be cut up and packed in a flask with certain conjurations so as to become immortal; he had rendered himself invisible with the herb Andromeda; he had turned the sun blood-red with the stone heliotrope; he had brought rain and tempest with a copper vessel; he had divined the future with the stone chelonites; he had given his shadow to the devil in the cave of San Cebrian; every feat of magic was attributed to him. He became the

[1] Don Henry of Aragon was President of the Poetic Consistory of Barcelona, and it was in that capacity that he addressed to the Marquis of Santillana his *Arte de Trovar*, with a view of persuading him to introduce the *Gaya Ciencia* into Castile, and to adopt in his own writings the style of the Provençal poetry.

How much higher were the aims and aspirations of the great Marquis of Santillana, I endeavour to show further on.

[2] A fragment of the *Arte de Trovar* is printed in the *Origenes de la Lengua Española*, chap. v.

[3] The *Divina Commedia* had already been translated into Catalan by one Febrer in 1428.

inexhaustible theme of playwright and storyteller, and remains to the present day the favourite magician of the Spanish stage.[1]

A man of a very different stamp, Juan de Mena, the chronicler of King John II. of Castile[2] is remembered not only for his history, but for his weak, if somewhat graceful verses. His *Laberinto,* usually spoken of as the *Trescientos,* from the number of couplets of which the poem consists, which was highly appreciated at the court of John II. is a poor imitation of the style of the all-inspiring Dante ; his *Siete Pecados* is a pedantic, theological, and metaphysical *Morality ;* his most remarkable work is perhaps his *Coronacion*—the coronation on Mount Parnassus of the Marquis of Santillana, a eulogy on that distinguished Castilian, also in a style of the *Divina Commedia.*

Juan de Mena, an historian as well as a poet, did more than any of his predecessors since Alfonso X. to augment and enrich the poetic vocabulary of Castile. He introduced new words, revised old forms, and had a great and happy influence upon the development of the language of United Spain. But the most distinguished writer in Castile in the time of John II. was certainly Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana, *"gloria y delicias de la corte de Castilla".* Born in 1398, he assisted at the early age of seventeen at the coronation of Ferdinand of Aragon at Saragossa (1414), and he afterwards took his place at the court of John II., where he was ever an honoured guest. Brave in battle, wise in council, graceful in conversation, respected in every walk of life, he pursued his active career in camp and palace and castle, until after the celebrated battle of Olmedo in 1445 he was rewarded with the title of marquis, which had as yet been borne only by a single nobleman in Castile, the royal Henry of Villena.

His relations with the king and with Alvaro de Luna his political foe for over thirty years were governed by the finest tact and discretion ; and while maintaining his own position and dignity at court, he refrained from giving offence to the favourite,

[1] Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos Españoles,* i., 582 *et seq. ;* Lea, *History of the Inquisition,* iii., 490, 491. A little prose treatise on the Trabajos de Hercules was printed in 1483, and was apparently admired by contemporary critics ; but is now interesting only as a bibliographical curiosity, *uno de los libros mas raros que existen.* Gayangos and Ticknor, *op. cit.,* xviii., note 33.

[2] It is extremely doubtful whether Juan de Mena wrote the Chronicle of John II. The most competent critics are generally agreed that he did not ; and Mr. Fitzmaurice Kelly inclines to the belief that the chronicle was written by Alvar Garcia de Santa Maria.—H.

who respected, if he did not love, the man who was too proud to seek to be his rival. On the fall of the constable in 1453, the marquis[1] withdrew from the court, and devoted himself exclusively to the pursuits of literature, until his death some five years afterwards, in 1458.

During these last years, we are told, so widespread was his literary fame, that students came from every country in Europe "expressly to see him and hear him"; and every fresh visitor was made welcome at his palace.[2] At this time, too, the young Constable of Portugal, who afterwards assumed the title of King of Aragon in 1463, sent an envoy with a most respectful request to the marquis to be allowed to have a copy of his poems. The answer with which the marquis despatched the precious MS. contains a list of all the Spanish poets whose works were at that time known, and is said by Ticknor to be "the most important document that we possess relating to the ancient literature of Castile".[3]

In the poetry of the Marquis of Santillana the spirit of Aragon and the spirit of Italy are both perceived, but his genius evolved something different from either; something in itself original, national, full of life and vigour, recognisable as the poetry of United Spain. The *Serranillas*, the most celebrated of his early poems, are to some extent influenced by the Provençal style. But the Italian masters, as was but natural, were afterwards his chief delight. He read Boccaccio and Petrarch. He translated large portions of Dante. He was the first to introduce into Castilian poetry the purely Italian form of the sonnet. But he was no mere imitator. The glories and beauties of the literature of Italy may have inspired his fancy; but his genius was not Italian but Spanish. His historic poem, *Las Edades del mundo* (1426), is of no great value. His verses on the fall and death of Alvaro de Luna are in every respect admirable, and are the work of a great man, as well as of an accomplished poet. But in variety of interest his *Comedieta de Ponza* is perhaps the most remarkable of all his works. It was written in 1435, and gives an account of the great naval combat in which Alfonso of Aragon and his brother John of Navarre, were taken prisoners, and their fleet destroyed by the Duke of Milan, off Terracina, near the island of Ponza. The poem is written in imitation of

[1] See Pulgar, *Claros varones*, etc.

[2] Juan de Mena, *Coronacion*, *Prolog.* (ed. 1566), fo. 260.

[3] It is printed in the collection of Sanchez, tom. i. See also Ticknor, *Hist. of Span. Literature*, vol. i., chap. xix.

certain passages in the *Inferno*, especially part of canto vii.; and the story is told as in a dream or vision, after the manner of the great Florentine. As a history the work is valuable; as an imitation it is noteworthy; but it is the dramatic form in which the dialogue is cast that constitutes the most interesting and certainly the most original feature in the poem.

"The Dance of Death," or *Danza general de los muertos*, written in the middle of the fourteenth century, is the first work in the Spanish language that can be said to contain even the germ of the later drama. Next in order comes the *Comedieta de Ponza*, in the middle of the fifteenth century. After this, and imbued still more distinctly with the dramatic form and spirit, is the *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo*, a pastoral dialogue of the latter part of the fifteenth century, in which the vices and bad government of Henry IV. are set forth in picturesque and vigorous language. The verses are attributed by most critics to one Rodrigo della Cota or Cotta, but by Mariana, with his usual inaccuracy, to the chronicler Hernando del Pulgar.[1]

Of national drama as yet there was none. Nor can we fairly speak of its existence until the time of Lope de Rueda,[2] whose first *Paso* is dated as late as 1544. But while students and critics may alike admire the complex development of the *Comedieta de Ponza*, the most popular work of the great Marquis de Santillana has ever been his simple and eminently national collection of Castilian proverbs, selected by desire of John II. for the education of his son, afterwards the graceless Henry IV. As far as its immediate objects are concerned, the work must be pronounced a signal failure. But if the *Centiloquio* was disregarded by Henry the Impotent, it has been the delight of many worthy men at home and abroad, and the work—after enjoying a considerable amount of popularity in MS.—was printed, in 1496, under the title of one hundred *Proverbios y su glosa*, and passed through no less than ten editions in the course of the next century.[3]

[1] See Lafuente, ix., pp. 85, 86; and Ticknor, i., p. 236.

[2] According to M. Germond de Lavigne, *La Comédie Espagnole* (1883) Introd., p. viii., all these early essays cannot be considered as a part of the true drama of Spain. *Ce fut Lope de Rueda*, according to the French critic, *qui créa le genre véritablement national*; and the first *Paso* that was written by Rueda is dated 1544. As to the nature of these *Pasos*, or passages in human life, little dramas in one scene, and the *Saynetes*, or condiments (something piquant), see G. de Lavigne, *ubi supra*, x.-xii. It was only Naharro, a successor of Rueda, who introduced anything like scenery into the Spanish theatre. *Cf. Essai sur le Théatre Espagnol*, par Louis de Viel-Castel (1882), 2 tom.

[3] Another and a larger collection of Spanish proverbs was compiled by Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, Marquis de Santillana, "*á ruego del Rey Don Johan*," under

As long as the language of Castile has had a distinct existence, the Castilian proverbs have been widely and justly celebrated. And they seem to be at once wiser, wittier and more numerous than those of any other nation in Europe. The occupation of so large a portion of the Peninsula by the Arabs, whose language is exceedingly rich in proverbial expressions, is fairly assigned as one, though it is only one of many causes of this fertility; yet, although there are still very many Spanish proverbs which bear about them the most unmistakable signs of their oriental origin, Andalusia, where that influence is naturally most marked, is comparatively poor in proverbs; while Gallicia, where the Arabs never obtained a footing, is remarkably rich, and is apparently the birthplace of many of those most current in pure Castilian. The use of proverbs in Spain is not restricted to the vulgar, nor yet to the conversation of the more lettered. Almost every writer, as well as every speaker, has taken a keen delight in introducing them, and it has been well said that he who would most fully appreciate the genius of the Spanish language in its native purity, and most justly judge the Spanish people in their characteristic simplicity and shrewdness, should devote special attention to the ancient proverbs of the country.[1]

Another noble Castilian writer of the time of John II. is Fernan Perez de Guzman, a half-brother of the Marquis of Santillana, and a nephew of Pedro Lopez de Ayala. He was born in 1400, and distinguished himself greatly at the glorious but undecisive battle of Higueruela in Granada in 1431. An object of envy to Alvaro de Luna, he chose to withdraw from the king's court rather than to submit himself to the favourite, and retiring to his estate at Batres he devoted the remainder of his days to literature.

Of his poetical compositions the most important is his *Loores*

the title of *Refranes que dicen las viejas tras el fuego, ordenados por el orden del A. B. C.* This collection, which includes no less than 800 proverbs, is printed in the *Dialogo de las Lenguas*, and may be found in the reprint of that work by Gregorio Mayans y Siscar (1873), pp. 149-181, with observations on certain proverbs.

[1] Some of the best and most characteristic of these proverbs occur in the ballads, as for example that admirable one, "If the pill had a pleasant taste, they wouldn't gild it outside," a proverb thoroughly Spanish in its shrewd sense and dry humour, and that more famous one which is still a popular saying in Spain, *Mas Moros, mas ganancia*, "The more the Moors, the bigger the booty," with which, according to the ballad, the Cid reassured Ximena when she looked with dismay from her tower in the Alcazar on the host assembled for the recovery of Valencia; a proverb which, according to Richard Ford, hits off the Cid to the life—his boldness, his firm self-reliance, and his keen eye to the main chance. See Richard Ford, Introduction to *Handbook of Spain*, in any of the early editions.

de los claros Varones de España, a work of historical as well as of literary interest, but he is best known as the author of *Las Generaciones y Semblanzas*, consisting of thirty-four biographies in prose of the most distinguished personages of his day. It was written at various periods of the life of the author, who describes with a master hand and with the greatest minuteness of detail, the character, the personal appearance, and the physical and moral peculiarities of his various contemporaries. He speaks, moreover, with the authority of a man of birth and lineage, of the deeds of arms and the political and private life of the distinguished personages with whom he was so intimately acquainted. His life-like sketches are set off with many original observations and reflections, which stamp the writer as a man of parts and of judgment, in intellectual culture and in vigour of thought, not only, as the phrase runs, in advance of his times, but a man who would have been noteworthy and admirable in any age and in any country, and who, as he himself tells us, was very far from being appreciated at the court of his sovereign.

That John II. should have dabbled in colourless scholarship, and protected submissive scholars, that he should have admired graceful language, most chiefly that he should have patronised the Universities of Castile—these things alone show him less contemptible than his son Henry; but it is not likely that solid merit would have been truly appreciated in his palace, or that vigorous and original thought would have been encouraged by the master who permitted him to occupy his feeble intelligence in the harmless patronage of books and bookmen.

Of the distinguished literary family of the Manriques, it may be noticed in passing that the tragic history of the eldest born, Don Pedro, has supplied the plot of one of the most popular of modern Italian operas. The baritone, *Conte di Luna*, of Verdi's *Trovatore* is no less a person than the great Constable of Castile, and *Manrico* the tenor represents Pedro Manrique, a poet and a soldier who had offended the dictator, and whose unjust execution plunged the court into mourning in 1440. "The good Count of Haro," indeed obtained from his pliable sovereign a grant of all the honours and estate of the murdered man to his son Roderic of Paredes, a poet like his father, and whose younger brother, Gomez Manrique, maintained the literary traditions of his family. This Gomez, in addition to many long-forgotten poems, wrote some verses addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella, which were printed between 1482 and 1490. But the son of Roderic, George or Jorge Manrique, excelled all his predecessors

in literary merit, and his poem on the death of his father, known as the *Coplas de Jorge Manrique,* is a work of singular merit, simple in language, natural and unaffected in sentiment, and one of the most excellent poems of its kind that are to be found in the entire range of Castilian literature.[1]

Nor was the reign of John II. less fruitful in works of more solid value and of more enduring interest. The *Cronica real del Rey Don Juan II.* extends from the death of Henry III. in 1407 to the death of John himself in 1454. The Chronicle may certainly not be compared with the *Laberinto* or the *Comedieta*— with the poems of Ruiz or the Coplas of Manrique. But it is by no means the work of scribes and drudges. From 1429 to 1445 the work is that of Juan de Mena, and although that poet was too good a courtier to speak evil of kings and *privados ;*[2] and the Chronicle of the last nine years of the reign of John is by the still more eminent hand of Fernan Perez de Guzman, the author of the *Generaciones y Semblanzas.* The *Cartas* or private letters of Cibdareal, an adopted son of Ayala, written between the years 1425 and 1454, throw an additional amount of light on the history and manners of the reign of John II. of Castile.[3] These letters were printed in the century in which they were written (1499), and again towards the end of the eighteenth century by Don Eugenio Llaguno y Amirola, secretary of the Spanish Royal Academy of History.

The fifteenth century, too, saw the rise of the Special and Personal Chronicle, no less interesting and far more characteristic than the General or Royal Chronicle of the time. Of these private histories, the most noteworthy are the *Passo Honroso,* compiled by one Pero Rodriguez Velena, a detailed account of the celebrated tourney which took place at the bridge of Orbigo, near Leon, in 1434, when Don Suero de Quiñones, the flower

[1] Although the *Coplas* were written in 1476, or perhaps in 1477, two or three years after the accession of Isabella, they belong so entirely to an earlier period that I have included them in this chapter. See Ticknor, i., 436. The joint reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, moreover, did not begin until 1479, and the political action of the sovereigns, and their influence in Castile dates rather from the Cortes of 1480 than from any earlier period.

[2] *Favourites.* (With regard to Juan de Mena's alleged authorship of the Chronicle of John II., see note on page 5.—H.)

[3] He is said to have submitted his writings to the king for his criticism and corrections ; and the king indicated to the chronicler the mode of treatment of contemporary history that would be pleasing to his royal master. We do not often hear of such direct interference with the sources of history. Lafuente, ix., 81.

David Garrick, no doubt, himself wrote the notices of his own appearances for the newspapers ; and in that way satisfied himself as well as the public !

and cream of contemporary chivalry, kept the lists for thirty days, while seventy-six lances were broken by seventy-eight of the knights-errant of the time—that the protagonist might be freed from a fantastic vow to the lady of his knightly affections.[1]

Another of these special histories is the *Seguro de Tordesillas*, by the good Count of Haro, Pedro Hernandez de Velasco, which gives an account of the conference at Tordesillas in 1439, between the king, Alvaro de Luna, and the independent nobles of Castile. For to so low a pitch had sunk the royal power and the public faith in the kingdom, that as a condition precedent to the assembling of the conference, it was necessary to find an honest man, in whom all parties could confide, and who should be invested for the nonce with the authority of king and constable over the noble partisans of the contending factions, whose plighted word was trusted by no man in Spain. The honest man was Pedro Hernandez de Velasco, the good Count of Haro, And the *seguro* or *assurance* that was given by his high character, and the armed force with which he was entrusted, that the visitors would not be kidnapped on their journey, nor the conveners knocked on the head in their palace, suggested the singular title that was adopted for the record of a yet more singular event.[2]

The *Claros varones de Castilla*, by Hernando del Pulgar, is in every way superior to the same writer's Chronicle of the Catholic kings; and although by no means comparable with the *Generaciones y Semblanzas*, of which it is avowedly an imitation, it is not only useful to every student of contemporary history, but many of the lives are models of terse biographical composition.[3]

[1] An abstract of the *Passo Honroso* is given by Lafuente in his history (vol. ix., pp. 98-118), with the names of the sixty-eight knights-errant who took part in it. This curious record of contemporary manners was printed in the sixteenth century, and republished by the *Real Acad. de Hist.* in 1783. See Ticknor, *Hist. Lit.*, i., c. x.; Lafuente, ix., pp. 63-66, and note; Zurita, *Ann. Arag.*, xiv., 22; *Don Quixote*, part i., cap. xlix.

[2] The *Seguro de Tordesillas* was printed for the first time at Milan in 1611; again at Madrid in 1784. The anonymous chronicle of Pero Niño (printed in part by Llaguno, Madrid, 1783), an author who flourished in the reign of Henry III., the Chronicle of Alvaro de Luna, first printed at Milan in 1546, and afterwards at Madrid in 1784, the work of an unknown hand, have both been more than once referred to in the course of this history. See especially vol. i., pp. . (The craze for writing these personal chronicles, at the end of the fifteenth century became as great in Spain as the similar fashion of writing personal memoirs was in France 200 years afterwards. The craze in Spain was absurdly satirised by Charles V.'s famous jester, Francesillo de Zuniga, in his burlesque "Cronica".—H.)

[3] The *Claros Varones* include Henry IV., the Admiral Don Fadrique, the Count of Haro, the Marquis of Santillana, Alvarez de Toledo, Juan Pacheco, Grand Master of Santiago, Count of Vallandrado, Count of Cifuentes, Duke of

Among the remaining prose writers who flourished at the court of John II. of Castile was Juan de Lucena, whose *Vita beata* is an imitation of that popular mediæval work, the *Consolation of Philosophy* of Boëthius; Alfonso de la Torre, whose *Vision delectable* is a pedantic allegory on the subject of human learning; and Diego Rodriguez de Almela, whose *Valerio de las historias*, a didactic treatise upon the virtues and vices of succeeding ages, was completed in the year 1472.[1]

Infantazgo, Count of Alvadeliste, Count of Plasencia, Count of Medinaceli, Manrique, Count of Paredes; Garcilaso de la Vega, Juan de Saya Vedra, Rodrigo de Narvaez, the Cardinals Torquemada and Carbajal, Archbishops Carrillo and Fonseca, and the Bishops of Burgos, Soria, Avila and Cordova.

[1] There is a very fair account of the state of literature, both sacred and secular, in Spain at the end of the fifteenth century, in McCrie's *Hist. of the Reformation in Spain* (Blackwood, 1829), chap. ii.

A few words upon the literature of the Spanish Jews will be found in my chapters upon the Jews in Spain, *post*, chapter xliii.

The reader may also consult Amador de los Rios, *Estudios historicos politicos y literarios sobre los Judios de España*, a work which has been well translated into French by M. Magnabal, an author whose version of Ticknor's *Spanish Literature* (Paris, 1864) is also well deserving of study.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

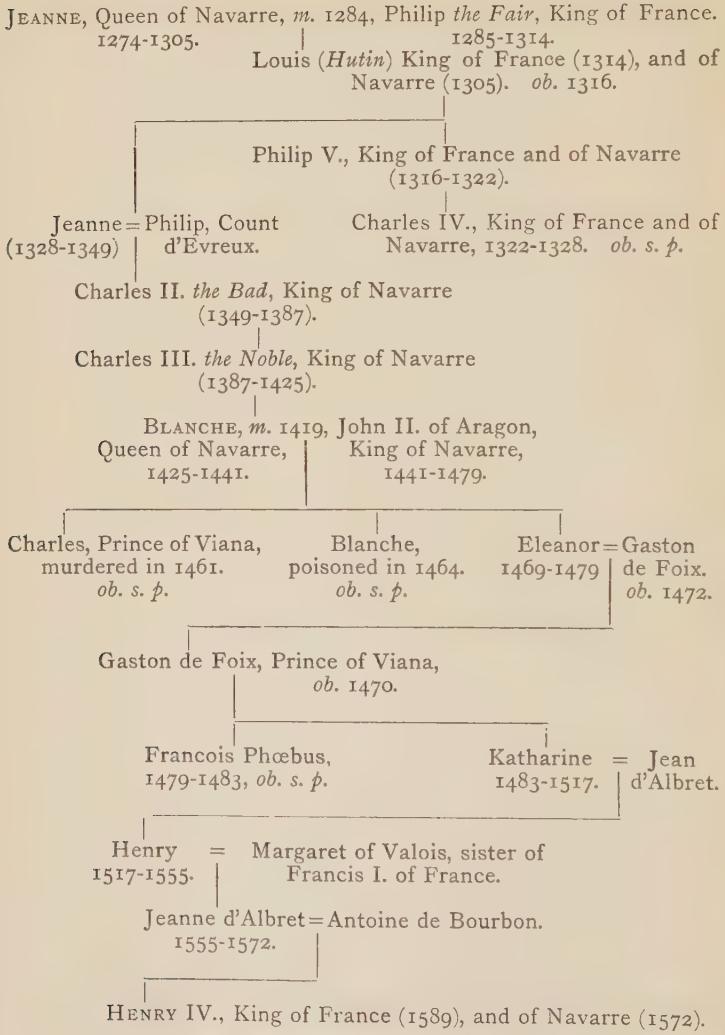
NAVARRE.

(1234-1572.)

With Sancho VI. of Navarre, who died in 1234,[1] the male line of Sancho Iñigez, the founder of the monarchy, had come to an end, and Thibault, Count of Champagne, and nephew of the last of the Sanchos, had been elected king in his room. This Thibault, and his son who succeeded him in 1253 as Thibault II., spent the greater part of their lives in Palestine. The former died at Rome (1253), the latter in Sicily (1270), each one on his return from the Crusades. Henry, the brother of the second Thibault, reigned but four years, and dying in 1274, left Navarre to his daughter Jeanne, who was married (1284) to Philip the Fair, eldest son of Philip the Bold, who succeeded, at his father's death in the following year (1285) as Philip IV. of France. Jeanne died in 1305, when her son, Louis Hutin, immediately became King of Navarre; and succeeded, on his father's death in 1313, to the French throne. His brothers Philip V. and Charles IV. reigned as kings of France and Navarre, until, on the death of Charles in 1328 without male issue, the crown of France passed to his cousin, Philip of Valois, while that of Navarre was inherited by his sister Jeanne, daughter of Lewis Hutin, who was recognised by the States assembled at Pamplona in 1328; and who reigned, in spite of the opposition of Philip of Valois, from 1328 to 1349, as Jeanne II. of Navarre. By her husband Philip, Count of Evreux, she left a numerous family, the eldest of whom succeeded as Charles, universally known as *the Bad*, the friend of Peter the Cruel, the ally of Edward the Black Prince, the boldest and most unscrupulous adventurer of a bold unscrupulous age, and a thorn in the side of his French neighbours during his reign of nearly forty years (1349-1387). His daring assassination of the Constable of France in his castle

[1] *Ante*, vol. i., chap. xx., p. 213, and chap. xxiv., p. 252.

This complicated succession will be made clear by the following Table :—


Jeanne, Queen of Navarre, 1274-1305.
m. 1284, Philip the Fair, King of France. 1285-1314.
Louis (Hutin) King of France (1314), and of Navarre (1305). ob. 1316.
Philip V., King of France and of Navarre (1316-1322).
Charles IV., King of France and of Navarre, 1322-1328. ob. s. p.
Jeanne (1328-1349)
Philip, Count d'Evreux.
Charles II. the Bad, King of Navarre (1349-1387).
Charles III. the Noble, King of Navarre (1387-1425).
Blanche, m. 1419, John II. of Aragon, Queen of Navarre, 1425-1441.
King of Navarre, 1441-1479.
Charles, Prince of Viana, murdered in 1461. ob. s. p.
Blanche, poisoned in 1464. ob. s. p.
Eleanor 1469-1479
Gaston de Foix. ob. 1472.
Gaston de Foix, Prince of Viana, ob. 1470.
Francois Phœbus, 1479-1483, ob. s. p.
Katharine 1483-1517.
Jean d'Albret.
Henry 1517-1555.
Margaret of Valois, sister of Francis I. of France.
Jeanne d'Albret 1555-1572.
Antoine de Bourbon.
Henry IV., King of France (1589), and of Navarre (1572).

By Edict of July, 1607, French Navarre was permanently united to France.

of L'Aigle, near Rouen; his own capture at the castle of the Dauphin; his long imprisonment in the fortress of Arleux in Cambresis; his chivalrous rescue, after the English victory at Poictiers (1356), by a little band of Navarrese nobles; and the various turns of fortune in a life of intrigue and turmoil—all these things would form the theme of an historical romance, which, as far as I know, has never been selected by any of the great writers of modern times.[1]

This Charles the Bad, a worthy compeer of Peter the Cruel, was succeeded by his son Charles III., surnamed the Noble, a title which, by some freak of heredity, he appears to have fairly merited. His reign was long and pacific (1387-1425), and he was succeeded by his daughter Blanche, who had married the second son of Ferdinand of Castile—the chosen king of the people of Aragon—Don John, Duke of Peñafiel and King of Sicily, afterwards John II. of Aragon.

From very early days down to 1404 the kingdom of Navarre consisted of six *merindades* or divisions—each under the government of a *merino*, or judicial and executive chief—Pamplona, Estella, Tudela, Sanguesa and Ultrapuertos or St. Jean Pied de Port. In 1404 a seventh, Olite, was added. In 1512, all but the *merindad* of St. Jean Pied de Port were conquered by Ferdinand the Catholic, and annexed to Spain; and the *merindad* of St. Jean Pied de Port became Basse or French Navarre, until under Henry IV. it was permanently united with France, and the limits of the ancient kingdom were forgotten.[2]

[1] Prosper Mérimée, in his brilliant sketch of Peter the Cruel—*Vie de Don Pèdre I. de Castille*—has naturally much to say of Charles the Bad; but the leading authority for his life is the *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Charles II. de Navarre* (*le mauvais*), par M. Secousse, one vol., 4to (Paris, 1758); and the supplementary *Receuil des Pièces sur les troubles excités en France par Charles II.* (*le mauvais*), published *before* the principal work (Paris, 1755), one vol., 4to.

[2] As far as can now be ascertained, Navarre from the twelfth to the sixteenth century was bounded on the west by the Pays de Labour, on the south by Spanish territory, on the east by the Pays de Soule, which was at one time tributary to Navarre, and on the north by Béarn. See La Grèze, i., 9, *Histoire de Navarre*, 1881, two vols. The northernmost town was La Bastide Clairence, near Bayonne. Mauléon, the capital of the dependent viscounty of la Soule, was also counted as a Navarrese town. La Grèze, tom. i., p. 16.

The accompanying map is the result of some research, and may be useful to reader and student. See also Fr. Michel, *Le Pays Basque* (Paris, 1857); A. de Belsance, *Hist. des Basques* (Bayonne, 1847); Joseph de Moret, *Investigaciones Historicas;* Moret and Aleson, *Anales del Reyno de Navarra*, seven vols., fo. 1766; and *Diccionario de los Fueros del Reino de Navarra, y de las leyes vigentes*, by José Yanguas y Miranda (San Sebastian, 1828), p. 433; and the *Adiciones*, id., id., 1829, p. 116.

See also Appendix I., "The Basques".

To construct or reconstruct the map of the ancient kingdom of Navarre is necessary for any one who would understand the history of the country. And yet so rapidly do the landmarks even of European kingdoms become obliterated, that it is to-day a task of no inconsiderable difficulty to ascertain the limits and the area of the kingdom, even as it existed in the comparatively recent time of John of Aragon. It is pretty clear, however, that the southern or Spanish boundaries were those of the modern province of Pamplona, while the limits of the kingdom north of the Pyrenees are probably to be found in those of the modern *Arrondissement* of Mauléon. The district to the west of Basse Navarre—or that part of the kingdom north of the Pyrenees—is now known as the *pays de Labour*, a deceptive and misleading spelling of the old *Labourd* or *Labord*, probably the *border* district on the coast; for strange to say, the kingdom of Navarre existed and flourished, as it did for many hundred years, not only without a port, but without a yard of territory on the neighbouring seaboard. The district to the east, or *la Soule*, was for a long time dependent upon, if not actually part of Navarre, under the government of a semi-independent viscount, who resided at the town of Mauléon.

The capital of the entire kingdom was always Pamplona. But after the conquest of the southern Provinces by Spain, in 1512, St. Jean Pied de Port, at the foot of the pass commanding the principal road across the Pyrenees by Roncesvalles, became the capital of what was left of Navarre. The inhabitants of the mountains to the north as well as to the south were undoubtedly Basques; though Navarre was very far from including within its limits the whole of the Basque population, which occupied the provinces of Guipuzcoa, Alava, Biscay, and a great part of the Asturias, which were never included in the dominions of the kings at Pamplona.

From the recognition of Queen Jeanne in 1328 to the death of Queen Blanche in 1441, Navarre was politically independent. Yet during the greater part of the dictatorship of Alvaro de Luna, the affairs of the country were constantly involved with those of Castile; while throughout the entire public life of John II. of Aragon, the little kingdom was the chosen centre of intrigue on the part of the various rulers of France, of Castile, of Aragon and of Naples. Although in the first instance it was the folly of the queen-mother of Navarre, and the ambitious policy of the Constable of Castile, that brought trouble to the court of Pamplona, it is John of Aragon, whether as prince or

viceroy, or as king, that is the protagonist in the doleful drama that was played in Spain during the latter half of the fifteenth century. That restless sovereign, who had been recalled from Sicily on his father's death in 1416, by the jealousy of his elder brother Alfonso V., had consoled himself for the loss of a Neapolitan wife by a politic marriage with the heiress of Navarre; and pending his acquisition of the material advantages of the alliance, he devoted himself to the prosecution of endless intrigues in Castile. Nor did the death of his father-in-law at Pamplona withdraw him at once from such congenial employment, nor induce him to proceed to Navarre and take his place at the side of his wife's throne. For full three years Queen Blanche administered the kingdom that she had inherited from her father, without help or hindrance from her husband. At length, in 1428, in consequence of the final triumph of Alvaro de Luna, John was compelled to withdraw from Castile; and he took advantage of the unwonted repose to cause himself and his wife to be solemnly crowned King and Queen of Navarre. Their first born son, Charles, was on the same occasion solemnly recognised as the successor of his mother in her ancestral kingdom; and in emulation of the Princes of Wales, of Asturias, and of Gerona, their heir to the crown of Navarre was invested with the hereditary title of Prince of Viana.

Navarre, however, had no attractions for the restless and ambitious John. Castile was closed to him by the unbroken power of Alvaro de Luna. But Italy was an ever-fruitful field of strife and sedition; and to Italy accordingly he directed his steps, to assist his elder brother, Alfonso, in his struggle for the crown of Naples. Queen Blanche administered the affairs of her kingdom wisely and well during the continued absence of her husband, until her death in 1441, when her son Charles succeeded, as of right, to the crown, and, as of necessity, to the government of Navarre. But in deference to his mother's last wishes, he forbore to assume the title of king, until he should have obtained the formal consent of his absent father; and he styled himself in the meanwhile, Prince of Viana, Lieutenant-Governor of the kingdom of Navarre.

It was somewhat doubtful, under the terms of the marriage treaty, if John the widower, or Charles the eldest son, was to reign, in case of the death of Blanche before her husband. But John, once more occupied with his intrigues in Castile, took no thought for his son nor for the affairs of Navarre. His party had obtained a momentary triumph over the Constable Alvaro de

Luna, and in the absence of the favourite, who had been driven from the court, Don Fadrique Henriquez, Admiral of Castile, had become the most powerful man in the kingdom. A marriage between John and Joanna, the admiral's only daughter, was contrived in the interests of the faction; a marriage disastrous to the children of Blanche, and to the peace of Navarre. Nor did the alliance, fraught as it was with the most momentous consequences to Spain, bring honour or profit to John of Aragon. Alvaro de Luna was almost immediately afterwards restored to power. The confederation was defeated at Olmedo; Don Henry was slain in battle; Don John, wounded, and forced to fly the country, found shelter with his new wife in his son's ancestral kingdom of Navarre.

Doña Juana Henriquez was clever, beautiful and ambitious, but she was unscrupulous, arrogant and domineering. Like a true *parvenu* she was more imperious than any born princess. And she threw herself at once into the intrigues and dissensions, the family strife and civil warfare that went by the name of politics in mediæval Spain. The condition of Castile under John II. and Alvaro de Luna was sufficiently deplorable. Aragon, under a judicious regent, was more tranquil; but Navarre was distracted by the dissensions of two powerful parties, who, like the more celebrated Montagues and Capulets, fought from the mere habit of fighting, and disturbed the Commonwealth with their endless and meaningless strife. The leader of one faction was the Marshal of the kingdom, Don Pedro, Lord of *Agramont;* of the other, the Constable and Grand Prior, Don John of *Beaumont.*[1] John of Aragon, return-

[1] The great officers of State and public functionaries of NAVARRE were—1, THE KING; 2, the *Viceroy* or governor of the kingdom; 3, *Alferez* or grand standard-bearer, from the Arabic, al Feriz = a knight; 4, *Constable* of the kingdom; 5, *Marshal* of the kingdom; 6, *Mesnadero*, "fellow commoner" of the king; 7, *Sayon*, collector-general; 8, *Procureur* du roi; 9, *Portero*, collector of revenue; 10, *Sergeant-at-arms*, with custody of the mace; 11, *Almirante*, admiral, not of fleet, as Navarre had no seaport; but etymologically. Admiral (Middle Eng., amiral, and O. Fr., amiral) has nothing to do with the sea. It is the Arabic *Amir*, with a Latin termination *alis;* see Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire*, sub-tit. *Almirante.* 12, *Sheriff;* 13, *Recibidor*, local receiver of taxes; 14, *Merino*, administrator and chief justice of each one of the five provinces or merindades; 15, *Alcalde*, local judge, Arabic *Cádi;* 16, *Alcaide*, governor of fortress or fortified town, Arabic, *Caid;* 17, *Consul*, municipal judge and magistrate; 18, *Jurados*, justices of the peace; 19, *Prebost*, provost?; 20, *Alguazil*, policeman, Arab *al Wazir;* 21, *Bayle*, bailiff; 22, *Zalmenida?* M. la Grèze queries this word; but I have no doubt that it is *Zalmedina;* Arab, Sahib 'l Medina, civil governor of a town; 23, *Bocero*, advocate—the mouth-man, who was forbidden to be prolix or long in his speeches; 24, *Notaries*, who had to pass an examination; 25, *Ushers;* 26, *Doctors*, whose fees were fixed by law; 27, *Apothecaries.*

See La Grèze, *Hist. de Navarre* (1881, vol. ii.), where will also be found a

ing with his new wife, could find nothing better to do than to deprive the young King Charles of his rightful heritage. All Navarre was roused to indignation. Yet inasmuch as the *Beaumonts* had first ranged themselves on the side of Charles of Viana, the *Agramonts* could do no otherwise than espouse the cause of John of Aragon. And Navarre, long vexed by petty factions, became a prey to civil war.

John II. of Castile, with his son Henry, Prince of Asturias,[1] glad of the opportunity of vexing their ever-troublesome neighbours, came to the assistance of Charles, while the bold Juana Henriquez hurried to Estella, which she fortified and defended against all the attacks of the allies. On the journey from Castile to Navarre she halted for a few days at the little town of Sos, in Aragon, where she gave birth (10th March, 1452) to a son, who, begotten amid confusion and turmoil, born amid discord and disgrace and the strife of three divided provinces, lived to bring domestic peace and national glory to United Spain, as Ferdinand, the husband of Isabella.

Meanwhile, the Castilian invasion brought no relief to Charles of Navarre, and no honour to his allies. John of Aragon pressed forward towards Pamplona, and at Aibar, not far from the capital, the army of the father was brought face to face with the army of the son. The position was so common in the Peninsula that it hardly calls for special notice. Charles, ever reasonable and pacific, desired to treat. But the impetuosity of his soldiers would brook no delay. The armies engaged in battle; the father was successful; and the son was sent into captivity in the castle of Monroy.[2] Released at length from his imprisonment, by the interference of the Cortes, he failed to find, or even to promote, the peace which he so sincerely desired. The irrepressible strife and jealousy of the factions rendered his presence in Navarre a continuous source of trouble, and after his unruly supporters had suffered another defeat at Estella, he prudently withdrew from the country, and sought refuge at the court of his uncle, Alfonso of Aragon, at Naples (1456).[3]

most admirable account of the Fueros and Laws of Navarre: civil, feudal, ecclesiastical, military; as well as of the nature and functions of royalty and of all the great officers of state.

[1] Although Henry had lately repudiated his wife Blanche of Navarre, the sister of Charles of Viana, on the ground of enchantment, producing impotence. A copy of the sentence of divorce is printed in vol. xl. of the *Documentos Ineditos*, p. 444 *et seq.*, where the delicate question is treated in the fullest detail.

[2] See *Documentos Ineditos*, etc., tom. xl., pp. 484 and 499.

[3] Charles, on his release from captivity, travelled from Navarre to Naples by way of Paris, where he was hospitably received and warmly welcomed by Charles

Alfonso received him with the utmost kindness, and used all his endeavours at once to promote a reconciliation between the young prince and his father, and to obtain the recognition of his undoubted rights to the crown of Navarre. But all the diplomacy of the *magnanimous* King of Naples was unequal to abate the envy of John and his new wife; and Alfonso was compelled to resort to more vigorous action. A threat to withdraw the government or lieutenancy of the kingdom of Aragon from his brother, and to assist his nephew, if need be, by force of arms, had already determined John to recognise his son as King of Navarre, when the death of Alfonso in 1458 left the young prince at the mercy of his unscrupulous father.

John, already King of Sicily and tyrant of Navarre, inherited all his brother's dominions in Aragon, with such rights as he possessed over Corsica and Sardinia. Naples was left to Ferdinand, the legitimised son of his father Alfonso. There was no longer a king of the *Two Sicilies*.

A powerful party in Italy, unwilling to accept the rule of the bastard, offered the throne of Naples to the Prince of Viana. The virtues and the misfortunes of Charles had endeared him to many friends at the Italian court; and it would have been but natural in a son of John of Aragon to compensate himself for his loss of Navarre by a bold struggle for Naples. But Charles, apparently, had more of his mother than of his father in his composition; and he gave renewed proofs of his discretion, of his modesty, and of his gratitude, by firmly declining to disturb the succession that had been ordained by his benefactor. With no possessions of his own, and unwilling to vex his neighbours by claims upon those of his cousin, he prudently retired into a modest exile in Sicily. A gentle and accomplished prince, a student, a poet, a musician, and a troubadour, he preferred the solace of verse-making to the vexations of politics, and he devoted his enforced leisure to the translation of the Ethics of Aristotle and the composition of a history of Navarre.[1] The Sicilians gave a practical proof of their appreciation of his character and his conduct by the grant of an annual pension or allowance of 25,000 florins. And the prince was well-content to live a retired and studious life in the Benedictine Monastery of San Placido, near Messina. Yet

VII., the King of France, and his more celebrated son, who soon after succeeded him as Louis XI.; and at Rome he found the Spanish Pope Calixtus III., who treated him with marked distinction.

[1] Quintana, *Vida de Españoles celebres*.

even there the jealousy of his father could not suffer him to live in peace. Compelled by royal orders to quit Sicily, and betake himself to Majorca, Charles, after the despatch of a most humble and submissive letter to his father, passed over to Barcelona; and having been received by the king and queen with some show of affection, he was almost immediately afterwards thrown into prison at Lerida (2nd December, 1460). The Cortes of Catalonia was at the time actually sitting at Lerida, and the estates of Aragon at Fraga; and both these august assemblies immediately sent their protest against the treacherous and arbitrary action of the king.[1] The Catalans, indeed, like rich and generous traders as they were, supplemented their protest with an offer of 100,000 florins for the prince's liberty. The king refused the bribe, and disregarded the protests. Charles remained in confinement.[2]

But the Catalans were not accustomed to overlook the misconduct of their princes, or their disregard of the protests of their Parliament; and the transfer of Charles to a more rigorous imprisonment in the inaccessible fortress of Morella in the kingdom of Valencia, led to a popular outbreak and the armed intervention of the Commons of the realm. John was driven out of Lerida, and afterwards out of Fraga; and was compelled not only to release his son, but to accept terms of pacification from the bold citizens of Barcelona, which he never intended to fulfil, and which, therefore, he was at no pains to modify. The king, indeed, acknowledged his eldest son, according to the treaty of June, 1461, to be the heir to his crown and possessions; and he appointed him, as had been stipulated, to the office of Lieutenant-General of Catalonia. But within three months he removed him from his offices and his expectations by the simple and familiar expedient of poison (23rd September, 1461).[3]

[1] The justiciary, for once, does not appear to have done his duty. *Vide ante*, chap. xxiv. (I may remark that the Justiciary of Aragon had no *locus standi*, as Lerida is in the principality of Catalonia and not in the kingdom of Aragon.—H.)

[2] Some interesting letters and papers connected with Navarre, Charles of Viana, Gaston de Foix, and John of Aragon, will be found in volume xl., of the *Documentos Ineditos*, pp. 434-573, and a copy of the *Confederacion de amistad* between Henry of Castile and John of Navarre, 20th May, 1457, in vol. xli. of the same publication, p. 23 *et seq.*

[3] *De pura desesperacion y angustia de espiritu y del turbacion del animo . . . murió*, says Zurita, iii., 97. The cause was no doubt sufficient; the more so as he had at the moment been tricked in the matter of a treaty, or rather two treaties—a true and a false—between his father, Louis XI., and Henry IV. of Castile, with

The step-brother of this gentle victim—the child who had been born to Juana Henriquez amid the strife of battle at Sos, was now nearly ten years of age. And this young Prince Ferdinand, promoted by the zeal of his parents to the position of an elder son, was formally recognised by the States of Aragon at Calatayud, within a fortnight after the death of Charles of Viana; and was soon afterwards permitted to take the accustomed oaths to maintain the laws and privileges of Catalonia in the more important city of Barcelona.

The next step in his career of fortune was the removal of his sister, Blanche of Navarre. And in this he was served not only by his loving father, but by his father's uncertain ally, Louis XI.; for by one of the articles of a treaty of peace and amity between France and Aragon, which was signed at Olite in April, 1462, and confirmed at Salvatierra on the 3rd of May following, it was provided that the Princess Blanche was to be handed over by her father to the tender mercies of her youngest sister Eleanor, and her brother-in-law, Gaston de Foix. Banishment in such a case was but a diplomatic preliminary to execution. From the convent of Roncesvalles, on her way from her beloved Navarre to the place appointed for her murder, the unhappy queen wrote a letter to Henry IV. of Castile, who had once been her husband, ceding to him all her rights over Navarre, and appealing to him in the most touching language to interfere at least for the protection of her life.[1] But the wretched Henry, worthless in every walk of life, remained unmoved, or, as usual, impotent. And Blanche, after a brief captivity, was poisoned at the castle of Orthez, as

regard to Navarre. See also *Documentos Inéditos*, etc., tom. xl. and xli. It must be remembered that in much that concerns Charles of Viana, and in well-nigh everything that concerns his relations with his father, all, or almost all our sources of information were written by those who sought to please his younger brother Ferdinand. The character of John II. of Aragon is not likely to have been treated with undue harshness by the courtly chroniclers of the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. *Estos cronistas*, says Quintana, *eran pagados por el Rey Fernando el Catolico que fue él que sacó partido de la ruina de Carlos.*

[1] Dated St. Jean Pied de Port, 30th April, 1462. A copy of this donation or cession, printed for the first time in 1862, may be found in the *Documentos Inéditos*, vol. xli., p. 27, *et seq.* (It should be explained that Blanche had sided with her brother Charles, Prince of Viana, in his struggle with their father, and Charles had designated her as his successor to the crown of Navarre. The whole subject of the quarrel between the father and son is extremely obscure. John's recognition of Eleanor in Navarre seems to show that he had no desire to perpetuate his hold upon his late wife's kingdom, whilst, on the other hand, the demeanour of the Prince of Viana all through, proved that he was not moved by personal ambition. —H.)

had been arranged between her father, her sister, and Louis XI. of France.

The death of Blanche brought no peace to Navarre, nor even to John of Aragon. For Gaston de Foix, encouraged by his friend Louis XI., immediately endeavoured to possess himself of his wife's inheritance. And it was only after some time and much trouble that he was driven from the kingdom by the forces of the King of Aragon.[1] On the death of John, in 1479, Eleanor indeed inherited the crown, but she lived but three weeks to enjoy her honours; her son Gaston and her husband Gaston were both already dead, and the crown thus passed to her grandson, François Phébus, who reigned for only two months. His sister Catherine, who succeeded him, inherited little but trouble and dissension, and she was married soon after her accession to Jean d'Albret, a French seigneur whose estates bordered on those of Navarre. Their grand-daughter, Jeanne d'Albret, married Antoine de Bourbon, and her son, Henry IV., finally united what was left of Navarre to the crown of France.[2]

By the Treaty of Olite it had been formally stipulated that the sovereigns of Aragon, whose treatment of the Prince of Viana had intensified the hostility of the Catalans, should receive substantial assistance from Louis XI. of France, in exchange for a still more substantial consideration, in their struggle with their subjects in arms. Charles was dead, but the insurrection continued. The insurgents grew more and more bold, and Queen Joanna was besieged by the Catalans in Gerona. Finding herself, in spite of prodigies of valour, unable to make head against the rebels, she had called upon the French king for immediate assistance. That crafty monarch sent 700 lances, but not until the coveted border provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne had been handed over to him as security for the repayment to him of the expenses of his intervention. The Count of Armagnac, the Duke of Nemours, and Gaston de Foix accompanied the French contingent. The royal garrison at Gerona was promptly relieved. The insurgents were defeated and dispersed.

Henry the Impotent had accepted the title of Count of

[1] The troops were under the command of King John's illegitimate son, the Archbishop of Saragossa (1469). At a conference at Olite in 1471 it was arranged that John should continue to be titular king, while his daughter and son-in-law administered the kingdom as his viceroys. Gaston de Foix died in 1472.

[2] Ferdinand of Aragon in 1512 forcibly possessed himself of all Navarre south of the Pyrenees, which he wrested from Catherine and her husband Jean d'Albret, and annexed it to Spain.

Barcelona in August, 1462,[1] and suffered the rebel Catalans to believe that he would espouse their cause against their own sovereign. His support was as worthless as his assurances, and within a few months (Jan., 1463) he had himself entered into an equally worthless engagement with John of Aragon at the suggestion of Louis XI. of France, after the celebrated conference between the rival monarchs on the banks of the Bidassoa.

But the Catalans continued in revolt; and they persuaded Dom Pedro, Constable of Portugal, and nephew of the turbulent Count of Urgel, to assume the title of King of Aragon. This new leader was at least more active in his generalship than Henry IV. of Castile; but after two years of uncertain strife, he was poisoned at Barcelona; and John of Aragon was relieved of another enemy, in the accustomed manner, in June, 1466.[2]

But the Catalans were not long in finding another chief. René of Anjou, "the titular sovereign of half a dozen empires in which he did not possess a rood of land," accepted the uncertain honour, and deputed his son John, Duke of Calabria and Lorraine, to take possession of the proferred crown; and Louis XI., who had sent an army into Spain to assist John against the Catalans, encouraged Lorraine to assist the Catalans to dethrone John; and Lorraine marched into Aragon, by way of Roussillon, at the head of an army of 8000 men.

Ferdinand of Aragon was now of an age to assist his father in the field; and the increasing blindness with which the king was affected rendered his son's presence the more acceptable at his side. Next to the queen, however, who was the boldest and not the least skilful military commander in the kingdom, was reckoned the Archbishop of Saragossa, a bastard son of the king, and already a seasoned soldier. But neither king nor prince, neither queen nor prelate, could break the haughty spirit of the Catalans; nor could they even check the progress of the Duke of Lorraine; and at length the fiery Joanna succumbed to her many fatigues, and died at Saragossa in February, 1468.

Deprived thus of his most constant and most indefatigable friend and companion, at strife alike with his subjects and his neighbours, already quite blind, and with nothing but the recollection of an ill spent life to cheer him, at over seventy years

[1] Zurita, lib. xvii., c. xxxviii. Sismondi, *Hist. de France*, xiv., 108-114.

[2] "*Tuvose por muy cierto*," says Zurita, *An. Ar.*, lib. xviii., c. vii., "*que le fueron dadas yerbas.*" The euphemism of the very idiomatic Spanish is delightful.

of age, John gave way to none of those feelings of despondency that would have broken down a weaker nature; and in spite of his great age, he sought relief at the hands of an oculist from the malady that darkened his life. The Christian Spaniards had not yet learned the lessons of Cordova. Relics had proved powerless to remove the cataract. But a Hebrew physician was found to perform the operation of couching. The king recovered his sight.[1] To increase his satisfaction he was relieved, within the same year, from the most powerful and the most active of his remaining foes. John of Lorraine fell a victim to a well-timed malady, and died at Barcelona in December, 1469. It was naturally suggested that his death was due to the usual cause. But there is, at least, no evidence to convict John of employing his accustomed methods of relief.

The death of Lorraine did not lead to the immediate surrender of Barcelona, and it was not until full three years afterwards that the Catalans submitted themselves to the authority of their lawful prince (December, 1472). Nor were these the only triumphs of John of Aragon, for in the ever memorable year 1469, and some months before the death of Lorraine, his policy had been crowned by a stroke of fortune more fateful to his kingdom and to his house than the death of any duke or prince, more serious than the defection of any town or province, more abiding in its consequences than any event in the history of his country, since Sancho the Great had assigned to his son Ramiro the little kingdom on the banks of the river Aragon. For the happy event was nothing less than the peaceful acquisition of Castile.

[1] Alfonso de Palencia, *Cron.*, ii., c. lxxxviii. Luc. Marineo, *Cosas Memor.*, f. 141.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

UNION.

(1454—1479).

I.—*Henry the Impotent.*

Henry IV. of Castile, the last representative of the House of Trastamara, impotent, worthless and unfortunate in every relation of life, enjoyed at the time of his accession to the crown an unusual share of popularity.[1] His rebellion against his feeble father was remembered with no serious disapproval by any one in mediæval Spain. His liberality and affability contrasted favourably with the niggardly retirement of the late king. No favourite stood between the monarch and his people. The proclamation of a crusade against the Moors and a new war with Granada appealed at once to the patriotism, the cupidity, and the religious feelings of his subjects. But the popularity of Henry was but of brief duration. The war with Granada was conducted without vigour, and concluded without advantage. The coinage was debased; the Cortes was degraded; crime went unpunished throughout the country. A dispute with Aragon and Navarre was referred to the arbitration of Louis XI. of France; and his diplomatic award brought neither advantage nor honour to Castile, while the exchange of international courtesies on the banks of the Bidassoa served but to accentuate the international hostility between the French and the Spaniards.[2] The Court of Castile was distinguished chiefly by its scandalous immorality.[3] Beltran de la Cueva took the place of Alvaro de

[1] Some interesting letters of Henry, when Prince of Asturias (1444-1453), may be found printed in the *Documentos Inéditos*, etc., vol. xl., pp. 434-451.

[2] The conference actually took place at Bayonne; the meeting at St. Jean de Luz was held in May, 1463, and was but a courtly incident in the negotiations. Comines, *Mem.*, iii., 8; Zurita, *An.*, xvii., 50.

[3] Quintana, *Grandezas de Madrid*, iii., chap. lxxii., p. 399.

Luna; and his favour was shared with a still less admirable favourite at the king's court—Don Juan Pacheco—the unworthy Marquis of Villena.

Henry had been divorced from his first wife, Blanche of Aragon, for reasons sufficiently humiliating;[1] and his new consort, Joan of Portugal, was the almost acknowledged mistress of the magnificent Beltran, who ruled both king and queen and advanced himself by successive steps to the dignities of Count of Ledesma and Grand Master of Santiago.

At a tourney near Madrid in 1461, not long after the king's second marriage, Beltran de la Cueva, already recognised as the favourite of the queen, held the lists against all-comers in defence of the pre-eminent claims to beauty of his mistress. The knight was both brave and successful; and the king was so much pleased with his courage and his skill, that he founded a monastery on the spot—in honour at once of Saint Jerome and of Beltran—San Geronimo *del Paso,* or of the Passage of Arms.

In March, 1462, the queen had been delivered of a daughter, who was christened Juana, but who is better known by her sobriquet of *La Beltraneja;* and Henry's demand that she should be acknowledged as his legitimate daughter and heiress to the Crown of Castile, led to a confederacy of the hostile nobles, who assembled at Burgos, and, entering a solemn protest against the proposed succession, demanded that the king's younger brother, Alfonso, should be recognised as heir to the crown.

After much hesitation and negotiation, Henry agreed that Alfonso should be acknowledged as his successor, provided he would espouse Juana his lawful niece. And he proposed that a commission of five—two nobles, two knights and one ecclesiastic, should investigate and report upon the abuses in the administration of Castile (November, 1464). Beltran, by way of facilitating the negotiations, resigned the Grand Mastership of Santiago, to the Infante Alfonso, and received, as an equivalent, the Dukedom of Albuquerque and a new grant of land and cities. But the day of commissions and commissioners had not yet come. Henry disregarded the report of the chosen five, and ridiculed their recommendations; and the rebellion entered upon a new

[1] Henry, divorced from his first wife on the ground of impotence, carried on a shameless intrigue with the Lady Guiomar, one of the maids of honour of Queen Joan; and the Archbishop of Seville openly espoused the cause of the paramour, who maintained a magnificence of state rivalling that of the queen herself. The Marquis of Villena took the opposite side in domestic politics.

phase.[1] For the next act of the confederates was one unexampled even in the rich store of precedents in such cases that are to be found in the history of Spain.

On rising ground in the open country near the celebrated city of Avila, was erected a lofty stage, such as half a century before had been raised at Caspe, for the proclamation of King Ferdinand of Aragon. On a throne of state was seated an *effigy* of the Castilian king, clad in a rich suit of mourning, with a crown on its head, a sword at its side, and a sceptre in its lifeless hand. An immense concourse of knights, nobles and spectators of every degree was gathered round this dais of shame. A herald advanced, read a long act of accusation, detailing the king's misdeeds, both of omission and of commission, and pronounced him solemnly deposed. His great officers then advanced. The Archbishop of Toledo tore the crown from the head of the image. The Count of Benavente flung the sceptre down among the crowd. And the counterfeit presentment of Castilian royalty, more impotent than the king himself, despoiled of all the magnificence of kingly honour, was rolled in the dust, and torn to pieces by the populace. The Infante Alfonso who was present, not in effigy, but in flesh and blood, was then summoned to take his seat on the vacant throne, and was greeted with joyful acclamation as King of Castile (5th June, 1465).

The news of this strange ceremony was carried far and wide; and every man in Spain was called upon to choose between Henry and Alfonso as lawful sovereigns of Castile. The king himself, as usual, took refuge in negotiation; and negotiation at the moment was easy. The archbishop was disappointed at his failure in the field. Pacheco was tired of his absence from the palace. A marriage was arranged between the court and the camp which should restore peace to Castile.

The Princess Isabella, the youngest sister of Henry and Alfonso, was at this time nearly sixteen years of age.[2] In years gone by her hand had been sought by the gentle and unfortunate

[1] The *Peticiones originales* presented by the *arzobispos, obispos, cavalleros, y grandes* of the kingdom to Henry IV., dated Cigales, 5th December, 1464, are preserved among the family papers of the House of Villena. They are printed in vol. xiv. of the *Documentos Ineditos*, etc., pp. 369-409.

[2] Isabella was brought up at Arevalo, a town which was settled on her mother, Queen Isabella, widow of John II. The queen-mother is very rarely referred to in histories of the Catholic kings; but she lived until 1496; on the 15th of August of which year she died at Arevalo, while her daughter was at Laredo seeing her daughter Joanna off to Flanders.

Charles of Viana;[1] and on his death she had been affianced or offered by her brother Henry to Alfonso V. of Portugal, the elder brother of the shameless Queen of Castile. This union the young princess had had sufficient spirit to refuse, declaring that her hand could not be disposed of without the consent of the Cortes of Castile; and the negotiations had been accordingly broken off. But it was now proposed (1466) that Isabella should marry Don Pedro Giron, Grand Master of Calatrava, a brother of the court favourite, Pacheco, Marquis of Villena, and nephew of the Archbishop of Toledo. The grand master was a fierce and turbulent leader of faction; a man whose character was stained with every private vice, a lover old enough to be her father, who had paid insolent court to her own mother, and who was, moreover, a religious knight solemnly devoted to a life of perpetual celibacy. Don Pedro, moreover, was a petty lord, not even of royal ancestry, a recreant knight, whose abandonment of his Order, and whose insolent disregard of his lady's wishes, were alike unworthy of a Castilian gentleman. The rights of the weak were not much regarded in the fifteenth century. The pretensions of the grand master were supported by the leaguers, and they were accepted by Henry as the price of union and peace.

Isabella once more asserted her independence; and shutting herself up in her own apartments, announced her intention of resisting to the utmost the indignity that it was sought to put upon her. But her protests were entirely disregarded. A Bull dispensing the grand master from his vows of celibacy was easily obtained from Rome.[2] Henry was ever lavish. Rome was ever placable. The wedding-feast was prepared. The bridegroom was summoned to court. But within a few days of the time when the master would have arrived to claim Isabella as his wife, he sickened and died at a little village near Ciudad Real, not forty leagues from Madrid, on his way to the marriage ceremony. The pious Isabella, thus suddenly relieved from im-

[1] The first proposal that was ever made for her hand, strange to say, was by John II. of Aragon, for his *youngest* son, Ferdinand. But the suggestion was a part of a general scheme of marriages and alliance between Aragon and Castile, and the negotiation came to nothing.

[2] That is, a Bull dispensing the grand master from his vows of perpetual chastity. He was, as a matter of fact, one of the most dissipated men of his licentious age. The vows of the knights of Calatrava were of a more strictly religious character than those of the other two Orders; and while Santiago and Alcantara were bound only to conjugal chastity, the more monastic knights of Calatrava were devoted to perpetual celibacy. See *ante*, chap. xxiii.

pending danger, saw not unnaturally, in her sudden deliverance, the direct interposition of heaven. And it is at once characteristic of the age, and honourable to the princess, that all the chroniclers should think it necessary to inform us that Don Pedro's death was probably due to natural causes, and that he was certainly not poisoned by Isabella.

On this tragic termination of the projects of marriage, the civil war at once broke out anew. The deposition of Avila had been an act of pseudo-constitutional rebellion more extravagant than the most violent proceedings of the *Union* of Aragon, where the title of the sovereign was ever respected even when his authority was set at naught. The leaguers were many and powerful. But the king was not without friends and lances, Once more at Olmedo, in August, 1467, the opposing forces met. on the very spot where, just twenty-two years before, John, the father of Henry, had in like manner been confronted by his rebellious subjects, under the leadership of Henry himself.

Alfonso Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of all Spain, clad in complete mail, his scarlet mantle emblazoned with a white cross, led the army of the rebels. Beltran de la Cueva, no less splendidly apparelled, commanded the forces of the king. The battle raged throughout a long summer's day. The archbishop performed prodigies of valour. Beltran de la Cueva sought death in a hundred single combats. But the victory remained uncertain; and although the king's troops kept possession of the field of battle, the enemy retired unbroken and undismayed at the close of the day. Nor did either party choose to renew the conflict. The death of Alfonso in the following year[1] (5th July, 1468), whether by poison or by natural causes, at length put an end to the confusion; and his sister Isabella became, as she remained to the day of her death, the most important personage in Spain.

Alfonso had been a pretender to his half-brother's throne. There was nothing new in the position. He had died, as pretenders had often died before him, under the usual suspicion of poison. The attitude of his sister was a matter of more pressing interest. Isabella was wise and discreet far beyond her years; the only remaining hope of the rebel aristocracy, and of the clerical party throughout Spain. Ambitious as she was, she prudently rejected the proposals that were made to her by the turbulent Archbishop of Toledo that she should allow herself to

[1] At Cardeñosa, near Avila. He was only fifteen years of age, and is said to have been removed in the usual fashion, by the administration of a poisoned trout.

be immediately proclaimed Queen of Castile. Yet she permitted herself to be recognised, at least, as her brother's successor to the crown, to the exclusion of her niece Joanna, the presumably lawful heiress to the crown.

To maintain this prospective usurpation,[1] the scandalous story of the paternity of the Princess Joanna was sedulously spread abroad, and the nickname of *La Beltraneja* was systematically attached to her. Isabella, secure of the support of the clerical party, withdrew to a monastery at Avila, where she received deputations from every part of the country, urging her to assume the title not of heiress, but of Queen of Castile.

But the girl of eighteen was more sagacious than the mature intriguers who surrounded her. To attempt to dethrone her own brother would have been rebellion of the most naked and shameless character; and it would in all probability have failed. Henry had still a strong party in the kingdom. A certain amount of divinity hedged about a king even in mediæval Spain; and a civil war, headed by his younger sister and promoted by his bishops and clergy, would probably have been unpopular, and would almost certainly have been unsuccessful. Isabella saw clearly that the hour for action had not yet arrived; and Isabella bided her time.

Yet negotiations between the palace and the monastery were actively pursued. Isabella was the hope—if she would not permit herself to be called the leader—of the league.[2] Her position was more powerful as it was. And it was at length arranged that she should be received by her unhappy brother in solemn conference, and that, as the price of a temporary concord, her rights should be formally recognised as superior to those of the king's daughter.

The interview took place at Toros de Guisando, in New Castile, on the 9th of September, 1468. Brother and sister met

[1] See on this point a secret memorandum prepared by the Privy Council of Castile on the occasion of a projected marriage between Charles V. and a princess of Portugal, January, 1522, printed in the *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), vol. ii., pp. 396, 397. It is there maintained that even if Joanna had been the daughter of Henry IV. she would not have been his *legitimate* child. The reasons are sufficiently curious. A Papal Bull, of course, plays an important part in the situation.

[2] "The history of this usurpation is one of the most disgraceful on record, the different parties entering as it were into a competition as to which would outdo the other in perjury, in gross calumny and in treachery. In this competition Isabella, having entered into a formal compact with the clerical faction, under Alfonso Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo, was the winner." *Cal. State Papers* (Spain), pp. 27, 28; and *Supplement to* vols. i., ii. (1868), Introduction.

with every mark of affection. The claims of the king's daughter were ignored; and the oath of allegiance was administered to the attendant nobles, who did homage to Isabella, and formally recognised her as the lawful heir to the throne of Castile. As such, her hand was promptly sought by many new aspirants. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the brother of Edward IV. of England, was early in the field. But his tender proposals were disregarded. The Duke of Guienne, a brother of Louis XI. and heir presumptive to the crown of France, was no more fortunate in his pretensions.

The suitor who alone found favour in the eyes of Isabella, was her cousin and neighbour, the brave and handsome young Ferdinand of Aragon. But her wishes were influenced quite as much by policy as by any personal predilection; for the alliance would secure the whole weight of the crown of Aragon to the side of the leaguers. The court party, as may be supposed, strained every nerve to defeat the negotiations. The mature pretensions of Alfonso V. of Portugal were renewed, and strongly urged by Henry upon his sister. An embassy, headed by the Archbishop of Lisbon, waited upon Isabella at Ocaña to urge her to reconsider the Portuguese proposals. But Isabella persisted in her former refusal. She had made up her mind that she would marry her cousin of Aragon. And as those who had dealings with her were ever made to know, her gentle manner did but conceal a power of will and an inflexible tenacity of purpose that had long been absent from the children of Trastamara. Yet was her position at the moment not only one of difficulty but of positive danger. Embarrassing princes and princesses were easily removed in fifteenth-century Spain. The Marquis of Villena, who had been restored to his position and to his influence at court, was only deterred by the attitude of the inhabitants from actually arresting her at Ocaña. Her brother would scarcely have resented, even if he had not at once approved the step. It was not strange that Isabella should feel that Prince Ferdinand, with all Aragon at his back, would be a protector as well as a consort; and she determined to delay no longer in concluding the marriage that she desired. The envoys of Aragon received a final and a favourable reply; and hastened with their good news to Saragossa. No time was lost by John or by Ferdinand; and the marriage treaty, drawn up by Isabella and her advisers, and approved by King John of Aragon, was signed by Ferdinand at Cervera on the 7th of January, 1469.

II.—*Ferdinand of Aragon.*

Ferdinand of Aragon, the young prince for whom so high a destiny was reserved, not only in the history of Aragon, but in that of the great united nation that was so soon to spring into lusty manhood, had just completed his eighteenth year. Tall and well-proportioned, with a fair complexion, a bright eye, and a persuasive tongue, inured to fatigue and already skilled in every military exercise, Ferdinand had all the vivacious intelligence and bold activity of his mother, with much of the astuteness and determination of his father; and he had not as yet displayed any of the unscrupulous ambition that he inherited from Joanna Henriquez, nor the cold-hearted selfishness that were transmitted to him by the Aragonese John II. By blood he was at least three-fourths a Castilian. His mother was a daughter of Castile. His grandfather, the good Regent Ferdinand, had been summoned from his own country to rule over Aragon; and now he himself, the grandson of that good king, was called upon to leave Aragon that he might rule, if he did not actually reign, in Castile.

Isabella was a year older than her cousin. Four nations claim the honour of her ancestry. Her great-grandmother, Eleanor of Aragon, was the one Aragonese ancestress of her future husband. Her grandmother was an English princess, Katharine of Lancaster. Her mother was Isabella of Portugal. Isabella of Castile had thus far more Aragonese blood in her veins than Ferdinand of Aragon. Ferdinand was far more of a Castilian than Isabella of Castile.

While the marriage negotiations were progressing, Isabella had moved her residence from Ocaña to Madrigal. Her intended marriage soon became known in Castile; and the Marquis of Villena resolved to strike a final blow to defeat her intentions. His nephew, the Bishop of Burgos, corrupted her servants. The citizens of Madrigal were intimidated by a letter from the king. The Archbishop of Seville, at the head of a considerable force, proceeded to secure her person. The energy of a rival prelate alone saved her from actual arrest. For while his Grace of Seville was advancing from the more distant south, his Grace of Toledo appeared at the head of a small body of horsemen, and carried off Isabella to a safe refuge among her friends at Valladolid. Envoys were sent to Aragon to warn Ferdinand; and one of them, Alfonso of Palencia, who, like old Ayala, was at once a courtier and administrator, has left us a graphic account

of their dangerous mission, ere they arrived at length in safety at Saragossa. The return journey presented even greater difficulties. But the astute King John of Aragon provided for every contingency. He had even, in view of the religious scruples of his future daughter-in-law, furnished himself with an appropriate *Bull*, dispensing the parties from any impediment that might exist to the marriage on the ground of consanguinity. The precious document did not, indeed, issue from the Papal Chancery. Paul II. was hostile to the marriage, and he would assuredly have refused to grant the necessary licence if he had been applied to for a dispensation. The Bull had, in fact, been manufactured by the king himself, with the assistance of the friendly Archbishop of Toledo. But it served its purpose. And on the death of the reigning Pope it was replaced by a genuine document which was dated back to the day of the marriage, so as to relieve the mind of Isabella, which was troubled as soon as she was made acquainted with the amiable, if not actually pious, fraud that had been practised upon her tender conscience.[1]

Nor was a more material subterfuge disregarded by the King of Aragon. An imposing cavalcade of sham ambassadors from Aragon to Castile took the most frequented road, and diverted the attention of the Duke of Medina Celi, with the Mendozas and the other Castilian nobles whose forces patrolled the frontier; while a modest company of *merchants*, among whom the heir of Aragon was content to figure as a serving-man, plodded unobtrusively across country, and arrived in safety at Burgo de Osma, where the Count of Treviño was awaiting the royal cavalcade with a considerable body of men-at-arms in the service of Isabella. It was late at night when the wayfarers demanded admittance; and a chance stone from the battlements had well-nigh shattered the hopes of Spain, when the voice of the unwounded Ferdinand was recognised by his friends within the fortress; and a joyful blare of trumpets announced the safe arrival of the royal lover. At Dueñas, on the 9th of October, he was received by the faithful knights and nobles of Castile,

[1] When the Cardinal d'Arras was engaged in negotiating the marriage of the Duke of Guienne with Joanna *Beltraneja*, he announced in public audience at Medina del Campo the spuriousness of this Bull. Isabella, who was then for the first time made acquainted with the deception that had been practised upon her by the Archbishop of Toledo, immediately sent to Rome for a new and genuine Bull, which was accordingly granted by Sixtus IV., antedated to 1st December, 1471, and sent to Isabella by the sacred hands of the Spanish Cardinal Roderic Borgia, afterwards Pope Alexander VI. *Memorias de la Real Academia de Historia*, tom. vi.; and Mariana, xxiii., 14.

and on the fifteenth of the same month he was admitted to the presence of Isabella.

That royal and noble lady was then in the full bloom of her maiden beauty. She had just completed her nineteenth year. In stature somewhat superior to the majority of her countrywomen, and inferior to none in personal grace and charm, her golden hair and her bright blue eye told perhaps of her Lancastrian ancestry. Her beauty was remarkable in a land where beauty has never been rare; her dignity was conspicuous in a country where dignity is the heritage not of a class but of a nation. Of her courage, no less than of her discretion, she had already given abundant proofs. Bold and resolute, modest and reserved, she had all the simplicity of a great lady, born for a great position. She became in after life something of an autocrat and over much of a bigot. But it could not be laid to the charge of a persecuted princess of nineteen, that she was devoted to the service of her religion.

But little remained to be done, now that Ferdinand was actually at her side. The marriage treaty had been already executed. The famous Bull, so thoughtfully provided by the bridegroom's father, was duly displayed. Isabella could go to the altar without any scruples of conscience. And so, on the 19th of October, 1469, in a private house at Valladolid, where the princess did Don Juan de Vivero the honour to lodge, the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella was celebrated by the warlike Archbishop of Toledo. There was no adventitious pomp in the august ceremony; no glory of silks or jewels, no military pageant, no diplomatic representation. A small sum of money was hardly raised to defray the necessary expenses. But the ceremony was the more imposing as it was. No brave processions, no splendid ornaments, no display of gilded finery could add lustre to the inherent greatness of the occasion when the heiress of Saint Ferdinand stretched out her fair and fortunate hand to the future grandsire of Charles V.

III.—*La Beltraneja.*

The marriage of Isabella stirred up her impotent brother, or rather his more potent courtiers, the Pachecos and the Mendozas, to strike a blow for the unfortunate *Juana la Beltraneja;* and at a formal Assembly held near the Monastery of Paulos, in the valley of Lozola, between Buitrago and Segovia, in October,

1470, the rights and claims of Isabella under the compact of the Toros de Guisando were declared forfeited, as undoubtedly they legally were. Joanna was pronounced the legitimate heir of the crown of Castile; and the young princess was solemnly affianced, in the presence of the ambassadors of Louis XI., to the king's brother, Duke of Guienne, and heir-presumptive to the crown of France.[1]

Many of the most considerable families in the kingdom, the Mendozas, the Pachecos, the Zuñigas, the Velascos, the Pimentels, unmindful of the homage so recently tendered to Isabella, now openly expressed their adhesion to her niece. Honours and estates were showered upon the supporters of the Beltraneja. The Marquis of Villena was made Grand Master of Santiago. His son was raised to the Dukedom of Escalona. A mere record of the new titles would fill a page of this work. Meanwhile Ferdinand and Isabella held their little court at Dueñas, on the Pisuerga, between Palencia and Valladolid. Their fortunes were for the moment in jeopardy. Castile appeared to be slipping from their grasp. There was disquieting news from Aragon.

John II. had mortgaged his northern provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne to his more crafty neighbour, Louis XI. of France, to secure his timely succour in 1462. John had never intended that Louis should keep the provinces. Each monarch thought that he was outwitting the other. But Louis remained in possession. At length in 1473 the inhabitants, covertly stirred up by John, broke out into sudden but carefully planned rebellion. The French were massacred. The Spaniards were admitted. In an incredibly short space of time the entire country, with the exception of the castle of Perpignan and the insignificant fortresses of Salces and Collioure, acknowledged once more the supremacy of Aragon.

But Louis XI. was not a man to allow himself to be worsted either in arms or in intrigue. Hastily collecting a large army, said to have amounted to 30,000 men, he advanced on Perpignan; and John, who was engaged in besieging the citadel, found himself in turn besieged by the French force. But the Duke of Savoy, who commanded for Louis XI., was no match for John of Aragon. Nor did Ferdinand leave his father without prompt and ready assistance. Hastening from Dueñas at the head of a considerable body of Castilian horsemen, and gathering reinforcements on his rapid march through Aragon, he arrived before Perpignan to raise the siege, and force the French commander to agree to a favourable treaty of peace.

[1] *Documentos Ineditos*, xiv., 421.

The conditions, no doubt, were such as neither party intended to observe. But each one hoped to gain some advantage over the other in the interpretation of the treaty; and an immediate suspension of arms was desired by both. John, who was successful, was bankrupt. Louis, who had men and money in reserve, was for the moment unprepared for action. So the treaty was signed with the usual oaths and ceremonials. And then each of the high contracting parties set to work to see how its provisions could best be avoided or evaded. Ferdinand was at last able to betake himself to his young queen, and to his new home beyond his father's frontiers. He had acquitted himself admirably in Aragon. He found his prospects bright on his return to Castile. Isabella had dispatched a "sure agent" to the court of France. She had given proofs of her usual sagacity at home. Her influence in the country was daily increasing. The legitimacy of Joanna was daily discredited; and most important of all, her affianced husband, the Duke of Guienne, had died at Bordeaux, in May, 1472,[1] and Henry found it impossible to count upon any further support from France. Cardinal Mendoza, moreover, Archbishop of Seville, and the most powerful prelate in Spain, so long one of the leading supporters of the party of Henry, perceiving the true drift of politics in Castile, had thought it prudent to enter into secret negotiations with Isabella. And finally, through the instrumentality of Andres de Cabrera, an officer of the king's household, a friendly interview had actually been brought about between Henry and Isabella, and the royal brother and sister were found in amicable converse at Segovia by Ferdinand on his arrival from Roussillon.

But this domestic harmony was not of long duration. The discovery of a scheme designed by the Grand Master of Santiago (better known by his old name of Marquis of Villena), to surprise and arrest Isabella, on the ground of an attempt on her part to poison the king his master, led to a sudden breaking up of the festivities; while Ferdinand was once more summoned by his father to assist him in Aragon.

In the vain hope of cajoling the prince of cajolers into some advantageous interpretation of the treaty of Olite, John II. had sent an embassy to the court of Paris. The ambassadors had been delayed and deluded by Louis XI., while he was making his preparations for a new and vigorous campaign in Roussillon, and when his preparations were satisfactorily completed, the

[1] Poisoned in all probability by his brother's orders. Sismondi, xiv., 352-5.

envoys were dismissed with punctilious politeness, to tell their master that he was at war with France. John was not only outwitted, but he was outgeneralled by Louis. Perpignan was once more besieged in the autumn of 1472; and, after a heroic but vain resistance, the city surrendered to the French commander on the 14th of March, 1475.

But graver events had happened before its fall. The Grand Master of Santiago had died in the month of November, 1474; and the feeble Henry had not long survived his favourite. Isabella was Queen of Castile.

IV.—*The Queen of Castile.*

It was a magnificent inheritance. But it needed a firm hand to grasp it with effect. Isabella was a young queen [1] of two-and twenty. Against her was ranged, with all that could be counted as legal right on their side, the partisans of her niece, not only in her own country, but in the neighbouring kingdom of Portugal. It needed a great heart to withstand so tremendous a combination. But in the veins of Isabella flowed the blood of the Guzmans and the blood of the Plantagenets: [2] and she hesitated not for one moment to face the difficulties of her new position.

By her own orders she was at once proclaimed queen at Segovia (December, 1474), where she was then residing, with the usual civil and ecclesiastical ceremonial.[3] A Cortes was immediately summoned to meet at Segovia in February, 1475, which declared her right and title to the crown,[4] and swore allegiance

[1] Born 22nd April, 1452.

[2] Isabella had not only an English grandmother but an English great-grandmother. Her great-grandson, Phillip II. of Spain, was descended on the mother's side from the first wife, and by his father from the second wife, of John of Gaunt.

Mary of England, being the representative of the House of York, the marriage of Philip and Mary was the legitimate union of the House of York and Lancaster; and a child of Philip and Mary would have had a better title to the crown of England than any Lancastrian sovereign.

[3] Isabella's actual titles were Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Gallicia, the Mallorcas, Seville, Sardinia, Cordova, Corsica, Murcia, Jaen, the Algarves, Algeciras, Gibraltar, the Canary Islands, Countess of Barcelona, Sovereign Lady of Biscay and Molina, Duchess of Athens and Neopatria, Countess of Roussillon, Cerdagne, Marchioness of Ovistan and Goziano.

[4] *The Escritura de Confederacion*, dated 19th February, 1473, by which Henry de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia swears fealty to Ferdinand and Isabella, and is invested by them with the grand mastership that Juan Pacheco had usurped, is printed in the xxi. vol. of the *Documentos Ineditos*, pp. 553, 568, etc.

to her as Queen of Castile.[1] The first troubles of the young sovereign did not arise from the machinations of her enemies, but from the jealous presumption of her husband.

Ferdinand, as we have shown, was the nearest male representative of Henry of Trastamara, and was, after the accession of Isabella, heir presumptive to the throne of Castile. The son of John II. of Aragon was not likely to allow the opportunity to pass of supplanting his own wife in her succession. But the gentle Isabella gave proofs of astonishing firmness. Cardinal Mendoza and the ever serviceable Archbishop of Toledo, after careful examination of precedents, solemnly pronounced that whatever might be the case in Aragon, a female could undoubtedly inherit the crown of Castile;[2] and a settlement of the royal differences, and a delimitation of the respective powers of the queen and her consort, if it failed entirely to satisfy the demands of Ferdinand, at least averted the calamity of a rupture

[1] The royal arms of Spain, as may be supposed, have undergone many changes. In the earliest shields the lion and castle are parted per cross without supporters, as is exemplified on the tomb of Edward I. in Westminster Abbey. On the union of the crowns of Aragon and Castile by Ferdinand and Isabella, the shield was divided by coupé and party, the first and fourth areas were given to Castile and Leon, and second and third to Aragon and Sicily; Navarre and Jerusalem were introduced subsequently. The shield was supported by the eagle of St. John, sable with one head. This apostle was the patron (the San Juan de los Reyes) of the Catholic kings. To him they dedicated their hospitals, churches and convents; after him they christened their only son Juan, whose premature death was so disastrous to Spain. Each of the sovereigns assumed a separate and strictly personal device. Isabella selected a bundle of arrows tied together, the emblem of *Union*. The jealous despotic Ferdinand chose the Yoke, *la coyunda*, which he imposed on Christian and Moor. To mark his *equality* with his Castilian queen, he added the motto *Tăto Mŏta—tanto monta* = one is worth as much as the other, which is the true etymology of our English word *tantamount*. Their grandson Charles V. brought into the shield the quarterings of Austria, Burgundy, Brabant and Flanders, and the apostolic one-headed eagle gave way to the double-headed eagle of the Empire. The shield was then encircled with the golden fleece; the ragged staff of Burgundy and the Pillars of Hercules were added as supporters, which are of rare occurrence in Spanish heraldry. The emperor struck out the negative from the "ne plus ultra" of Hercules, and proclaimed to the world that there were *no limits* to Spanish ambition. The imperial eagle was discontinued by Philip II., when the Empire reverted to his uncle Ferdinand. He added the arms of Portugal and of Flanders, impaling Tyrol. The Bourbon, Philip V., introduced the three *fleur-de-lys* of France in an escutcheon of pretence. The arms of Spain as struck on the well-known Peso fuerte or "hard dollar," the universal specie of four continents, are the simple quarterings of Castile and Leon, between the Pillars of Hercules as supporters. See *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxii., p. 127.

[2] According to the Aragonese law of succession, excluding females, which however, had been disregarded in the case of his own grandfather, the Castilian regent Ferdinand, young Ferdinand would have been the rightful King of Castile; but as we have seen in many cases in the course of the history, the Roman law of succession was followed in Castile, and women of a line took preference to males of a more remote line.—H.

between the queen and her husband, when division would have been fatal at once to Ferdinand, to Isabella, and to Spain. Isabella, indeed, with the wise liberality of a strong nature, conceded much that was undoubtedly her own, to preserve the rest for Castile.

The administration of justice was to be in the hands of both sovereigns conjointly; royal letters, charters and proclamations were to bear the signatures of the king and the queen; when not residing in the same place, each one was to administer justice independently of the other; the heads or effigies of both were to be stamped upon the coins of the realm; the united arms of Castile and Aragon were to be emblazoned on the royal seal. To Isabella alone was reserved the power of appointment to municipal and ecclesiastical posts, and the right of interference with the fiscal regulations of her country. All governors and commanders of fortified towns and castles were to render homage only to the queen in Castile.

Ferdinand was dissatisfied with the arrangement, and the recognition of his daughter Isabella, who had been born in 1470, as heiress of Castile, alone prevented him from retiring to Aragon in disgust. But Castile, however it was to be administered, was not to be acquired without a struggle. Were the supporters of the rival Joanna to be successful in the field, the share of Ferdinand in the administration of the country would scarcely have been worth delimiting. The activity of the Marquis of Villena —together with the agreeable prospect of some fighting in the immediate future, decided the heir of Aragon to adopt the only honourable course that was open to him—to remain at the side of his royal wife, and to defend her rights to Castile.

The assailants were many and important. The Marquis of Villena, the Duke of Arevalo, the richest and most powerful among the grandees of Spain; the young Marquis of Cadiz, and the Grand Master of Calatrava were not the only great names in the coalition in favour of the late king's doubtful daughter. The Archbishop of Toledo, the bold soldier who had galloped across country to save Isabella's life at Madrigal, the bolder Churchman who had forged the Pope's Bull to quiet her conscience at Valladolid, the priest who had married her in 1469, the lawyer who had assured her wedded independence in 1475, taking umbrage at some fancied preference of the queen for their common friend, Cardinal Mendoza, withdrew from the court and attached himself to the queen's enemies. Alfonso V. of Portugal (1432-1481), moreover, a king always ready to engage in any strange and

exciting adventure, proposed to marry Joanna, surnamed La Beltraneja, who was not only his own niece, but who was also his junior by over thirty years. A Bull of dispensation could, of course, be obtained from Sixtus IV. ; and the royal lover, whose bold and successful forays in Barbary had gained for him the suggestive title of "The African," threw himself heart and soul into this new and romantic enterprise in Castile. In the month of May, 1475, Alfonso, without further warning, and after very hasty preparations, crossed the frontier into Spain, and was solemnly affianced to his youthful bride at Plasencia, where the royal pair were immediately proclaimed King and Queen of Castile (12th May, 1475). Ferdinand and Isabella meanwhile had composed their differences, and devoted themselves to the equipment of an army to defend their rights. Nor was the queen less active or less capable in her exertions than her more experienced husband. The regiments of Isabella were no less efficient than the forces of Ferdinand.

However fortunate Alfonso of Portugal may have been in his African expeditions, he showed himself a very indifferent general in Spain. A long delay at Arevalo gave time to his rivals to prepare their army, and when, after two months' inaction, he marched forward and possessed himself of Toro and Zamora, the Castilian forces were already on their way to oppose him. Yet the position of Isabella was critical in the extreme. The Archbishop of Toledo had not only joined the invaders, but he took with him a body of 500 lances. Ferdinand had been repulsed before Toro. Prince John of Portugal looked forward to a second Aljubarrota. All Leon seemed at the mercy of the invaders. Isabella, nothing daunted, convoked a Cortes at Medina del Campo (August, 1475). Her appeal to the people was eminently successful. Supplies to a large extent were voted by the devoted Commons. The church plate was pledged to the extent of half its value by a loyal clergy. The army of Ferdinand was reinforced. New regiments were raised by Isabella. The Portuguese once more remained inactive, and allowed the defenders of Castile the time they sorely needed to complete their preparations. At length, in February, 1476, between Toro and Zamora, the combined forces of Ferdinand and Isabella inflicted a severe and decisive defeat[1] upon the Portuguese and rebel army.

[1] Commonly known as the battle of Toro. Battles are not often fought on the precise spot of ground by which name they are known in history. See *Documentos Ineditos*, xiii., 396-400, where a letter from Ferdinand is printed, addressed by him at the time to the Concejo of Baeza, and giving his account of the victory.

Zamora as well as Toro fell into the hands of the victors, and the invaders, unmindful of Aljubarrota, retreated in some confusion into their own country.

Nor was the moral effect less remarkable in Spain. The humbler waiters upon fortune immediately declared for Isabella. The Duke of Arevalo soon after gave his adhesion. The Archbishop of Toledo was not far behind him; and the Marquis of Villena was at length content to enjoy his diminished revenues under the protection of his lawful sovereign. Isabella walked barefoot in a procession to the Church of St. Paul at Tordesillas in honour of the victory. Ferdinand contented himself with the building and endowment of a monastery of the Order of St. Francis, at Toledo, known as *San Juan de los Reyes.*[1] Louis XI. of France, who had encouraged the Portuguese, was not long in offering his alliance to Ferdinand; and a treaty of perpetual peace between France and Castile, promoted by the ever-vigilant King of Aragon, John II., was signed at St. Jean de Luz in October, 1478.

To make Isabella's victory more complete, a new Bull was obtained from Sixtus IV. annulling the marriage of Alfonso of Portugal with Joanna the Beltraneja; and that unhappy lady, the sport of fortune, and a puppet in the hands of kings and Popes, retired into the Convent of St. Clare at Coimbra, while her disappointed husband, Alfonso the African—romantic to the end—resigned his crown, and assumed the habit of a Franciscan friar.

But before Isabella's rival had taken the veil, and not long after the signature of the Treaty of St. Jean de Luz, which he had so earnestly promoted, John of Aragon died, on the 19th of January, 1479, in the bishop's palace at Barcelona, in the eighty-third year of his age.

Ferdinand and Isabella were King and Queen in Spain.

[1] The chapel of S. Juan de los Reyes at Toledo, which was built by Ferdinand and Isabella, is cited by Fergusson (151-2) as a most interesting example of contemporary work, and compared by him with Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE REFORMS OF ISABELLA.

(1479-1485.)

On the death of John II. Ferdinand succeeded without opposition to his father's throne. For over 300 years the little kingdom of Aragon had been ruled by kings of more than common merit. James I. was a prince among conquerors and a scholar among princes. Peter III. was one of the greatest kings that ever bore rule in the Peninsula. Peter IV., cruel, false and formal as he was, showed considerable political intelligence, and if he was an eminently bad man he was undoubtedly a good ruler. To compare him—unfavourably, as an English writer has done—with his namesake of Castile, is to say that Richelieu was more cruel than Caligula, or Louis XI. than Robespierre. Ferdinand I. was one of the best kings that ever sat upon a throne, and his son Alfonso—if his great reputation was gained rather in Italy than in Aragon, was at least represented in Spain by a wise and worthy queen. And finally, John II., one of the least admirable of his line, was an astute and vigorous ruler, neither falser nor more cruel than policy dictated—a king who at least aspired to be a statesman.

The people of Aragon had ever been more active, more enterprising, and more independent than the people of Castile; and their free institutions had borne good fruit in the prosperity of their country and in the virtue of their nobles, as well as in the general wisdom of their kings. The nobility of Aragon was less rich, less turbulent, and at once more independent and more loyal than their cousins of Castile. If their estates were less vast and their castles less numerous, their personal culture and general civilisation were far in advance of that of their neighbours. It was not for nothing that the knights of Aragon joined hands with those of Provence; that the merchant princes of Catalonia sailed the Eastern seas; that their kings resided in

Naples and Sicily, and asserted their influence in the Ægean and the Hellespont.

The history and the more recent traditions of Castile were far different. From the day of the departure of the good Regent Ferdinand in 1412, to that of the Treaty of Lisbon in 1479, a period of nearly seventy years, the government may be characterised as anarchy tempered by favouritism; and the condition of the country over which Isabella now found herself the undoubted mistress, had become deplorable in the extreme. Outside the walls of the fortified towns, life and property had long been protected only by the voluntary activity of the old popular *Hermandades*. Within the fortresses, her majesty's liege subjects were at the mercy of the Alvaro or the Pacheco who happened at the moment to prevail. To the turbulent aristocracy of ancient Castile that fought and plundered in the time of John, his wretched successor, by a profligate abuse of his sovereignty, had added an upstart nobility, with all the vices and none of the virtues of the older race of grandees; and the nobles of every degree and condition, with rare and remarkable exceptions, agreed only in oppressing the people, and defying the authority of the crown. The great military and religious orders were the resort of worthless bravos; and their vast estates were but an object of plunder to contending grand masters; while the knights were content to keep out of the way of their Moslem enemies, and to occupy themselves only in the robbery and plunder of their Christian neighbours.[1] The secular clergy was grossly ignorant; the regular clergy was scandalously immoral. The court had long been an example of all that was contemptible in vice, and all that was shameless in depravity. The queen had lived in open adultery in her husband's palace. The king had borne witness to his manliness by displaying a bevy of mistresses; and had demonstrated his religion by transferring them from time to time to posts of honour and importance in conventual establishments.[2]

To appreciate fairly the importance of the policy of Ferdinand the Catholic as regards the nobility, we must bear in mind their conduct during the preceding reign. Henry III., of

[1] En cada orden avia dos maestros, y tanto se robaban que despoblaban la tierra. Lafuente, ix., 40-42.

[2] Con la mision de reformar la comunidad! Lafuente, 42.

A terrible and graphic picture of the terrorism and lawlessness that prevailed throughout Spain on the accession of Isabella may be found in Pulgar, *Cron.*, ii., 66; Lucio Marineo Sicul, *Cosas Memorables*, fo. 160; and Lafuente, ix., 39, 40, and 164-7.

Castile, a vigorous ruler, was hardly able to provide for the daily expenses of his table; while his palatines were rolling in ill-gotten wealth. The constant regencies from the death of Henry of Trastamara to the death of John II., whose entire reign was one long minority, while they diminished the power of the crown, diminished also the respect in which the king was held, and absolutely invited the plunder of the nobility. Councils of regency and troops of favourites thought only of enriching themselves and their friends, while they purchased the forbearance of their rivals. The people alone appeared to retain some of the virtues of their race. Superior to the clergy in morality, to the nobles in dignity, and to the kings in wisdom, and far above all in their solid worth, sober, self-denying, brave and independent, the Castilian peasant and the Castilian citizen inherited much that was noblest in the Iberian, the Roman and the Goth, whose blood was mingled in his veins. And if by a combination of vigour and prudence, of firmness and tact, and above all, by those commanding qualities which combine to make great leaders of men ever respected by their fellows, Isabella and her husband subdued and civilised the nobles of Castile, they would never have accomplished the difficult task without the hearty co-operation of the Commons, and the solid worth of the great mass of the population of Spain.

The power of the Cortes of Castile is supposed to have reached its highest point in the time of John I. Disregarded in the troublous times of John II., and still less considered by Henry IV., the third estate was treated with marked respect by the prudent Isabella; and the Assembly of Toledo, in 1480, is one of the most celebrated in the history of Castile. But this popular authority was not destined to be of long duration. The Catholic kings were essentially autocratic, and as soon as they had sufficiently humbled the power of the nobility,[1] the influence

[1] The nominal authority, at all events of the Cortes, was never doubted nor denied, at least during the lifetime of Isabella. Ferdinand was by no means so punctilious, either as Regent of Castile after the queen's death, or in Aragon at any time. When, for instance, at the Cortes of Calatayud, in September, 1515, in spite of all the manœuvres of his popular son, the Archbishop of Saragossa, the Commons refused to accede to some highly unconstitutional request, the dissentients —the members of the Parliamentary opposition—were summarily dismissed from the public service, and declared incapable of holding office in Aragon for the future. Zurita (VI.), x., 93, 94.

But both king and queen practically assumed a good deal of the power that was supposed to reside in the Cortes, by the lavish promulgation of Pragmaticas or Royal Ordinances. See Don Antonio Sanchez Moguel, *Discurso* (Madrid, 1894).

Ferdinand summoned but four Cortes in Aragon during his reign of thirty-seven years. Capmany, *Practica y Estilo*, 62; Peter Martyr, *Ep.*, 493; and

of the Commons was suffered to become rapidly smaller, until at length, towards the end of the reign, the power and independence of the estates of the realm were greatly impaired. While the influence of the Cortes decayed, moreover, the worst and not the best qualities of the people themselves were developed by the autocratic bigotry of Isabella and the cruel avarice of Ferdinand; and the Castilians, as they gradually lost their freedom, became false, and covetous, and intolerant. It is a dark picture, but to paint it in brighter colours would be false to history.

When Isabella considered the country she was called upon to govern, she might well have been appalled at the greatness of the task that lay before her. The treasury was empty; the coinage was debased. From 150 licensed mints, and as many unauthorised manufactories, bad money was poured over the country, until at last the coin of the realm would be accepted by no prudent man in satisfaction of any debt, or in exchange for any commodity. The roads swarmed with robbers and cutthroats of every social degree. The fields were well-nigh uncultivated. Industry was hampered by public restrictions and by private rapine. Commerce was no more. A multiplicity of laws, which no man regarded, were evaded by judges, whom no man feared. The revenues of the crown had sunk to an uncertain income of about 1,000,000 reals, or £10,000 a year.

Revolutions in modern times are supposed to be always the work of a faction. The revolution which in a dozen years made Castile one of the most prosperous, one of the most orderly, and one of the most glorious commonwealths in Europe, was brought about by the masterful and autocratic hands of the Catholic kings of Spain. The revolution indeed is one of the most remarkable in the history of mediæval Europe. It is a great national story, romantic, splendid, popular, as yet unsung in ballad or epic; and the heroine is Isabella of Castile.

To say that she had faults, and failings, and even sins in plenty, is only to say that she was human. But her faults were the faults of a great ruler. The influence of her consort, and the influence of her confessors, and the many evil influences of

especially Zurita, vi., fol. 96. A list of some of the most important of these *ordenanzas* or *pragmaticas*, divided into classes, is given by Lafuente, ix., pp. 493-8. See generally, Marina, *Teoria de las Cortes*. (The reader should be reminded that constitutionally in Castile these pragmatics or decrees were granted on presentments from the Cortes. In cases of assumed urgency the sovereign took the initiative and published the decree first, which then had to be confirmed when the Cortes met.—H.)

the age in which she lived, tended no doubt in time to corrupt the policy as well as to degrade the character of Isabella. But her critics, and they are many in these critical days, should contrast her rule, even when it was least admirable, with that of Henry who went before her, or with that of Ferdinand who came after her, and judge Isabella by the standard of the fifteenth, and not by that of the nineteenth century.

With everything in disorder, it was hard to know where to begin. Madmen and mobs pull all things down without discrimination, leaving it to chance to rebuild and to restore. The inspired reformer is moved to walk more warily. The queen gave early proofs of that natural sagacity, and of that consummate statesmanship that ever distinguished her in discerning that the first duty of all government is the protection of life and property. She took advantage of an existing organisation, sanctified it with an epithet, strengthened it with an army, justified it with a code; and out of the remnants of a time-honoured popular institution she produced that wonderful and most efficient royal constabulary, which was known by the name of the Holy Brotherhood—the far-famed *Santa Hermandad*.[1]

At Dueñas in July, 1476, the establishment of this new police force was proposed by the queen. The Cortes readily gave their consent; and within a few months the organisation of the *Santa Hermandad* was complete. Rapidity and decision characterised every movement of Isabella. Alfonso de Quintanilla, Juan Ortego, and the Chronicler Alfonso de Palencia, were the first directors, and a force of no less than 2000 horsemen, with an appropriate number of archers on foot, were sent out into the country to maintain the queen's peace. Nothing was spared to give authority to the new institution. Don Alfonso of Aragon, the king's brother, was entrusted with the chief command of the constabulary. A supreme *Junta*, composed of deputies from every province in Castile, judged without appeal such questions or causes as were submitted to it by the local *Alcades*. The *Santa Hermandad*, consisting thus at once of a constabulary and a judiciary, combined the functions of catch-pole, judge and executive. Highway robbery and assaults, housebreaking, rape, and, above all, resistance to authority, were the crimes more especially submitted to its jurisdiction; but it is probable that any local evil-doer would have found its

[1] For an account of the first institution of the early popular or municipal *Hermandades*, see *ante*, vol. i., p. 317.

powers abundantly sufficient for the disposal of his particular case. A plea in bar of its jurisdiction would doubtless have been treated as resistance to authority, and would have been disposed of by the amputation of a leg or an arm, if not by the more convincing argument of a brace of arrows.[1]

The expenses of the new organisation were defrayed by a house-tax of 18,000 maravedis on every hundred householders. Two alcaldes were established in every village. The *cuadrilleros*, or officers of the brotherhood, were posted in every hamlet. The proceedings of these local tribunals were summary. Their decisions were final. Their punishments were tremendous. It was not surprising that this *Santa Hermandad* should have been by no means popular with the classes whose violence it restrained; and a great number of prelates and grandees, with the Duke of Infantado at their head, met at Cabeña early in 1480 to protest against so unconstitutional a force.

To speak of Isabella as she is generally spoken of in history is an absurdity almost self-evident. Her dealings with her brother, her choice of a husband, her usurpation of her niece's crown, and her personal activity and vigour in the prosecution of a successful war for the maintenance of her personal authority —these are not the works of a timid girl thinking only of the precepts of religion and the practice of good works. Far from being intimidated by this aristocratic demonstration as regards her new constabulary, she returned a haughty answer to the protest, and took steps for the establishment of the force that had already proved so efficient, upon a more permanent footing than before. Nor was it until the end of the century—when, according to Peter Martyr, Spain was the most orderly country in Europe—that the Hermandad was reorganised and reduced to the modest proportions of a simple police.[2]

But Ferdinand and Isabella did not leave to others, not even to the Holy Brotherhood, the task of restoring public order and public confidence in Castile. They visited every part of the queen's dominions themselves, and brought home to every

[1] The punishment of death was inflicted by arrows. The officers of the Hermandad were known as *archers*. Que cada uno mire por el virote (let every man look out for the arrow) is a fine old Castilian proverb, suggesting that every man should mind his own business.

The laws and regulations promulgated at various times by the supreme Junta of the Hermandad were codified and published by the Junta General of Tordelaguna in 1485.

[2] Peter Martyr, *Ep.*, 31. The *Hermandad* was established, in the first instance, as an experiment, for three years only. It was reformed in 1498.

local magnate, in city or in castle, the fact that the royal[1] power was, and would remain supreme. Isabella was a lady, she was a queen, and, above all, she was an autocrat. Gracious and gentle in her manner, she brooked no opposition from prince or peer; and she soon made it known and felt throughout Spain that, although she was the daughter of John II. and the sister of Henry IV., her will was law in Castile. Beautiful, virtuous, discreet, with that highest expression of proud dignity that is seen in a peculiar simplicity of manner, with a hard heart and a fair countenance, an inflexible will, and a mild manner—something of a formalist, more of a bigot—Isabella united much that was characteristic of old Castile with not a little that was characteristic of new Spain. And if her boldness was inherited from the Cid, her bigotry was bequeathed to Philip II.

No man can read the history of the times without being struck by the enormous personal influence of Isabella. An accomplished horsewoman, a tireless traveller, indefatigable in her attention to business of State, the queen with her court moved about from place to place, swift to punish crime and to encourage virtue, boldly composing the differences and compelling the submission of rival nobles, frowning upon the laxity of the clergy, denouncing the heresy of the people, and laying a heavy hand upon enemies of every degree and evildoers of every class. In Andalusia the unaccustomed and unexpected presence of the sovereigns was everywhere productive of peace and order. Even in the remotest districts of Gallicia, the royal power was felt. Over fifty fortresses, the strongholds of knightly robbers, were razed to the ground, and 1500 noble highwaymen were forced to fly the kingdom.[2] But although an honest and a vigorous executive had long been the great want of Castile, it was but the foundation of further reforms: and a Cortes was summoned to meet at Toledo in 1480, whose acts and resolutions are among the most celebrated in the constitutional history of Spain.

One of the first duties of this great Legislative Assembly was the codification of the enormous body of royal and parliamentary ordinances that had been promulgated since the great code of Alfonso X. The publication of this new collection,

[1] Spain, up to this time, had ever been rather an aristocracy than a monarchy. The king was, especially in Aragon, but *primus inter pares* until the time of Ferdinand and Isabella.

[2] Pulgar, *Reyes Catolicos*, ii., 97, 98; and Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 168.

known as the *Ordenanzas Reales*, which was compiled by one Alfonso Diaz de Montalva, by direction of the Cortes, was of great assistance in the due application of the law; and a royal decree, by which the sittings of the supreme court of the kingdom were permanently fixed at Valladolid,[1] was no less favourable to the regular administration of justice. The king and queen, moreover, announced that wherever their court might be, they would themselves sit once a week for the public audience of special appeals. This practice was in accordance with the spirit of the times; and it seems to have been highly appreciated by their subjects.

Nor were the administrative and legislative reforms of the Cortes of Toledo confined to the preparation of the *Ordenanzas Reales*. A new Council of State was invested with well defined powers, and the justiciary of the kingdom was reorganised and established upon so sound a basis, that it remained for close upon four centuries very much as it was constituted in 1480. But perhaps the most curious act of the Parliament of Toledo had reference to the altered condition of the nobility of Castile. One of the first objects of Isabella in carrying out her new policy in Spain was to check the depredations of her nobles, to curtail their power, and to crush their rebellious instincts. The weakness, the favouritism, and the unbridled licence of the last three reigns had rendered most of the grandees of the kingdom at once impatient of authority and unfit for power. The time for reform had arrived.[2] And the reforms of Isabella were radical, drastic, complete, without any of the cruelty of Peter, without any of the prodigality of his brother of Trastamara. The young queen by her firmness, her justice, and her uncompromising severity, gradually converted the most turbulent aristocracy in Europe into that magnificent, if somewhat submissive band of nobles, whose loyalty, whose chivalry, and whose devotion to their beautiful sovereign, made them, at the close of the fifteenth century, the admiration and the model of Christian Europe. But in 1480 the work of regeneration had scarcely begun; and one of the first and most important of the Acts or Resolutions that was passed by the Cortes of Toledo in that year was one

[1] On the subject of the reorganisation of the supreme court at Valladolid, and the system of criminal jurisprudence generally, see *Origen y memorias de la cancelleria de Valladolid.* G. M. Sapela, Valladolid, 1893.—H.

[2] The inferior nobility, or landed gentry, were well pleased with the humiliation of the grandees, by which their own position was relatively advanced. But as a class they were no worthier of royal support or patronage than the great lords.

practically resuming the extravagant grants and pensions that had been lavished upon many of the great nobles during the last unhappy reign.[1]

By this self-denying ordinance,[2] for some at least of the dispossessed nobles sat and voted in the Assembly, a yearly revenue of no less than 30,000,000 maravedis was acquired by Isabella from her discomfited grandees. There was no complicated actuarial calculation needed for the due disposal of their late acquisitions. The simple rule was adopted that pensions or estates granted without good consideration were absolutely forfeited to the crown; and that grants on account of services performed were to be reduced to an amount commensurate, in the opinion of the queen's confessor, with the value of the services actually rendered.

With the uncompromising Isabella, with the rapacious Ferdinand, with the jealous and unsympathetic Commons, the nobles found little mercy. When the power had been theirs, they had defied the court and oppressed the people; and now that a stronger than they had arisen in Castile, they were fain to give up their ill-gotten gains with the best grace they could. The Duke of Medina Sidonia was mulct of an income of 180,000 maravedis; Admiral Enriquez of 240,000; the Duke of Alva lost nearly 600,000; while Beltran de la Cueva, whose services to the State were not judged by Fray Fernando de Talavera to be deserving of any permanent pecuniary recognition, was compelled to give up a yearly revenue of nearly one million and a half of maravedis.[3]

A blow hardly less severe was struck at independent authority in Castile by the practical abolition of the great Military Orders, whose grand masters had ranked above the

[1] It has already been mentioned that the nobles were rarely summoned to the Cortes, by the end of the fifteenth century; nor does it appear that any of the grandees were summoned in the ordinary course, even to the most important Assembly at Toledo in 1480. Yet by a master stroke of policy, they were invited to attend, when the question of the forfeiture or resumption of grants was under the consideration of the Cortes.

[2] It must be remembered that in 1442 the Council of Valladolid presented a petition to John II., complaining of undue alienation of crown property to private persons, to the prejudice of the nation; and that the king had ordained that for the future all royal property should be inalienable. Marina, *Teoria de las Cortes*, i., Appendix ix., xiii.

The memorial that was presented by the grandees of the kingdom, praying that he would not alienate, by grants to his favourites, *las fincas de su patrimonio*, a very interesting document, is preserved among the papers of the Duke of Frias. It is without date, but is supposed by D. Miguel Salva to have been presented to John II. See *Doc. Ined.*, tom. xiv., p. 366.

[3] *Mem. de la Acad. Hist.*, vol. vi.

greatest nobles in power and in importance; and who in wealth, in influence, and in popular consideration had often vied with the king himself. The rise and progress of the three great Orders of Religious and Military Knighthood has already formed the subject of a chapter of this history; and although their legitimate work was long accomplished, and the very reason of their existence had passed away by the end of the fifteenth century, their actual power, their wealth, and their arrogance had increased rather than diminished under the feeble and uncertain rule of John II. and Henry IV. The manner of their treatment by Isabella was as discreet as it was effectual, and was, indeed, eminently characteristic of her methods of action. Ever loyal to her by no means virtuous husband,[1] she caused him to be elected to the Grand Masterships of the several Orders as those princely offices fell vacant. And thus, without bloodshed and without violence, a tremendous weapon of offence and defence was put into the hands of Ferdinand.

Calatrava was appropriated in 1487, Alcantara in 1494, and Santiago in 1499, and while the enormous revenues and vast estates of these celebrated Orders were thus placed at the disposal of the King of Aragon, the three-fold grand master obtained the supreme command of a devoted army, with fortresses and castles throughout the kingdom—three of the most dangerous rivals to the royal authority were removed for ever from the field of politics, of intrigue, and of battle in Castile.[2]

[1] Ferdinand had at least four illegitimate children by different ladies. (1) Juana, who was offered, with a double marriage portion, in 1489, to the King of Scots. (2) Juan, Archbishop of Saragossa; and two other daughters, both Prioresses of St. Clare of Madrigal. *Cal. State Papers* (Spain, 1862), 26.

Ramon Cardona, the unworthy successor of Gonsalva de Cordova in Italy, was also commonly supposed to be a son of Ferdinand. But the king's faults were certainly not those of a voluptuary.

[2] The grand masterships of the three Military Orders were not finally and formally annexed to the crown of Spain until 1523, when Adrian VI. issued a Bull to that effect. As some indication of the importance of the grand masterships merely as a source of income, I am able to give an account of the revenues derived by Philip II. in 1577, from the various Orders, which I take from a *contemporary* MS. in the British Museum. Cotton *MS.*, *Vespasian*, c. vi. *Amount of general revenue of each Order:—*

Santiago	... ...	386,000 Escudos.
Calatrava	... ...	255,000 ,,
Alcantara	... ...	171,000 ,,
		812,000

King's share as grand master *one-third* = 270,000 escudos, or say £150,000. (Although the crown thenceforward held the patronage of the Orders, and a share of the revenues appertaining to the grand masterships, the pensioned commanderies were continued and given to those who were supposed to deserve well of the sovereigns.—H.)

But long before Ferdinand the Catholic had finally added the proud title of Grand Master of Santiago to that of the Supreme Chief of Calatrava and of Alcantara, the great and on the whole the beneficent revolution that his royal consort had effected in Castile was already well nigh complete. That the treasury, which had been bankrupt in 1475, was full to overflowing in 1485, was due to many causes entirely independent of sound finance. But it was, at least, entirely satisfactory that the ordinary revenues of the country had largely increased.[1]

On Isabella's accession in 1474, the revenue of Castile amounted to 885,000 *reales*, or less than £10,000.[2] In 1482, after the resumption of the royal grants the amount had increased to 12,700,000, and in 1504, while the ordinary revenues amounted to over 26,000,000, the actual receipts of the royal exchequer were no less than 42,396,000 *reales*. Within a dozen years from the queen's accession, a debased currency had been replaced by sound money; private mints had been abolished, trade had been delivered from many oppressive burdens; roads and bridges were constructed and repaired; tolls and taxes were, as far as possible, repealed; industry and commerce had alike revived; agriculture, the ancient glory of Spain, had needed but a decade of peace to be prosecuted once again with marked success.

The towns recovered even more than their former glory. Toledo, Burgos, Valladolid, Medina del Campo, Cordova and Seville vied with Valencia and Saragossa and proudest Barcelona, as noble and prosperous cities, even before beautiful Granada was added to the Christian possession of Castile. Manufactures sprang up on every side; Spanish wool regained its old reputation in the markets of Europe, and especially in England; the breed of horses was improved; the armour of Segovia, the fine steel of Toledo, the woollen stuffs of Cuenca, the silver work of Valladolid were sent throughout Europe by the merchants of Barcelona; and before the end of the century,

[1] A special financial department, divided into the *Contaduria de Hacienda* and the *Contaduria de Rentas* was established by Isabella as early as 1476. For details see Gallardo, *Origen de las Rentas*, vol. i.; Lafuente, ix., pp. 491-3.

Some accounts and papers connected with the revenues of Castile in 1504-1512 will be found in vol. xxxix. of the *Documentos Ineditos*, pp. 423 *et seq.* (See also, for particulars of financial votes by the various Cortes of this and succeeding reign, Danvila y Collado's *Poder Civil en España*, vols. i. and ii.—H.)

[2] *Mem. Acad. Hist.*, vi., 5. (The author has calculated the real at the value of the imaginary copper real, or real de vellon = 2½. The coin in which the calculation was made should, in my opinion, be the silver real worth double that amount.—H.)

the silks of Granada had become one of the exports of triumphant Spain.[1] Nor was the revival restricted to the material world. Literature was once more admired and protected. Men of letters were not only welcomed at the court, but they were promoted to positions of honour and of profit in the State. An aristocracy of merit and of learning was fostered, not only for the sake of letters and of virtue, but as a counterpoise to the power of the old aristocracy of wealth and territorial importance. Piety and prudence were alike gratified by the selection of a churchman to humble the pride of a grandee. The universities acquired new importance, not only as the resort of students, but as schools for men of action; and their graduates as well as their professors were ever sure of the royal protection and support. As learning became more common and more respected, the position of the clergy became less scandalous; and the submissive piety of Isabella did not prevent her from endeavouring, by every means in her power, to restrain the disorders of the priesthood. Last of all, the court of Castile, for fifty years a prey to favourites and flatterers, and for another quarter of a century the abode of shameless and ignoble profligacy, had become dignified, correct, exemplary, the resort of the best and noblest women, of the bravest, the wisest, and the most cultivated men, that were to be found in Castile. It was an immense, a noble, a marvellous revolution. And to the greater honour of Isabella, it must be ever remembered that it was accomplished without the shedding of one drop of blood, save that of the malefactors who were executed by the Holy Brotherhood. No grandees were murdered, no princes were poisoned, not a royal oath was broken. If the results were astounding, the methods were scarcely less remarkable.[2]

[1] For an account of the manner in which this reviving industry was again crushed by unwise laws, see essay, "A Fight against Finery," in *The Year after the Armada*, and *Spain: its Greatness and Decay*, both by the present editor.—H.

[2] The principal authorities for the early years of the reign of Isabella in Castile are: A. Bernaldez, *Hist. de los reyes Catolicos*, of which an edition has been published as lately as 1870; the *Chronicles* of Pulgar and Lebrija or Nebrixa; the Latin History of Lucius Marineus, better known in the early translation into Castilian as *Cosas Memorables*. I have used the edition of 1539.

For the contemporary history of Aragon, Zurita, *Anales de Aragon* is, of course, the chief authority. I have necessarily consulted an immense number of minor or more modern works. Bergenroth and the Simancas Archives are of little use before 1480. But the sixth volume of the *Memorias de la Real Academia de Historia de Madrid*, edited by Clemencin, is full of varied and most interesting information as regards the history of this reign, derived to a great extent from original sources.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.

I.

The religious bigotry of the mediæval Spaniard is generally assumed as a fact beyond the scope of argument or question. Yet through the whole of the Middle Ages, from the death of Roderic to the birth of Isabella, no government in western Europe was less disposed to religious persecution than that of Aragon; no Christian sovereigns were less devoted to Rome than those of Castile. From the conversion of Reccared to the rout of the Guadalete—a single century of unchecked and humiliating decadence—the government of Spain had indeed been distinctly and deplorably intolerant; but from the advent of Taric to the appearance of Torquemada the religious independence and the religious toleration of kings and people compare favourably with those of any other country in Europe. A bitter jealousy of the foreigner, accentuated by the long continued presence of the Moor in the fairest province of the Peninsula, was ever a leading characteristic of the mediæval Castilian. But this jealousy was political and racial rather than religious; and for long years of Spanish history,[1] the interference of an Italian priest would have been nearly as much resented as that of a Moslem warrior—whose assistance might possibly have been welcome in a foray upon some Christian potentate.

And in no country or kingdom of mediæval Europe, not even in England, was a bolder stand made against inquisitors, and persecutors, and Popes than was made in mediæval Spain.

[1] From the singular moderation in the language of the protests of the Castilian clergy to the Cortes of Valladolid, in 1351, with regard to the desecration of the Sabbath by Jews and Moors, we may judge, says Mérimée, of the extent of the religious tolerance, and the absence of bigotry in Castile as late as the middle of the fourteenth century. See on this point generally, P. Mérimée, *Pèdre I.*, and pp. 80, 124, 136, 186, 193, 202, 332; and the *Ordenamento de Perlados*, art. 9.

The pious grant of Aragon, in the year 1134, by Alfonso the Battler to the Knights Templars, who were at that time the most revered of the great religious associations of Christendom and the most favoured by Rome, was treated by the Aragonese with contempt and derision. The popularity of so very independent a Christian as the Cid, and his universal acceptance as the national hero of Spain,[1] should make it plain at least that devotion to priests and Popes found no place in the ideal of a Castilian gentleman of the eleventh or twelfth century. The interference of Rome in so purely spiritual a matter as the substitution of a service book, was bitterly resented both in Aragon and in Castile towards the end of the twelfth century (in 1171). And although Hildebrand was at length suffered to have his own way at the altar in 1085, the pretensions of a no less powerful Pontiff to supreme authority in the State in 1203, led to almost as great an outburst of popular indignation as followed the "Papal Aggression" of 1850 in modern Protestant England. Peter II., indeed, was soon recalled to a sense of the independence that was expected of him by his people; and while France and England, and even Germany, were marching submissive to the mandate of an Italian Pontiff, the King of Aragon—a knight-errant of heresy—was followed by his little army of Spaniards, ready and willing to cross the Pyrenees to confront the legate of Innocent, and to do battle against the sacred legions of Rome.

A century later, when the destruction of a rich and noble confraternity had been decreed by a rapacious Pope,[2] and when English knights were being tortured by Papal inquisitors within sight of the palace of Westminster, the Papal Bull was treated with scant respect in Castile, and especially in Aragon, where the Templars, judged by independent tribunals, were acquitted of the charges of which they were accused.

The Bull of Clement was despatched to London at the same time that it was sent to Saragossa (November, 1307). And in England, ever proud and jealous of her freedom and independence of Rome, the Papal commands were obeyed as they certainly were not obeyed in Aragon. The inquisition was never popular in England; torture was forbidden by the law of the land as it was in Aragon; yet the tribunals of the Holy

[1] The legendary Cid of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was no whit more religious than the real Roderic of the eleventh century; in some ways even less so. *Cf. ante*, vol. i., chap. xix.

[2] See *Traitez concernant l'Histoire de France: la Condamnation des Templiers*, etc., etc., by Pierre Dupuy, *passim*.

Office sat in London and Lincoln and York; and by the reiterated commands of a French Pope,[1] the English knights were tortured ere they were condemned, and their great Order was destroyed in England. In Spain it was far different. A formal inquiry took place at Saragossa in November, 1312, not by the Papal inquisitors, but by a Council of Aragonese judges. After a careful hearing, the Templars were acquitted of all the charges that were brought against them, and declared innocent of all the crimes of which they had been so freely accused. The Castilian judges were as independent as those of Aragon, and after an investigation which was held at Salamanca in 1310, they arrived at a conclusion no less favourable to the Templars than the finding of the court of Saragossa. Yet the knights and their rich possessions in Spain were not exempted from the premeditated spoliation. The case was *avoked* by Clement to the Papal court of Avignon, and by his Bull, issued at Vienne in 1312, the Knights Templars of Aragon, of Castile, and of Portugal, formerly acquitted of the crimes that were laid to their charge, were included in the common destruction. Yet, if the Templars were destroyed, Spain at least was not humiliated.

The Spanish judges forbade all persons ecclesiastical to harass or even to speak evil of the knights in the future; and made liberal provision for the maintenance of every individual companion out of the revenues of the extinguished Order. Even in Aragon, where, for various reasons, the Papal influence was greater than it was in Castile, King James II. actually refused, when summoned by Clement. V., to order the Templars' property to be forfeited to the Pope. It was necessary to resort to a compromise. Clement sent a Brief (5th January, 1309) reciting that the property had been offered to him, but that he had decided that it should be transferred to the custody of the King of Aragon.[2] But if the commanderies and religious houses were thus necessarily broken up, the members of the Order were suffered to live in peace as individual knights. A great part of their estates and revenues in Aragon were devoted to the endowment of another Order of religious knighthood, that of Montesa,[3] a branch of the yet more famous Order of Calatrava. The Orders of Santiago and Alcantara, as well as the parent Order of Calatrava, were also largely endowed in the same way.

[1] See Wilkins, *Con. Mag. Brit.*, ii.; Rymer, *Fœdera*, iii.; Pierre Dupuy, *Condamnation des Templiers*, and H. C. Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition*, iii.. 260-307.

[2] See Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition*, vol. iii., pp. 311-313.

[3] See *ante*, vol. i., chap. xxiii.

Again, in 1440, when the inquisitors would have condemned Lorenzo Valla for his treatise on the *False Donation* of Constantine, Alfonso V. of Aragon was at once sufficiently enlightened and sufficiently bold to exercise his royal prerogative, as King of Naples, to put a stop to the prosecution. It is doubtful whether any other European potentate at that time would have dared, even if he had desired, thus to affront the ecclesiastical power in his dominions. In Castile, Rome had even less influence than in Aragon. The establishment in the thirteenth century of the independent kingdom of Granada, after the Christian occupation of Cordova and Seville by Saint Ferdinand, who himself entered into and maintained an honourable alliance with the Infidel, and the more or less peaceful relations that subsisted between the rival races for over two hundred years, all tended to toleration and liberal regard. Christian refugees, whether princes or peasants, were ever welcome at the court of the Moslem. Kings and knights vied with each other in the tourney or the bull fight. And if the Christians were more wont to accept than to grant hospitality, the bitter feelings that are engendered by active religious bigotry were almost entirely absent from the intercourse of either Moor or Castilian. Something of the spirit of Abdur Rahman and of Averroës lingered even in Christian Andalusia. The spirit of Torquemada lay dormant and unsuspected at sunny Seville. And from the fall of Cordova, in 1246, to the fall of Alhama, in 1482, the Moslem was not unkindly regarded in Castile.[1]

II.

It has been the great misfortune of Spain, both as regards her reputation and her prosperity, that in the matter of religious persecution, as in so many other ways, the country was somewhat later in its development than its neighbours. France and Germany and Italy passed, as it were, through their agony during

[1] Mezclaban muchas veces Cristianos y Musulmanes en estos espectaculos, *i.e.*, pasos de armas, or tourneys. Lafuente, ix., 62. For Lafuente's list of fighting bishops, see *ibid.*, ix., 66-70.

The old Castilian verse is apposite enough :—

Cavalliro granadino,
Aunque Moro, hijo d'algo.

It was not considered any disgrace, says Richard Ford, *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxii., p. 94, for a Christian knight to become a Farfan, and serve under the banner of the Moors. Cf. Viardot, *Essai sur les Mores d'Espagne*, tom. ii., pp. 72-74.

three centuries of darkness and ignorance. It was reserved for unhappy Spain to light the fires of persecution at Seville and at Granada at the very time when other nations were opening wide the portals of knowledge, and thought was becoming free in France and Germany, in England and Italy and Holland, and even in Rome.

When an enlightened Europe was devoted to the collection of ancient MSS., the Primate of Spain was burning them by the tens of thousands in the public square of Granada. When the intelligent stranger was being welcomed in every other country of Christendom, the Queen of Castile was banishing every Moor from her dominions; when commerce was beginning to be considered the most important element in the prosperity of states, the Catholic sovereigns turned every man of business out of Spain.[1] And in subsequent generations, when religious Protestantism was asserting itself in every country, and the political rights of the weak were coming to be recognised in every commonwealth, Spain appeared as the champion of the most sanguinary Catholicism in the least Catholic of her provinces in northern Europe, and as the destroyer of millions of the gentlest of her own subject races in the new world.

From the establishment of the Inquisition to the destruction of the Spanish Armada, or perhaps to the defeat at Rocroy—a century and a half of boundless material wealth, of military power and glory—Spain did more to enslave the minds and bodies of men than has been done by all the other nations of Europe put together, since the birth of Luther. It is a pre-eminence of which Spanish zealots may possibly be proud, and from one point of view it may at least compel our pity, if not our admiration; for Spain poured out her own life blood in the struggle against the greater forces of the world. During the whole of the critical period of the Renaissance, when every European State was growing and expanding in the light of new learning and new methods—thinking, inquiring, seeking and finding—Spain was surely rivetting upon herself the chains of ignorance, with a fervour and fury no less remarkable than that which was urging on the reformers and discoverers of neighbouring countries. And thus, when after 150 years of misused and wasted opportunities, the famous Spanish infantry lost for ever its proud pre-eminence before the new methods and tactics of regenerate France,[2] Spain, reduced in a moment to a position of

[1] See Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos*, tom. ii., pp. 679-81.

[2] The battle of Rocroy was fought on the 19th of May, 1643.

political insignificance, found that while she had been squandering her energies and her treasure in fighting against Thought and against Knowledge at home and abroad, her rivals had passed her by in the race of International Life. She remained as an old-fashioned tyrant, odious if dreaded in the day of her power, merely contemptible when her power had passed away. To Spain, as to every other country in Europe, came her opportunity in the sixteenth century. She missed it, thanks to the vicious system of personal despotism introduced by her monarchs, and the opportunity never returned. "There are no birds," says Cervantes, "in last year's nest." And for nations as for individuals, as long as the world goes round, time tarrieth not, and the tide waits for none.

The energy of what may be called the spirit of national persecution in Europe at large would seem to have spent itself in the Crusades. And when it became necessary to rouse the spirit of fanatical savagery against Christian heretics in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the infamous massacres in Languedoc, and the flagitious invasion of Catalonia in the time of Peter III. were invested by pitiless Pontiffs with the same romantic title. But no Spanish king or warrior was found in the ranks in Palestine. His own peculiar infidels were more than sufficient to occupy him nearer home; and, while the dealings of the Spaniard with the Moor were never marked by any of the savage ferocities that disgraced the annals of the Crusaders from Acre to Byzantium, a spirit of remorseless persecution seems to have lain dormant in the Spanish nature, ready to spring into ill-timed life and vigour, when the current of human activity in the rest of Europe was setting in a contrary direction; and when the foe of 800 years of contest, lay defenceless at the feet of triumphant Castile.

The fairest verdict that can be passed upon the Spanish persecution of the sixteenth century is that it was out of season; an abnormal growth, noxious, monstrous, self-destructive. But let no one suffer himself to believe that the great persecuting spirit of mediæval Europe had its home or its headquarters in Spain.[1]

[1] The work of the Inquisition throughout Europe is exhaustively summed up by Mr. H. C. Lea in his history, etc. (1888), to which the reader is referred as well for a detailed narrative as for an immense mass of references to original authorities on the subject. (It should be pointed out also that the spirit which gave rise and strength to the religious persecution of which Spain was the centre in the sixteenth century, was sedulously fostered by Charles V. and Philip II. with purely political objects. The Spaniards, although cruel and indifferent to suffering, were not

The massacres in Languedoc and in the Cevennes, the harryings and the slaughterings, the burnings, the dungeons and the chains, the tortures more dreadful than death itself, that were the portion of the Albigenses and the Cathari, the Waldenses, the Beguins, the Beggards, the Lollards, the Hussites, for over 200 years, should be studied by any one who would take upon himself to denounce the exceptional horrors of the Ecclesiastical Tribunal at Seville.[1]

From the rise of Hildebrand to the fall of Boniface, everywhere was the spirit of religious persecution encouraged by kings and by priests. The Emperor Frederick II., himself rather a freethinker than a zealot, procured his coronation as emperor at St. Peter's in November, 1220, by the issue of an edict which is memorable in the history of persecution; and as a part of the day's solemnities, Pope Honorius paused in the ineffable mystery of the Mass, to pronounce a curse in the name of the Almighty against all heresies and heretics, including all those rulers whose laws interfered with their extermination. The massacre of the Sicilian Vespers was provoked not only by French tyrants but by French inquisitors; and it was the coming of the Spaniards that brought relief at once from civil and from sacerdotal oppression. Sicily under the rule of Aragon was harassed to no serious extent by any ecclesiastical persecution or tyranny. In northern Aragon alone, of all the provinces of Spain, lying as it did within reach of French influences and the French frontier, the Inquisition existed for three centuries before the days of Ferdinand and Isabella. Yet even in northern Aragon the dreadful institution remained undeveloped and ineffective during the whole period of active persecution in Languedoc. We hear, indeed, of heretics, and especially suspected Hebrew converts, as being unmolested, and even welcomed in Spain, on their escape from the French inquisitors on the other side of the Pyrenees.[2] To pretend that Rome learned cruelty at Seville, or that the Spaniards of Aragon corrupted the inquisitors of Provence, is one of the strangest and most daring perversions of historic truth that is to

naturally an intolerant people, and the religious persecution arose not spontaneously from them, but was deliberately adopted as part of a political system by their rulers.—H.)

[1] See *Histoire des Hérésies depuis la naissance de Jésus Christ jusqu' à présent*, par M. Hermant. The work is in dictionary form, *avec un traité traduit du Latin d' A. de Castro* (Rouen, 1727), four vols., 12mo; and Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, ii., pp. 316-350, and 436-567.

[2] See Lea, i., 395-6, and authorities cited.

be found even among the ecclesiastical traditions of the fifteenth century. Yet it has ever been an agreeable task for French and Italian writers to call attention to religious intolerance and inquisitorial cruelties less dreadful in themselves, though more repulsive to an enlightened Europe and a new-born public opinion, than the forgotten horrors of their own ecclesiastical history. But the nation that may yet be reminded of Muret and Carcassonne, of the sack of Elne and the destruction of the Knights Templars, cannot afford to denounce the cruelty of the Spanish Dominicans, nor to blush for the religious avarice of the Catholic kings. The greed of Ferdinand was moderation when compared with the rapacity of French Philip.[1] The cruelty of Torquemada was mercy compared with the savagery of Arnauld. The pride of Ximenez was humility compared with the arrogance of Innocent. The worst Spaniard whose evil deeds have been written on the dark pages of the history of the fifteenth century was Pope of Rome; but even in the character of Alexander VI. we may look in vain for the savage pride of the Tuscan Hildebrand, or the fierce intolerance of the Roman Innocent, for the dark cruelty of the French Clement or the French John, of Urban of Naples, or of his rival Robert of Geneva.

Spain, indeed, independent and jealous of foreign interference in ecclesiastical as well as temporal matters, had little to do with Rome from the days of Atawulf to the days of Alfonso VI. And if Rome was not popular in mediæval Spain, Spain was most assuredly unpopular in mediæval Rome.

The virtual exclusion of Spanish ecclesiastics from the Papacy from the fourth to the fifteenth century, shows clearly enough how slender was the bond between the ecclesiastical capital and the greatest province of the empire. From the fourth to the fourteenth century no Spanish Churchman was enthroned in the Eternal City. And considering the nearness of the Peninsula to Italy—their common Latinity of origin and speech, and the close connection and great influence of Spain upon Rome in the great days of the empire, this exclusion is the more remarkable. The number of Spanish ecclesiastics,

[1] Philippe le Bel issued a secret and sudden order (21st January, 1306) to put under arrest all the Jews of France on the same day. Graetz, *Hist.* (ed. Lowy, tom. iv., p. 49). They were ordered to quit the country within one month, leaving behind them all their goods, and the debts that were owing to them. Whoever was found in France after the proscribed time was liable to the penalty of death.

The horrors of the exodus were scarcely less dreadful than those in Spain at the end of the fifteenth century; as to which, see *post*, chapter xliii.

moreover, previous to the fifteenth century, who received the minor honour of the Scarlet Hat was very small.

Between 1302 and 1370 only two Spaniards were raised to the cardinalate: Carrillo de Albornoz, Archbishop of Toledo, Papal Regent, distinguished by his military successes in Italy (1350); and Nicolas Roseti, Provincial of the Dominicans and Inquisitor General of Aragon (1356).

From the time of the Valencian Alfonso Borja or Borgia, afterwards Calixtus III., who received the Hat in 1444, the proportion of his countrymen in the sacred college was greatly increased; and in the latter half of the fifteenth century no less than twenty-two Spaniards were invested with the Purple: of whom two were Popes, and no less than seven Borgias.[1] But even at the end of the fifteenth century the connection between Spain and the Papacy was rather intimate than friendly; and if the Catholic kings made use of the Holy See for the oppression of their subjects, and the advancement of their political ends in Europe, the independence of Castile and the Castilians was ever asserted and maintained by them, in spite of the pretensions of the most masterful Popes at Rome.

The meagreness of the list of the Spanish saints is even more remarkable than the paucity of Popes and cardinals during the first fifteen centuries of our era. Among all the provincial martyrs of the first five centuries after the coming of St. Paul, the names of only thirty have been included in the Romish Calendar. And although between 585 and 690 twelve more Spaniards, including in that number five of the most distinguished Churchmen in the Christian world, SS. Hermengild, Leander, Isidore, Ildefonso and Julian, were added to the number of canonical saints; yet between 690 and 850 only four more were included among the official saints of Christendom. And although in the course of a single decade, from 850 to 860, no less than nineteen Castilian Christians sought and found death at the hand of the Moslem, and were rewarded by subsequent

[1] The family of *Borja* has not only given two Popes and a dozen cardinals to the Catholic Church, to say nothing of that many-sided sinner Cæsar Borgia, but a saint—Francisco, Duke of Gandia, born in 1500, and General of the Order of the Jesuits, who died in 1572. This latter-day St. Francis was not only the sole Borgia, but, as far as I know, the only *duke* who has attained the honour of canonisation. He is said to have attended Queen Juana *la loca* on her death-bed, and certified that she died at least sane and a good Catholic.

His Grace St. Francis de Borgia, fourth Duke of Gandia, is a very imposing title. See Ribadeneyra, *Vida de San Francisco de Borja* (Madrid, 1592), and *Heroyca Vida*, etc. (Madrid, 1726); and the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* S.D. 10th October; and Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos*, tom. ii., p. 682.

canonisation; yet in the long and wonder-working period, from the middle of the ninth century to the middle of the thirteenth century, the Spanish Hagiology is enriched by only thirty-seven names, of whom but three, St. Raymond Nonnatus (*ob.* 1240), St. Ferdinand the King, and St. Raymond of Peñafort, are remarkable in history or tradition. In the interval between Raymond of Peñafort, who died in 1275, and St. Vincent Ferrer, who died in 1415, a period of 140 years, Raymond Lull[1] alone attracts attention—rather from his learning than from his sanctity—among the half-dozen Spaniards whose claim to the honours of canonisation were deemed worthy of attention at Rome. But a comparison with the number of saints from other countries is at once more remarkable and more instructive than any partial or local record. It will surely surprise some of my readers to learn that, while the number of canonised Spaniards whose names are collected in the most trustworthy catalogues does not greatly exceed 100, England supplies nearly twice as many saints to the Christian Calendar; Italy nearly eight times as many; while France heads the list, pre-eminent over all other European nations, with a roll of 1700 names.[2]

[1] Raymond Lull, as may be remembered, was never actually canonised. See *ante*, vol. i., p. 310.

During the whole of the fifteenth century the total number of the canonised Spaniards is but two, of whom one is St. Diego, an obscure Franciscan; and the other, that most vigorous if not particularly saintly inquisitor, St. Pedro de Arbues.

[2] "France," that is France and Gaul.

My authority for these figures is the most complete and accurate *Trésor de Chronologie* of M. le Comte de Mas Latrie, a work of immense learning and value; one vol., folio (Paris, 1889).

CHAPTER XL.

THE INQUISITION.

I.

The story of the first establishment of the Inquisition in France, at the suggestion of the Spanish Dominic, has been told with that of Peter II. of Aragon. But although the inspired sub-prior of Osma was by birth and education a Castilian Spaniard, his work as inquisitor lay entirely north of the Pyrenees; so much so that he is not even included in the list of Spanish saints by so accurate a writer as M. de Mas Latrie, who assigns to him his place among those of France. The great founder of the Dominicans, no doubt, came from Castile, but his inquisitorial and persecuting spirit was personal rather than national, and the great mass of the Spaniards who were present in Languedoc in the beginning of the thirteenth century were not fighting against heresy but against sacerdotalism.[1]

The Inquisition, established in Italy by Honorius III. in 1231, and in France by St. Louis in 1233, was formally introduced into Spain by Gregory IX. in 1235, by a rescript of 30th April, addressed to Mongriu, Archbishop-Administrator of Tarragona, confirming and explaining previous Briefs and Bulls upon the subject of the repression of heresy; and prescribing the issue of certain instructions which had been prepared at the desire of His Holiness by a Spanish saint, the Dominican Raymond of Peñafort. From this time forward, Bulls on the subject of the Inquisition into heresy were frequently issued; and the followers of Dominic were ever the trusted agents of the Holy See.

Raymond the inquisitor was born in 1175, at Peñafort, an ancient castle in Catalonia, afterwards converted, in the fifteenth century, into a Dominican monastery. At the age of twenty he

[1] Under Peter II. of Aragon, fighting against the Papal armies, and on the side of religious liberty.

was already professor of philosophy at the University of Barcelona, and ten years later he proceeded to Bologna, and took the degree of Doctor of Civil and Canon Law. In 1222 he became a brother of the Order of St. Dominic. In 1235 he collected and edited the scattered decrees of Popes and Councils from the time of Gratian (1150) in five books. Immediately after their publication, in 1235, he was chosen to be Archbishop of Tarragona, but he does not appear to have been consecrated, and he certainly never assumed the title of the office. In 1237 he was appointed General of the Order of St. Dominic; but he resigned this charge also in 1239, and travelled about the world preaching orthodoxy and working miracles. On his return to Spain he is said to have sailed from Majorca to Barcelona on his cloak, which served him for both boat and sail, and after a long period of service as inquisitor in Aragon and Catalonia, he died in 1275, at the ripe old age of 100 years.

During the whole of the thirteenth century the kings of Aragon appear to have extended a certain amount of protection to the Dominican Inquisitors of the Faith. James I., though he cut out the tongue of an impertinent bishop, was compelled to prohibit the reading of the Limousin Bible in his dominions. James II. not only ordered all *heretics* to quit the kingdom, but he published a Royal Ordinance, of 22nd April, 1292, in which he enjoined the civil judges to afford active assistance "to all Dominican Apostolic Inquisitors," and to execute whatever judgments these monks should pronounce. Yet we constantly read of the hatred inspired by these apostolic Dominicans in the kingdom of Aragon; and, although their work was carried out on a very small scale and in a very gentle manner as compared with the action of the Inquisition of later times, a considerable number of inquisitors themselves fell victims to the fury of the people; and if a heretic was occasionally burned, a monk was frequently murdered. The action of these early brothers of the Holy Office, moreover, was almost entirely confined to Aragon and north Catalonia; and although it appears that the Inquisition was at least nominally established in Castile in the time of St. Ferdinand, it is clear that its operations were few and uncertain. Discountenanced by Alfonso X. after the death of his father, it gradually dwindled away, and at the end of the fourteenth century it had entirely ceased to exist.

The burning of the books of the celebrated Henry of Villena may possibly have been the work of the Holy Office. But it is more probable that it was directed by the local Bishop of Cuenca.

Human beings at all events were not burned, nor even tortured by any authorised friars in Castile. And when, as late as 1479, Pedro de Osma was visited with censure ecclesiastical for certain heretical doctrines or opinions that were to be found in his works, it was the martial Alfonso de Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo, unassisted by any Dominican or inquisitor, that heard his accusation and his defence, and pronounced his easy sentence.

Without pursuing any further, therefore, the vexed question of the theoretical establishment of the Inquisition in Castile, it may be taken that although the Holy Office exercised its functions of frequent inquiry and occasional punishment in Aragon from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century, working at what may be called a very low pressure, the Inquisition, as we commonly understand the word, had no practical existence in Spain, to the south of Tarragona and Lerida, until the time of Isabella and Ferdinand.

The first suggestion of the serious introduction of the Tribunal of the Holy Office into Castile at the end of the fifteenth century, is said to have come from Sicily. An Italian friar bearing the suggestive name of dei Barberi, Inquisitor-General at Messina, paid a visit to his sovereign Ferdinand at Seville in 1477, in order to procure the confirmation of a privilege accorded to the Sicilian Dominicans by the Emperor Frederic II., in 1233, by virtue of which the inquisitors entered into possession of one-third of the goods of the heretic whom they condemned. This dangerous charter was confirmed in due course by Ferdinand on the 2nd of September, 1477, and by Isabella on the 18th of October; and very little argument was required on the part of the gratified envoy to convince his sovereign of the various temporal and spiritual advantages that would follow the introduction of the tribunal that had so long existed in an undeveloped form in Sicily and in Aragon, into the dominions of his pious consort, Isabella of Castile.

Among the most active supporters of the proposal was Niccolo Franco, the Papal Nuncio at the Spanish court; and Friar Alfonso de Ojeda, the Dominican Prior of St. Paul's at Seville, was no less active in his exertions. The thing found favour with Ferdinand, and was, at least, not opposed by Isabella. But it was not adopted without much consideration and discussion. The Castilians were already becoming somewhat jealous of the wealth of the Jews, somewhat envious of the prosperity of the Moors, somewhat suspicious of the faith of the New Christians. Thus the keen-sighted Ferdinand judged—some-

what too hastily, indeed—that if the new engine of ecclesiastical tyranny and royal rapine were to be directed in the first instance only against these classes of the community, it might even be popular in Christian Spain: and that while the supervision of recent converts would be effective and edifying, the rich booty that would certainly follow the condemnation of wealthy heretics would be eminently profitable to the cause of royalty as well as of religion in Castile.[1]

Isabella, if she at first hesitated, was easily convinced. She was a good Catholic, a sympathetic consort, a strict ruler. Torquemada, moreover, held sway in the royal closet; and the queen lost no time in sending instructions to her ambassador at the court of Rome to solicit the favour of a Bull establishing a tribunal or tribunals of the most Holy Inquisition in her kingdom of Castile. The Bull was issued on the 1st of November, 1478; but Isabella, who was at the time asserting the independence of her royal jurisdiction in Castile against the pretensions of the Holy See, suspended the establishment of the new ecclesiastical courts, and contented herself with entrusting Cardinal Mendoza with the preparation of a Catechism for the use of the New Christians, and enjoining the clergy throughout the country to be zealous in the maintenance of a high standard of orthodoxy among the converted Moslems and Jews.

The publication of a foolish attack upon the administration of Ferdinand and Isabella, by a still more foolish Hebrew zealot, in 1480, shows at least that free speech was possible in Castile; and a series of ordinances directed against the Jews by the celebrated Cortes of Toledo in the same year, although arbitrary and oppressive, was aimed rather at relieving the Christians from the competition of dangerous rivals in civil life, than at the conversion of heretics of any race or nation. The Jews were prohibited from following the callings in which they specially excelled the Christians, from acting as physicians, surgeons, and even merchants; they were ordered to wear a distinctive dress, to conform to irksome regulations, and to live apart from the Christian community in special quarters of the cities. But no suggestion was made that they should abandon their own religion; still less that they should quit their adopted country.

In the middle of the year 1480 there was as yet no Court of the Holy Inquisition established in Spain. At length, pressed by the Papal Nuncio, by the Dominicans, by her confessor, and

[1] See *Calendar* (Spain), vol. i., Introduction, pp. 41, 42.

most of all by her husband, Isabella gave her consent; two Dominicans received the royal authority at Medina del Campo (17th September, 1480) to act as inquisitors; and their commission was opened at Seville on the 2nd of January, 1481.[1]

The respective shares of Ferdinand and Isabella in the establishment and working of the Inquisition in Spain have of late years been a matter of frequent controversy. The gentle queen, who would not even attend a bull fight unless the horns of the beast were tipped with leather, is always spoken of by her modern admirers as having been incapable of promoting the systematic torture of her subjects. But Bergenroth very truly remarks that there is no shadow of evidence in any contemporary document that the queen was less devoted to the work of the Inquisition than her less attractive consort. For close upon 300 years after her death, her zeal in the cause of the persecution of Jews and heretics has been generally considered in Spain to be nothing less than an honour, and one by no means to be abated by any plea of coverture.

The more modern Spanish writers, no doubt, are somewhat embarrassed in their desire to apportion the praise or the blame between Isabella and the contemporary Popes for their respective shares in the establishment and the maintenance of the Spanish Inquisition. As the institution, however good or however evil, could clearly not have established itself, these perplexed apologists are fain to point out that, as on the one hand, it owed its origin to the Bull of Sixtus IV., and as Isabella resisted its introduction for over two years after Rome had issued its mandate, the queen at least is in no way responsible for its existence in Spain; while on the other hand, it is roundly asserted that the Bull was obtained from Rome by some fraudulent misrepresentations of the Castilian court; that successive Popes disapproved of the institution, and sought to reform if they could not abolish it; that it was Spanish and not Romish in all its ways; political and not religious in its objects, and only accidentally presided over by ecclesiastics.[2] Yet as, according to the orthodox writers, its

[1] Llorente, *Histoire de l'Inquisition*, i., ch. v., tit. 18.

[2] Hefele, 330-334; *ibid.*, 336-343. (The truth appears to lie between the two extremes. The Inquisition at its first establishment in Castile under Isabella was an apostolic and ecclesiastical institution, approved of in principle by Rome, though doubtless also Ferdinand thought that the restriction of the rights of the Jews and Moriscos—by the former of whom, by the way, in Aragon especially, he was greatly served—would be popular and profitable. But under Charles V. and Philip II. the Inquisition changed its character and behind its ecclesiastical mask became a

operation was most salutary, its existence most necessary; and as its methods are declared to have been more gentle and its decrees more just than those of any other tribunal, it is hard to see why the court of Rome should have regarded it with ill-favour, and why the blind admirers of Isabella should be at the pains to assert that it is the king and not the queen who must be held responsible for its establishment within their dominions in Spain.[1]

By whomsoever established or introduced into fifteenth century Spain, the new ecclesiastical tribunal at first found no favour in the sight of gentle or simple outside the convent and the palace. The New Christians fled from Seville to the neighbouring country, where they were protected by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Marquis of Cadiz, and the Count of Arcos; and a special and minatory edict of the king was required (27th December, 1480) before the orthodox Andalusians would allow the new judges to hold their court. But once fairly established, the *Inquisitors* gave abundant and striking proofs of zeal and efficiency. On the 2nd of January, 1481, the court sat for the first time in the Dominican Convent of St. Peter and St. Paul at Seville. On the 6th of January six heretics had been tried, condemned and burnt alive; and by the end of October 300 New Christians had perished by fire in the city of Seville alone, while within the narrow limits of the ecclesiastical province, over 2000 innocent persons had suffered death at the stake as heretics.

The whole of Spain was startled by the flames of the *Quemadero*. Deputations from every district, petitioning against the new tribunal, waited upon the king and queen. Many even among the Spanish ecclesiastics protested in the strongest terms

civil instrument. With each fresh step to bring it more under the control of the monarch, Rome became more jealous of it, and for two centuries kings of Spain were constantly at issue with the Papacy on the subject.—H.)

[1] It is worthy of note that so modern and so accomplished a Spanish writer as Señor Menendez Pelayo can be found not only to minimise the horrors of the Inquisition, but actually to ridicule the sufferings of those who fell into its clutches; *Gente indocta todos! Ciencia Española*, tom. ii., pp. 59-67. He sums up his chapter by saying, *Ningun hombre de merito cientifico fué quemado por la Inquisicion.* Nor, according to this modern optimist, were any scientific or philosophical works burned, nor even forbidden!

Not only in the *Ciencia Española* but in the *Heterodoxes Españoles* (ii., 690-697) does Señor Menendez Pelayo maintain that learning and learned men were never persecuted by the Inquisition in Spain. And the names that he cites and the facts that he adduces are worthy of all attention. The author, however, not only admits but defends the burning of books, even of translations of the Holy Scriptures (*op. cit.*, ii., 703-4); and his account of the origin and progress of the *Index Expurgatorius* is most interesting and suggestive (*id.*, 704-715).

against the new institution. Ferdinand and Isabella were unmoved. They dismissed the deputations with fair words; and sent secret instructions to the governors of the provinces and to the other local authorities to protect and support the new tribunals by every means in their power, threatening them with condign punishment in case of failure to carry out their wishes, and promising them rich rewards in case of their loyalty and success. Yet in spite of all these precautions the inquisitors were hardly able to enter upon their offices in Castile. They were hunted out of many towns by the population; and their lives were only saved by the active interference of the queen's officers.[1]

This critical state of things was rendered all the more dangerous by the opposition against the Inquisition having extended to Rome itself. The Pope modified the Bull which he had given, deposed the most cruel among the inquisitors, and ordered that an appeal to Rome should in all cases be permitted. Ferdinand responded by sending the Pope a minatory letter. The Pope was intimidated. On the 3rd of August, 1483, he wrote that he intended to reconsider his last resolution in favour of the heretics, and until then he would leave the matter in suspense.[2]

Suspense, under the circumstances, was equivalent to the victory of the Catholic kings; and at length, in August, 1483, the Inquisition was established in Spain as a permanent tribunal. Tomas de Torquemada was appointed Inquisitor-General of both Castile and Aragon. Subordinate tribunals were constituted; new and more stringent regulations were made; the victims smoked from day to day on the great stone altar of the *Quemadero*.[3]

[1] We do not hear of actual violence resulting in death, as in the case of the earlier Inquisition in Aragon. The *Hermandad* no doubt protected the new ecclesiastical judges. *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), vol. i., pp. 43, 44.

The number of the victims was so great and increased so rapidly that the *alcalde* of Seville was compelled to construct, in an open space known as the *Tablada*, near the city, a permanent platform of masonry, with gigantic statues of the prophets at each corner, known as "the place of burning" or the *Quemadero*. (*Cf.* Llorente, i., v., art. 4); and at the same time the judgment seat was transferred to an old Moorish castle, the Fortaleza, in the suburb of *Triana*, where the court was held until 1626.

[2] *Calendar* (Spain), vol. i., Introduction, pp. 44, 45.

[3] Torquemada's appointment as Inquisitor, by the Pope and by the queen is dated only 2nd August, 1483: and that of Inquisitor-General of Aragon, 17th October, 1483. He was invested with even more extended powers in the Bull of 11th February, 1486. An assembly was held at Seville in the autumn of 1484, when the first laws or instructions of the Holy Office were made public in Spain.

II.

The life of Tomas de Torquemada is the history of contemporary Spain. Born of a noble family, already distinguished in the Church by the reputation of the cardinal his uncle, Tomas early assumed the habit of a Dominican, and was in course of time appointed prior of an important monastery at Segovia, and confessor to the young Princess Isabella. His influence upon that royal lady was naturally great; his piety pleased her; his austerity affected her; and his powerful will directed, if it could not subdue, a will as powerful as his own. Brought up far away from a court whose frivolities had no charm for her, and where, under any circumstances, she would have been considered as a rival if not a pretender, the counsels of her confessor, both sacred and secular, were the most authoritative that she could expect to obtain. It has been constantly asserted that the friar obtained from the princess a promise that, in the event of her elevation to the throne of Castile, she would devote herself to the destruction of heretics and the increase of the power of the Church.[1] Such a promise would have been but one of many which such a confessor would have obtained from such a penitent, and would have been but the natural result of his teaching. Nor is it surprising that in the intrigues that preceded the death of Henry IV., and the War of Succession that immediately followed it, the whole influence of the priesthood should have been cast on the side of Isabella and against her niece Joanna. For ten years, says the biographer of his Order,[2] the skilful hand of Torquemada cultivated the intellect of Isabella; and in due course the propitious marriage with Ferdinand of Aragon, far from removing his pupil from his sacerdotal influence, brought him a new and equally illustrious penitent. Torquemada became the confessor of the king as well as of the queen.

If the establishment of the Inquisition was the fulfilment of Isabella's vow, and the realisation of the aspirations of her tutor, his appointment as Inquisitor-General, although it necessitated the choice of another confessor, did not by any means withdraw him from his old sphere of influence. He ceased not to preach the destruction of the Moslem, even as he was employed about the destruction of the Jew; and if Isabella was the active patroness of the war in Granada, there was a darker spirit

[1] Fléchier, *Histoire du Cardinal Ximenes*, lib. ii.

[2] *Hist. des Dominicains illustres*, par Touron, iii., 545.

behind the throne, ever preaching the sacred duty of the slaughter of the infidel and the heretic of every race and nation.[1]

Torquemada was at once a politician and an enthusiast; rigid, austere, uncompromising; unbounded in his ambition, yet content to sacrifice himself to the cause that made him what he was. His moral superiority to the Innocents and Alexanders at Rome, his intellectual superiority to the Carrillos and the fighting bishops of Spain, gave him that enormous influence over both queen and king, which his consuming bigotry and his relentless tenacity of purpose induced him to use with such dreadful effect. Aggressive even in his profession of humility, Torquemada was insolent, not only to his unhappy victims, but to his colleagues, to his sovereigns, to his Holy Father at Rome.[2] He was, perhaps, the only man in Europe who was more masterful than Isabella, more bloodthirsty than Alexander; and he was able to impose his own will on both Queen and Pope. Rejecting in his proud humility every offer of the mitre, he asserted and maintained his ecclesiastical supremacy even over the Primate of Spain. Attended by a bodyguard of noble youths who were glad to secure at once the favour of the queen and immunity from ecclesiastical censure by assuming the habit of the *Familiars* of the Holy Office, the great destroyer lived in daily dread of the hand of the assassin.

Fifty horsemen and 200 foot guards always attended him. Nor was it deemed inconsistent with the purity of his own religious faith that he should carry about with him a talisman, in the shape of the horn of some strange animal, invested with the mysterious power of preventing the action of poison.[3]

[1] Torquemada's immediate successor in 1484 was another Dominican, Diego Deza, whose place was soon afterwards taken by Father Ferdinand Talavera, who acted as confessor to the queen until his appointment as Archbishop of Granada in 1492, when he was succeeded in the royal closet by Ximenez. See *Hist. des Dominicains illustres*, iii., 562.

[2] Bull of 25th September, 1487. Llorente i., chap. viii., art. 2.

[3] Prescott, following Llorente, i., viii., 2 and 3, says "a reputed unicorn's horn," which is not very critical. The virtue of a charm scarcely consists in the authenticity of its origin; yet the bone of a saint would have seemed more appropriate to so orthodox a personage, than the horn, even of a rhinoceros.

The inquisitor's less distinguished cousin Juan, more commonly known by the Latinised name of Turrecremata, just as the Valencian Borjas are known by the Italian name of Borgia, was also a Dominican (born 1388, died 1468). Despatched as Papal envoy to the Council of Bâle in 1431, he was distinguished by his zeal against John Huss. He was created a cardinal in 1439 on the occasion of a mission to Charles VII. of France and the negotiation of a peace with England.

On the death of Torquemada in September, 1498, Don Diego Deza was promoted to the office of Inquisitor-General of Spain. Yet the activity of the ecclesiastical tribunal[1] was rather increased than diminished by the change of masters,[2] and an attempt was made soon afterwards to extend its operations to Naples. But Gonsalvo de Cordova, who was then acting as viceroy, took upon himself to disregard not only the demands of the inquisitors, but the orders of Ferdinand (30th June, 1504), and to postpone the introduction of the new tribunal into the country that he so wisely and so liberally governed. After the recall of his great representative, some six years later, Ferdinand himself made another attempt to establish the hated tribunal in Italy, in 1510. But even Ferdinand did not prevail; and Naples[3] retained the happy immunity which it owed to the *Great Captain.*

If no error is more gross than to suppose that the establishment of the Inquisition was due to popular feeling in Spain, it is almost equally false to assert that it was the work of the contemporary Popes. Rome was bad enough at the end of the fifteenth century; but her vast load of wickedness need not be increased by the burden of sins that are not her own. The everlasting shame of the Spanish Inquisition is that of the Catholic kings. It is not difficult to understand why the poor and rapacious Ferdinand of Aragon should welcome the establishment of an instrument of extortion which placed at his disposal the accumulated savings of the richest citizens of Castile. It is yet easier to comprehend that Isabella, who was not of a temper to brook resistance to authority in Church or State, should have consented to what her husband so earnestly desired. The queen, moreover, was at least sincerely religious, after the fashion of the day; and was constrained to follow the dictates of her confessor in matters judged by him to be within his spiritual jurisdiction, even while she was, as a civil ruler, withstanding the Pope himself on matters of temporal sovereignty. It is the height of folly to brand Isabella as a hypocrite, because we are unable to follow the workings of a mediæval mind, or to

[1] See, for example, the ordinance of 17th June, 1500; and the ordinance of 15th November, 1504.

[2] The Inquisition was imposed upon Sicily in 1500. The people, after having long refused obedience to the royal ordinances, rose in open rebellion against the Holy Office in 1506. Yet on the accession of Charles V. the Sicilians were forced to submit. Llorente, i., chap. x., art. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*

appreciate the curious religious temper—by no means confined to the men and women of the fifteenth century—that can permit or compel the same person to be devoted to Popery and to be at war with the Pope, and find in the punctilious observance of ceremonial duty, excuse or encouragement for the gratification of any vice, and the commission of any crime. But that the nobility and people of Castile should have permitted the crown to impose upon them a foreign and an ecclesiastical despotism, is at first sight much harder to understand. No one reason, but an unhappy combination of causes may perhaps be found to explain it.

The influence of the queen was great. Respected as well as feared by the nobles, she was long admired and beloved by the mass of the people.[1] The great success of her administration, which was apparent even by the end of 1480; her repression of the nobility; her studied respect for the Cortes; all these things predisposed the Castilians, who had so long suffered under weak and unworthy sovereigns, to trust themselves, not only to the justice, but to the wisdom of the queen. The influence of the clergy, if not so great as it was in France or Italy, was no doubt considerable, and, as a rule, though not always, it was cast on the side of the Inquisition. Last and most unhappy reason of all, the nobility and the people were divided; and, if not actually hostile, were at least ever at variance in Castile.

The first efforts of the new tribunal, too, were directed either against the converted Jews, of whose prosperity the Christians were already jealous, and for whose interested tergiversations no one could feel any respect; or against the more or less converted Moslems, towards whom their neighbours still maintained a certain hereditary antipathy. The New Christians alone were to be haled before the new tribunal. The Old Christians might trust in the queen, if not in their own irreproachable lineage, to protect them from hurt or harm.

The number of subordinate or subsidiary tribunals of the Holy Office was at first only four; established at Seville, Cordova, Jaen and Ciudad Real. The number was gradually increased,

[1] Certainly in 1480, possibly not five-and-twenty years later. From curious criminal proceedings instituted against the Corregidor of Medina del Campo, we learn that that high judicial authority had not hesitated to declare that the soul of Isabella had gone direct to hell for her cruel oppression of her subjects, and that King Ferdinand was a thief and a robber, and that all the people round Medina and Valladolid, where the queen was best known, had formed the same judgment of her. *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), Supplement to i. and ii. (1868), p. 27.

during the reign of the Catholic kings, to thirteen; and over all these Ferdinand erected, in 1483, a court of supervision under the name of the *Council of the Supreme*, consisting of the Grand Inquisitor as President, and three other subordinate ecclesiastics, well disposed to the crown, and ready to guard the royal interests in confiscated property.[1]

One of the first duties of this tremendous Council was the preparation of a code of rules or instructions, based upon the Inquisitor's Manual of Eymeric, which had been promulgated in Aragon in the fourteenth century.[2] The new work was promptly and thoroughly done; and twenty-eight comprehensive sections left but little to be provided for in the future.

The prosecution of unorthodox Spanish bishops by Torquemada on the ground of the supposed backslidings of their respective fathers is sufficiently characteristic of the methods of the Inquisition to be worthy of a passing notice. Davila, Bishop of Segovia, and Aranda, Bishop of Calahorra, were the sons of Jews who had been converted and baptised by St. Vincent Ferrer. No suspicion existed as to the orthodoxy of the prelates, both of whom were men distinguished for their learning and their piety. But it was suggested that their fathers had relapsed into Judaism before they died. They had each, indeed, left considerable fortunes behind them: and it was sought to exhume and burn their mortal remains, and to declare the property—long in the enjoyment of their heirs and successors—forfeited to the crown; and, in spite of a Brief of Innocent VIII., of the 25th of September, 1487, the attempt was made by the Spanish inquisitors. Both prelates sought refuge and protection by personal recourse to Rome (1490). Bishop Davila, in spite of the urgent remonstrances of Isabella herself,

[1] Zurita, *Anales*, iv., 324. Riol, *Informe*, in Semanario Erudito, iii., 156; Bull of 2nd August, 1483; Brief of 17th October, 1483; Brief of 11th February, 1486.

As to the conflicts between the Grand Inquisitor Torquemada and the Puisne members of this supreme court, see Llorente, i., chap. vi., art. 1. (A supreme and final struggle took place between the Inquisitor-General and the other members of the Council, on the subject of the condemnation of Father Diaz, the confessor of Charles II., at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century. See essay, "The exorcism of Charles the Bewitched," in *The Year after the Armada*, etc., by the present editor.—H.)

[2] Lafuente, ix., 236. The *Directorium* of Nicolas Eymeric was prepared and promulgated about 1376, and was the authoritative text-book for the use of inquisitors until the issue of Torquemada's *Instructions* in 1483-4. Upon the invention of printing, the work of Eymeric was one of the first books printed at Barcelona. And it was republished at Rome, with notes and commentaries, in 1558, and again under the authority of Gregory XIII., in 1578. A translation into French of this work was published at Lisbon in 1762 by André Morellet.

ultimately secured the protection of Alexander VI., and was invested with additional dignities and honours. Bishop Aranda was less fortunate. He was stripped of his office and possessions, and died a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo in 1497.[1]

It was not only living or dying heretics who paid the penalty of their unsound opinions. Men long dead, if they were represented by rich descendants, were cited before the tribunal, judged, condemned, and the lands and goods that had descended to their heirs, passed into the coffers of the Catholic kings.[2] The scandal was so great that Isabella actually wrote to the Bishop of Segovia to defend herself against an accusation that no one had ever presumed to formulate. "I have," said the queen, "caused great calamities, I have depopulated towns and provinces and kingdoms, for the love of Christ and of His Holy Mother, but I have never touched a maravedi of confiscated property; and I have employed the money in educating and dowering the children of the condemned."[3] This strange apology, which seems to have to some extent imposed upon Prescott, is shown by more recent examination of the State papers to be a most deliberate and daring falsehood, and would go far to justify the suggestion of Bergenroth that if Ferdinand never scrupled to tell direct untruths and make false promises whenever he thought it expedient, Queen Isabella excelled her husband in "disregard of veracity".[4]

III.

Nothing can show more clearly the true nature and dominion of the Spanish Inquisition than the sordid sacerdotal shuffling

[1] He had dug up the bones of his father, his mother, and his grandmother before proceeding to Rome, lest their graves should be desecrated by the familiars of the Holy Office. For the queen's violent letter of remonstrance to Alexander VI. as to receiving the bishop, see *Calendar*, etc. (Spain), i., Introduc., 45.

[2] Lafuente, ix., 233.

[3] *Ar. Gen. de la Cor. de Arag, Barcelona, Reg. Varia*, ii., vol. 3684, f. 33, v.; and 3686, f. 105. *Calendar*, etc., i., 44-46.

[4] *Calendar*, i., 37. As to the way in which the queen took possession of all the confiscated goods, see *ibid.*, p. 45, 46, and original documents there cited.

As to the enormous revenue derived from these confiscations by the Inquisition, which constituted a regular income for the royal exchequer, see von Ranke, *The Ottoman and Spanish Empires in the XVI. and XVII. Centuries* (trans. Kelly), 1843, pp. 61, 62. The Inquisitors, according to Ranke, were royal as well as ecclesiastical officers, and the historian cites an instance of a royal visitation from La Nuza, *Hist. de Aragon*, ii., p. 111. It was, no doubt, the deadly combination of royal rapacity and ecclesiastical intolerance that made the Inquisition at once so powerful and so noxious in Spain.

between Seville and Rome and Valladolid that is found in the annals of the Holy Office during the first fifteen years of its existence. An appeal to Rome against the judgment of the inquisitors, if accompanied by a sufficient sum of money, was never rejected. Nay more, direct exemption from the jurisdiction of the dreaded tribunal was granted to every one who could afford to pay for it.[1] The poor heretic could never hope to escape the *Quemadero;* but, owing partly to the jealousy and partly to the covetousness of the Popes, the rich man had always a chance for his life; though the cause of the solvent suspect was no doubt, as far as possible, judged in Spain, before he had time to make a remittance to Rome.

The inquisitors, indeed, bitterly complained of the extent to which this venal protection was extended by the Popes; and Ferdinand, who saw the riches of his victims thus withdrawn from the scope of his own rapacity, not only supported the remonstrances of his judges by more than one minatory letter to His Holiness at Rome,[2] but he promulgated an ordinance that any person, lay or ecclesiastical, who should make use of a Papal indulgence to defeat the jurisdiction of the Holy Office should be summarily put to death; and all his goods confiscated to the crown.[3] Sixtus IV., nevertheless, and after him Innocent VIII., continued to grant dispensations to those who sought them at Rome; but Innocent made the best of the situation by informing the Catholic kings and the inquisitors in Spain that they might treat his Bulls and Briefs as of no effect as regards the bodies or goods of the purchasers, being applicable merely as regards their immortal souls. By this theological fiction, the Vatican continued to reap a rich harvest by the sale of Bulls, while the purchasers, on returning to Spain, were burnt by the Holy Office, and their remaining goods acquired by the king and queen.

Yet at Rome the rigours of the Spanish Inquisition met with no approval; and in 1490 Innocent VIII. determined to send a legate to Spain to inquire into the proceedings of the

[1] La cour de Rome (says Llorente) ne montra pas moins d'inconséquence sur l'article des absolutions particulières pour le crime d'apostasie. Personne ne se présenta avec son argent á la Pénitencerie apostolique, sans obtenir l'absolution qu'il venait solliciter, ou une commission pour être absous ailleurs; elle défendait, en l'accordant, d'inquiéter celui qui l'avait obtenue. *Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, vol. i., cap. vii., art. 3.

[2] *Arch. Gen. de Aragon, Barcelona, Reg.*, vol. 3684, f. 7.

[3] See *Arch. Gen., ubi supra*, f. 33.

Holy Office. Isabella did all in her power to prevent it. Compelled to employ corruption on a large scale, larger even, as she declared, than was at all agreeable to herself, to check so dangerous an investigation at the outset, the queen was at length successful. The Pope was bribed to send a facile legate. The legate was bribed to make a vain inquiry. The Inquisition continued its work as before. And Isabella, at her earnest request, was specifically absolved from the sin of simony. The conscience of a virtuous and intelligent lady who, after purchasing from the representative of God on earth the right and licence to continue to torture and rob her own subjects, could derive solid comfort from the divine pardon of Giambattista Cibo for her simoniacal transgression in offering him money, must indeed have been strangely tempered.[1]

Yet when Dr. Hefele, in his study, with all these facts before him, can gravely write of *l'indulgence paternelle avec laquelle le Saint Siège absolvait en secret les hérétiques repentants qui s'adressaient à lui*, the mental and moral temper of a German professor at Tübingen may appear to us even more extraordinary.[2]

In 1492 Innocent VIII. was succeeded by Alexander VI. New bickerings arose between the court of Castile and the court of Rome. But the Spanish sovereigns once more triumphed over infallibility. Roderic Borgia, although infamous in his private life, was not more corrupt than his predecessors and contemporaries; but it was hardly to be supposed that he would put an end to the sale of the dispensations which were granted under ever varying titles so as to baffle discovery and remonstrance in Spain. Yet even Alexander VI. had to give way to Isabella and Ferdinand; and after five years of parley and procrastination, the Pope, in answer to the constantly renewed remonstrances of the king and queen, on the subject of his interference with their profits by his surreptitious indulgences to their Spanish subjects, was fain to grant all their requests (Brief of the 23rd of August, 1497), and to declare all the absolutions and dispensations that he or his predecessors had ever issued *ad hoc*, to be absolutely null and void.[3]

[1] *Arch. Gen. de Aragon, Reg. Var.* ii., *Ferd. II.*, vol. 3686, ff. 111, 112.

[2] See Hefele, *Vie de Ximenes*, p. 293.

[3] See Llorente, i., vii., iii. (20). The chapter is full of authentic details of the various Bulls and counter Bulls, dispensations and revocations, secret absolutions and secret sentences from 1484 to 1502.

IV.

If the Holy Office had existed in Aragon in an undeveloped state from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, and if it was actually introduced into Castile at the suggestion of an inquisitor of the Aragonese island of Sicily, the old independence of the inhabitants once more asserted itself, when the time arrived for the introduction of the brand new Castilian tribunal into the old kingdom that is watered by the Ebro. Saragossa, indeed, may be nearer to Rome than Toledo; but the Aragonese and the Catalan have ever been less submissive than their brother or cousin in Castile; less obedient to authority; more impatient of royal and ecclesiastical oppression. Yet Aragon, which had defied Innocent at Muret, and vanquished Martin at Gerona, was no match for the inquisitors of Ferdinand the Catholic.[1] The Inquisition, as we have seen, had once before been established in Aragon; but in one most important particular the new institution differed from the old. In former days, even in the rare cases when the heretic paid the penalty of his heterodoxy with his life, his property passed to his heirs. The ecclesiastical tribunal of Ferdinand was not only more efficient in the matter of burning or otherwise disposing of accused persons; but the property of all doubtful Catholics, even of those who were graciously permitted to live after their trial, was absolutely forfeit to the crown. And the number of rich men, not only converted Jews but prosperous Christians, whose orthodoxy failed to come up to the new standard, was even in those days considered remarkable.

Ferdinand at all times hated popular assemblies. He spent the greater part of his time in Castile; and he saw as little as possible of the people of Aragon. But in April, 1484, he summoned a Cortes at Saragossa, and decreed by royal ordinance the establishment of the new tribunal. The old constitutional spirit of the Aragonese seems to have evaporated; and a degenerate justiciary was found to swear to support the jurisdiction of the inquisitors. Yet envoys and delegates of the Commons of Aragon were despatched to Castile, whither Ferdinand had

[1] Although in later times the Aragonese were for ever at issue with the Inquisition, and struggling against it when it seemed to trench on their liberties. In 1591, at the time of the Perez rising, they sacked the Inquisition buildings, released the prisoners, and the Inquisitors themselves barely escaped with their lives. The first petition presented by the Aragonese to Philip III. on his accession was that the Inquisition should be abolished in Aragon, and the Holy Office never dared to deal with Aragonese as they dealt with Castilians.—H.

promptly retired, and also to Rome, to remonstrate against the new institution, and more especially against the new provisions for the forfeiture of the property of the convicted. If these provisions, contrary to the laws of Aragon, were repealed or suspended, the deputies "were persuaded," and there was a grim humour in the suggestion, "that the tribunal itself would soon cease to exist".

But the repression of heresy was far too profitable an undertaking to be lightly abandoned; nor was Ferdinand of Aragon the man to abandon it; and the envoys returned from an unsuccessful mission to Valladolid, to find a *Quemadero* already blazing at Saragossa.

Yet the Aragonese were not at once reduced to subjection. A popular conspiracy led to the assassination of the Inquisitor-General, Pedro de Arbues, in spite of his steel cap and coat of mail, as he stood one day at matins in the cathedral of Saragossa (15th September, 1487);[1] but this daring crime served only to enrage Ferdinand and to strengthen the power of the Inquisition. A most rigorous and indefatigable inquiry, which was extended from Saragossa into every part of Aragon, was at once undertaken; and an immense number of victims, chosen not only from among the people, but from almost every noble family in Aragon, if it did not appease the vengeance of the inquisitors, gratified at least the avarice of Ferdinand. Among the accused, indeed, was Don Jayme of Navarre, a nephew of the King of Aragon—a son of Eleanor Queen of Navarre and her husband Gaston de Foix—who was actually arrested and imprisoned by the Holy Office; and discharged only after having done public penance, as convicted of having in some way sympathised with the assassination of Arbues. But it may be noted that the young prince was anything but a favourite with his uncle, to whom this bit of ecclesiastical discipline was no doubt very gratifying.[2]

But it was not only at Saragossa that opposition was offered to the establishment of the new tribunal. In every part of Aragon, of Catalonia and of Valencia; at Lerida, at Teruel, at Barcelona, the people rose against this new exhibition of royal

[1] Pedro de Arbues was canonised in 1664; and, as Llorente remarks, the Christian name of the three Inquisitors canonised as martyrs in Spain, France and Italy was in each case Peter; Peter of Castelnau, killed in 1204 by the Albigenses; Peter of Verona and Peter of Arbues.

[2] The story may be read at large in Llorente, vol. i., chap. vii., arts. 27-29, p. 3.

and priestly tyranny. Nor was it for fully two years, and after the adoption of the most savage measures of repression, both royal and ecclesiastical, that the Inquisition was finally accepted in the kingdom of Aragon, and that Torquemada, fortified by no less than two special Bulls, made his triumphal entry as Inquisitor-General into Barcelona on the 27th of October, 1488.[1]

Among all the tens of thousands of innocent persons who were tortured and done to death by the Inquisition in Spain, it is instructive to turn to the record of one man at least who broke through the meshes of the ecclesiastical net that was spread abroad in the country; for the mode of his escape is sufficiently instructive. Ready money at command, but not exposed to seizure, was the sole shield and safeguard against the assaults of Church and State. Don Alfonso de la Caballeria was a Jew by race, and a man who was actually concerned in the murder of the inquisitor Arbues; but his great wealth enabled him to purchase not only one but two Briefs from Rome, and to secure the further favour of Ferdinand. He was accused and prosecuted in vain by the Holy Office of Aragon. He not only escaped with his life, but he rose to a high position in the State, and eventually mingled his Jewish and heretic blood with that of royalty itself.

Various attempts were made by the Cortes of Aragon to abate the powers of the Inquisition; and at the Cortes of Monzon, in 1510, so vigorous a remonstrance was addressed to Ferdinand that he was unable to do more than avoid a decision, by a postponement on the ground of desiring fuller information; and two years later, at the same place, he was compelled to sanction a declaration or ordinance, by which the authority assumed by the Holy Office, in defiance of the constitution of Aragon, was specifically declared to be illegal; and the king swore to abolish the privileges and jurisdiction of the Inquisition. Within a few months, however, he caused himself to be absolved from this oath by a Papal Brief; and the Inquisition remained unreformed and triumphant. But the Aragonese had not yet entirely lost their independence, and a popular rising compelled the king not only to renounce the Brief, so lately received, but to solicit from the Pope a Bull (12th May, 1515), exonerating him from so doing, and calling

[1] See Llorente, i., chap. vii., art. 1. (It should be added, however, that almost every Cortes of Aragon that was held thenceforward protested against the intrusion of the Inquisition into other than purely ecclesiastical causes.—H.)

upon all men, lay and ecclesiastical, to maintain the authority of the Cortes. Aragon was satisfied. And the people enjoyed for a season the blessings of comparative immunity from persecution.[1]

To recall the manifold horrors of the actual working of the Inquisition in Spain would be a painful and an odious task. To record them in any detail is surely superfluous;[2] even though they are entirely denied by such eminent modern writers as Hefele, in Germany, or Menendez Pelayo, in Spain. The hidden enemy, the secret denunciation, the sudden arrest, the unknown dungeon, the prolonged interrogatory, the hideous torture, the pitiless judge, the certain sentence, the cruel execution, the public display of sacerdotal vengeance, the plunder of the survivors, innocent even of ecclesiastical offence —all these things are known to every reader of every history.[3] All other considerations apart, it is an abuse of language to speak of the proceedings before the Inquisition as a trial, for the tribunal was nothing but a Board of Conviction. One acquittal in 2000 accusations was, according to Llorente, who had access to all the records of the Holy Office in Spain, about the proportion that was observed in their judicial findings.[4]

Statistics, as a rule, are not convincing, and figures are

[1] Llorente, i., chap. vii.

[2] For the dreadful details of the procedure of the Holy Office, for an account of the various forms of torture customary, and for a very good description of an *Auto de Fé* and the subsequent burning at the *Quemadero* outside the gate of Fuencarral, Madrid, see *The Inquisition Unmasked*, translated by William Walton from the Spanish of Antonio Puigblanch (London, 1816), two vols. See also *Artes de la Inquisicion Española*, by Raymundo Gonzalez de Montes, printed at Heidelberg in 1567, and reprinted at Madrid in 1851. There is a copy in the Dublin University Library, where there is also a most interesting collection of sixty-nine volumes of MSS. records—most of them original, and all, I believe, authentic, of the Inquisition—not, I am sorry to say, in Spain—but at Rome.

They have been examined by Dr. Benrath, who has published an account of the collection with 111 extracts in the *Revista Cristiana* of Turin, November, 1879, to May, 1880. The documents are also referred to by M. Gaidoz, in the *Revue de l'Instruction Publique*, Paris, 1867, and by the Rev. Richard Gibbings in many of his published works (1842-1872).

[3] The adoption by the proudest grandees, of the sable livery and odious office of the Familiars of the Holy Office, was not common until after the death of Isabella. Llorente, i., chap. viii., art. 7. It was, no doubt, the safest position to occupy, when every one outside the Inquisition was liable at any moment to be haled before it. The man who rings the bell, says the Spanish proverb, is quite safe (*A buen salva está el que repica*); and the enjoyment of any ecclesiastical office, however humble, was, no doubt, the most certain mode of securing safety, if not immunity, in Spain at the close of the fifteenth century.

[4] Llorente, i., chap. ix., art. 13. It is only right to add that, after the accession of Philip III., the character of the proceedings entirely changed.

rarely impressive; yet it may be added that, according to Llorente's cautious estimate, over 10,000 persons were burnt alive during the eighteen years of Torquemada's supremacy alone; that over 6000 more were burnt in effigy either in their absence or after their death, and their property acquired by the Holy Office; while the number of those whose goods were confiscated, after undergoing less rigorous punishments, is variously computed at somewhat more or somewhat less than 100,000. But it is obvious that even these terrible figures give but a very feeble idea of the vast sum of human suffering that followed the steps of this dreadful institution. For they tell no tale of the thousands who died, and the tens of thousands who suffered, in the torture chamber. They hardly suggest the anguish of the widow and the orphan of the principal victims, who were left, bereaved and plundered, to struggle with a hard and unsympathetic world, desolate, poor and disgraced.

Nor does the most exaggerated presentment of human suffering tell of the disastrous effects of the entire system upon religion, upon morals, upon civil society at large. The terrorism, the espionage, the daily and hourly dread of denunciation, in which every honest man and woman must have lived, the boundless opportunities for extortion and for the gratification of private vengeance and worldly hatred, must have poisoned the whole social life of Spain. The work of the Inquisition, while it tended, no doubt, to make men orthodox, tended also to make them false, and suspicious, and cruel. Before the middle of the sixteenth century, the Holy Office had profoundly affected the national character; and the Spaniard, who had been celebrated in Europe during countless centuries for every manly virtue, became, in the new world that had been given to him, no less notorious for a cruelty beyond the imagination of a Roman emperor, and a rapacity beyond the dreams of a Republican proconsul.

Torquemada and Ferdinand may have burned their thousands and plundered their ten thousands in Spain. Their disciples put to death millions of the gentlest races of the earth, and ravaged without scruple or pity the fairest and most fertile regions of the new continent which had been given to them to possess.

As long as the Inquisition confined its operations to the Jews and the Moors, the Old Christians were injured and depraved by the development of those tendencies to cruelty

and rapacity that lie dormant in the heart of every man. But this was not the end. For when Spain at length sheltered no more aliens to be persecuted and plundered in the name of religion, and murder and extortion were forced to seek their easy prey in the new world beyond the Atlantic Ocean, the Holy Office turned its attention to domestic heresy; and the character of the Spaniard in Europe became still further demoralised and perverted. Every man was suspected. Every man became suspicious. The lightest word might lead to the heaviest accusation. The nation became sombre and silent. Religious life was but a step removed from heresy. Religion degenerated to empty and ostentatious display. Original thought was above all things dangerous. The Spaniard took refuge in routine. Social intercourse was obviously full of peril. A prudent man kept himself to himself, and was glad to escape the observation of his neighbours. Castile became a spiritual desert. The Castilian wrapped himself in his cloak, and sought safety in dignified abstraction.

The Holy Office has done its work in Spain. A rapacious government, an enslaved people, a hollow religion, a corrupt Church, a century of blood, three centuries of shame, all these things followed in its wake. And the country of Viriatus and Seneca, of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, where Ruy Diaz fought, and Alfonso studied, and where two warrior kings in two successive centuries[1] defied Rome temporal and Rome spiritual, and all the crusaders of Europe—Spain, hardly conquered by Scipio or by Cæsar, was enslaved by the dead hand of Dominic.

V.—*Juan Antonio Llorente.*

The great authority for the history of the Spanish Inquisition is, of course, the well-known Juan Antonio Llorente. He was born in March, 1756, of a good family in Aragon. After having taken the degree of Doctor of Civil and Canon Law at Saragossa. and having been ordained priest in 1779, he was made a local commissary of the Inquisition at Logroño in 1785: and was General Secretary to the Holy Office at Madrid from 1789 to 1792. A liberal priest, the friend of Jovellanos, the advocate of ecclesiastical reform, he not unnaturally incurred the disfavour

[1] Peter II., 1213, and Peter III., 1284.

of his superiors, and was banished from Madrid until 1805, when he obtained a canonry at Toledo from Godoy. On the suppression of the Inquisition, in 1808-9, Llorente was directed by King Joseph Bonaparte to prepare a history of the institution, and was entrusted for that purpose with the archives of the Holy Office, with which he was already familiar. His studies and researches led to the publication of his first *Anales de la Inquisicion en España*,[1] in two small duodecimo volumes at Madrid, 1812. In 1813-14 he shared the flight of Joseph to Paris, where his great work, *L'histoire critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, was published in French, by A. Pellier, in 1818. It was afterwards translated into Spanish, and published in ten volumes, Madrid, 1822. A full and learned, if somewhat bitter critique of Llorente's work, and an abstract of what can be said against the man and the book generally—and it is not much—will be found in Hefele's *Vie de Ximenès*.[2]

Señor Menendez Pelayo finds fault with "his small erudition, his puerile criticism, his feeble and ungraceful style,"[3] and speaks of his work as a *galimatias* without a plan. Yet his facts have never been seriously impugned, nor can Hefele, the most learned of his opponents, bring any graver charge against him than that the number he gives as that of the victims at Seville in one year, should have been distributed over several years, and among several cities.[4]

It is certainly not to the honour of Llorente that he translated, if, indeed, he did translate, Faublas. But the writing of solid history is not always lucrative employment; Llorente, like other exiles, had presumably to pay for his dinner, and it may have been pleasant as well as profitable to turn from Torquemada to the Marquise de B——. It is but natural that the denouncers and vilifiers of Llorente should be more numerous and more bitter in Spain than in any other country. But these modern apologists or admirers of the Holy Office are not, as a rule, more remarkable for their accuracy than for their judgment. If their statements must be accepted with caution, their conclusions may

[1] A refutation or impugnation of Llorente's work was undertaken and published in 1816 by a gentleman of the somewhat unhappy name of Carnicero, entitled, *La Inquisicion justamente restablecida, ó impugnacion de la obra de J. A. Llorente*, two vols., Madrid, small 12mo. But the work is not very well done. Admirers of the Inquisition will find more solid comfort in Hefele and Menendez Pelayo; and more eloquent declamation in Vicente de Lafuente.

[2] Pp. 290-374.

[3] *Heterodoxos*, etc., iii., 422-4.

[4] Hefele, *Vie de Ximenès*, p. 290.

be read with amazement. From Father Camara,[1] in 1880, we learn, indeed, that Gibbon wrote an historical novel, that Mr. Draper has copied him, and that the Inquisition was so far from persecuting original thinkers, or checking science, that "it marvellously and powerfully contributed to take away the stumbling blocks, by freeing the path of knowledge from extravagant methods and ridiculous aphorisms". Admitting, says Father Camara, that a few hundred Jewish Bibles[2] were condemned to the flames, *for reasons that we know not,* is that a reason for questioning the "benignity" of the tribunal of the Holy Office, or impugning the enlightment of Torquemada?[3] After these judgments, we are scarcely surprised to read that the Inquisition did not burn one single man of science;[4] that the Holy Office did not even persecute a single *Judaizante*, as long as he preserved the appearance of Christianity; that the thousands of victims whose sufferings and deaths are recorded by Llorente are mere chimeras, stupendous absurdities, invented by the enemies of the Church; that no books were burned at Granada or at Seville, and that Torquemada and his fellow inquisitors were chiefly remarkable for their love of learning. If these things are so, then indeed is Llorente a liar; and there is no truth in the history of mankind.[5]

But if the records of Llorente may not be discredited and

[1] Padre Tomas Camara, *Refutacion*, etc. (Valladolid, 1880), p. 201.

Draper's *Intellectual Development of Europe* is a book that for some reason has attracted an amount of attention in the Peninsula quite disproportionate to its general or special importance as an authority. It has not only been *twice* translated into Spanish, but has enjoyed the honour of a species of literary persecution scarcely less vindictive, but by no means as efficacious, as the more ancient method —by fire. At least four *Refutations* have been recently published in Spain: one is a translation of a German work by Father Smedth (Madrid, 1879); one is by Fr. Diaz Carmona, published in El Criterio, 1880; one by Señor Ortiz Lara, in 1881, spoken of with great admiration by Señor Menendez Pelayo; the third, and perhaps the most important, by Fr. Tomas Camara, published at Valladolid in 1880.

[2] *Heterodoxos*, etc., iii., 826.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 194. Que incomparable beneficio debièron los filosofos á la Inquisicion! *Op. cit.*, 202.

[5] Torquemada waged war upon freedom of thought in every form. In 1490, he caused innumerable Hebrew Bibles to be publicly burnt at Seville; and some time afterwards, over 6000 volumes of Oriental learning were destroyed in an *auto de fé* at Salamanca, the very nursery of science. Llorente, *Hist. de L'Inquisition*, tom. i., c. viii., art. 5. In addition to Llorente and one or two very inferior imitators, I have not only consulted but read a large number of orthodox works, both in French and Spanish, including those of Hefele, Menendez Pelayo and Vicente de Lafuente, all serious and important writers, as well as the writings of Fathers Camara (1880), Diaz Carmona, Smedth (1879), and others; and I have drawn largely upon the State Papers collected and edited by Bergenroth.

can hardly be explained away, the orthodox Spaniard of our own times takes up a position with regard to the works and ways of the Inquisition, and the spirit which animated its persecutions in Spain, even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which is so frankly uncompromising, so full of an almost Semitic self-satisfaction, and a wholly Celtiberian obstinacy, and which so happily illustrates the nobler side of what we are accustomed to regard not only as a wicked, but as a disgraceful theory of Government, that it is at once interesting and agreeable to advert to it.

"If Protestantism," says Señor Menendez Pelayo, "everywhere victorious in the earlier half of the sixteenth century, fell back in the latter half, and has never since the death of Luther gained one inch of territory in Europe, it is due almost entirely to the tremendous sacrifices that were made by Spain.[1] Useless sacrifice! may men say; vain enterprise! nay; a sacrifice was never fruitless in a holy cause; even though the political economists and positivists of to-day may smile with pity and contempt upon a nation which fought against all Europe, not that she might extend her territories or obtain some tremendous pecuniary compensation, but merely for a theological idea—the most useless thing in the world! even though they may demonstrate how much better it would have been for her to have woven her flax into linen, and allowed Luther to come and go as he pleased in Spain! But our ancestors understood life in another fashion, nor did it ever occur to them to judge of great historic enterprises by their immediate and palpable results. Never since the time of Judas Maccabæus has there existed a people which might with so much reason consider itself as *chosen* to be the sword and arm of God. In Spain, even amid the wildest dreams of mediæval aggrandisement and of universal monarchy, every earthly consideration was constantly subordinated to the supreme object of bringing all mankind into one fold, and under one shepherd."[2]

Ya se acerca, Señor, ó ya es llegada
La edad dichosa en que promete el cielo
Una grey y un pastor sólo en el suelo,
Por suerte á nuestros tiempos reservada.

[1] Macaulay attributes it rather to the work of a single Spaniard, Ignatius Loyola. *Essay on Ranke's History of the Popes.*

[2] Freely translated from Señor Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos Españoles*, tom. ii., pp. 679, 680.

Ya tan alto principio en tal jornada
Nos muestra el fin de vuestro santo celo,
Y anuncia al mundo para más consuelo
Un monarca, un imperio y una espada.[1]

[1] *Hernando de Acuña.* I venture to give a rough translation of these lines, because they seem to me admirably to embody the opinion that I have always enforced; namely that, at all events after the first few years of religious fervour induced by the circumstances of Isabella's reign and personal character, the real object of the religious persecution in Spain was political unified domination, for which religious unity was only a means:—

The time draws near. Perhaps, O Lord, the day,
That Thou hast promised shall *our* eyes behold:
When all Thy peoples in one mighty fold
Shall know Thy Shepherd and his voice obey.

From this, O Lord, Thy great design is plain
Another mercy to the world to give.
Under one Empire shall all creatures live:
One sword shall punish, and one King shall reign.—H.

CHAPTER XLI.

GRANADA.

(1228—1492.)

I.—*Moslem Civilisation.*

The rapid development of Moslem culture, no less than of Moslem power, is one of the marvels of history.[1] Within eighty years of the death of the inspired camel driver, his followers had not only spread themselves over the world from the Indus to the Cape de Verd, from western Spain to central Asia, but they had everywhere appeared not so much as conquerors as reformers. And of all the Moslem kingdoms of the world none was more distinguished by moral and material excellence, by learning and culture, by enlightenment and liberality, by the generous patronage of all that was useful and beautiful and good, than the Moslem Caliphate of Spain.[2]

[1] Jamais race, avant d'arriver à la conscience, ne dormait d'un sommeil si long et si profond que la race arabe. Jusqu' à ce mouvement extraordinaire qui nous la montre tout à coup conquérante et créatrice, l'Arabie n'a aucune place dans l'histoire politique, intellectuelle, ou religieuse du monde. Renan, *Hist. Gén. des Langues sémitiques*, p. 304. "Originally the Peninsula of Arabia was one of the most barbarous countries of Asia; its inhabitants a rude, nomadic race, subsisting on rapine and plunder. From the nature of their pursuits they had necessarily but little leisure for the culture of polite literature or the pleasing arts; nor, until a short time before the age of Mahomet, were alphabetical characters known to the Arabs. The whole of their literature consisted in a coarse and imperfect kind of poetry, and their knowledge was confined to genealogical notices and detached maxims of morality." Murphy and Shakespear, *Hist.*, etc., 208.

Ibn Khallikan (*apud* Pococke, *Spec. Hist. Arab.*, p. 153), says that with the exception of the Jews and Christians resident in Medina, and who for their learning were distinguished by the appellation of "The People of the Book," so great was the ignorance of the Arabs, that not a single person could be found in the whole district of Yemen, who could either read or write Arabic.

[2] In no department of science or statecraft were the leaders of the Spanish Arabs more distinguished than in the unobtrusive but all important practice of agriculture. See an essay by the Abbé Correa de Serra in tom. i. of the *Archives littéraires de l'Europe* (Paris, 1804); and Masdeu, tom. xii., 115-131. As to the

Astronomy and mathematics, chemistry and botany, medicine and surgery, intelligent agriculture and scientific irrigation, architecture and poetry, music, and all the minor arts and refinements of life, were studied and practised with success. The invention of the mariner's compass, of writing paper, and of gunpowder are claimed by the Spanish Arabs. And their philosophy, their poetry, and their historical and scientific treatises were no less celebrated than their academies, their libraries, their gardens, their fountains and their palaces.

But although the influence of Moslem philosophers upon European thought was, as we have already seen, considerable, the influence of Cordovan civilisation upon Christian Spain was infinitesimal. When the Caliphate was broken up, not by the Alfonsos or the Ferdinands, but by the religious fanatics from Africa, the old Arab culture was destroyed and despised. Yet learning did not perish. And when, 250 years later, St. Ferdinand ruled at Cordova and at Seville, and Arab refinement took refuge for a season in the kingdom of Granada, Arab science still lingered at the court of Alfonso X.; but by the end of the thirteenth century Cordovan civilisation had perished. Like a choice exotic in a northern garden, like some rare flower blooming out of due season, it had blossomed and died. The glories and the perfections of the Moslem commonwealth in the Peninsula are scarcely even a factor in the progress of Spain.

Why the ignorant children of the desert should in one hundred years have attained a degree of civilisation, in the largest sense of the word, superior to all that had gone before or that immediately followed them in western Europe—a civilisation, which after one thousand years of progress, is hardly surpassed in the modern world, is one of the enigmas of human progress. That the greatness should be the greatness of a dead past, and should count for nothing in the history of the Spanish nation, is scarcely less strange; and it is even more deplorable.

Islam, for some mysterious reason, seems incapable of founding a great civilisation.[1] Rapid progress is followed by

discovery of the mariner's compass, see Viardot, *Essai*, etc., 143-6. As to the invention of gunpowder, *ibid.*, i., 146-155. And as to the enormous advancement of the Arabs in every department of science and art, see Murphy and Shakespear, *Hist. of Mohammedan Empire in Spain*, part ii.; Draper's *Intellectual Development in Europe*, vol. ii.; Viardot, *Essai*; and Gayangos, *Mohammedan Dynasty in Spain*.

[1] L'irrémédiable faiblesse de la race arabe est dans son manque absolu d'esprit politique, et dans son incapacité de toute organisation. Anarchique par nature, l'Arabe est invincible dans la conquête, mais impuissant le jour ou il s'agit de fonder une société durable. Renan, *Mélanges* (ed. 1878), p. 283.

equally rapid decay. An Arab community cannot exist without a leader—a personal and visible head. The Roman *Republica* is not, and cannot be realised under the rule of the Mohammedan.[1] Nowhere, perhaps, has civil life and the feeling of nationality been more highly developed than among the Arabs in Spain; and yet as regards true political solidity, they were inferior to the uncultivated and ignorant barbarians who drove them out of one of the fairest of their earthly possessions. There was no national continuity under the Moslem rulers. Under Abdur Rahman the commonwealth was refined. Under Almanzor it was warlike. Under Hakam I. it meant literature. Under Hakam II. it meant anarchy.

Neither Conde or Prescott has adverted to the transition of power from the *Sharkin*—the Saracens—the people of the East, to the *Maghrebin*, or people of the West. And yet this is one of the most important facts in connection with the change of the character, and the decay of the power of the rule of Islam in Spain. When Averroës was sacrificed, Spanish Mohammedanism had already ceased to be worthy of its glorious traditions; its empire had already perished. The Almoravides were warriors. The Almohades were fanatics.[2] The Moors of Granada, indeed, were brave, and cultivated, and luxurious. But the Imperial toleration, the moral and intellectual supremacy of the great days of Cordova, hardly survived the last of the Abdur Rahmans. When Al Zagal and Boabdil gave way to the Christian, Granada no longer existed; and the sheep, without a shepherd, were devoured by their relentless enemies.[3]

II.—*The Rise of Granada.*

In the year 1228 a noble chieftain of the great tribe or family of the Beni Hud, descended from the old Moslem kings of Saragossa, rebelling against the declining authority of the fanatical Almohades, had succeeded in making himself master

[1] "La Race sémitique," says M. Renan, "n'a pas de vie civile." *Hist. des langues sémitiques*, p. 16.

[2] *Edinburgh Review*, lxviii., p. 395.

[3] Semblables a ces natures fécondes qui, après une gracieuse enfance n'arrivent qu'a une médiocre virilité, les nations sémitiques ont eu leur complet épanouissement á leur premier âge, et n'ont plus de rôle a leur âge mur. Renan, *ubi supra*, p. 14.

Yet as to the high civilisation of Granada in the middle of the fifteenth century, see Sismondi, *Repub. Ital.* (1818), ix., 405.

of Granada. Desirous of perpetuating his rule in that fairest of cities, he obtained a confirmation of his rights of sovereignty from the Caliph at far away Bagdad, and assumed the title of *Amir ul Moslemin* and *Al Mutawakal*, the commander of the Moslems, and the protected of God; and he possessed himself not only of Granada, but of Cordova, Seville, Algeciras and even Ceuta, on the opposite coast of Africa.

But a rival was not slow to appear. Mohammed *Al Ahmar*, the Fair or the Ruddy, defeated, dethroned and slew *Al Mutawakal*, and reigned in his stead in Andalusia. Despoiled in his turn of most of his possessions by St. Ferdinand of Castile, *Al Ahmar* was fain at length to content himself with the rich districts in the extreme south of the Peninsula, which are known to fame, wherever the Spanish or the English language is spoken, as the kingdom of Granada. And thus it came to pass that the city on the banks of the Darro, the home of the proud and highly cultivated Syrians of Damascus—the flower of the early Arab invaders of Spain, became also the abiding place of the later Arab civilisation, overmastered year after year, and destroyed, by the Christian armies ever pressing on to the southern sea. Yet, in the middle of the thirteenth century, the flood tide of reconquest had for the moment fairly spent itself. The Christians were not strong enough to conquer, and above all they were not numerous enough to occupy, the districts that were still peopled by the Moor; and for once, a wise and highly cultivated Christian shared the supreme power in the Peninsula with a generous and honourable Moslem. Alfonso X. sought not to extend his frontiers, but to educate his people; not to slaughter his neighbours, but to give laws to his subjects; not to plunder frontier cities, but to make Castile into a kingdom, with a history, a civilisation, and a language of her own. If the reputation of Alfonso is by no means commensurate with his true greatness, the statesmanship of Mohammed *Al Ahmar*, the founder of the ever famous kingdom of Granada, is overshadowed by his undying fame as an architect. Yet is *Al Ahmar* worthy of remembrance as a king and the parent of kings in Spain. The loyal friend and ally of his Christian neighbour, the prudent administrator of his own dominions, he collected at his Arab court a great part of the wealth, the science, and the intelligence of Spain. His empire has long ago been broken up; the Moslem has been driven out; there is no king nor kingdom of Granada. But their memory lives in the great palace fortress, whose red towers

still rise over the sparkling Darro, and whose fairy chambers are still to be seen, in what is, perhaps, the most celebrated of the wonderful works of the master builders of the world.

After his long and glorious reign of forty-two years, Mohammed the Fair was killed by a fall from his horse near Granada, and was succeeded by his son, Mohammed II., in the last days of the year 1272. *Al Ahmar* had ever remained at peace with Alfonso X., but his son, taking advantage of the king's absence in quest of an empire in Germany, sought the assistance of Yusuf, the sovereign or Emperor of Morocco, and invaded the Christian frontiers.

Victory was for some time on the side of the Moors. The Castilians were defeated at Ecija in 1275, and their leader, the Viceroy Don Nuño de Lara, was killed in battle, as was also Don Sancho, Infante of Aragon and Archbishop of Toledo, after the rout of his army at Martos, near Jaen, on the 21st of October, 1275; and the victorious Yusuf ravaged Christian Spain to the very gates of Seville.

In the next year, 1276, the Castilian armies were again twice defeated, in February at Alcoy, and in the following July at Lucena. To add to their troubles, King James of Aragon died at Valencia, in 1276. Sancho of Castile sought to depose his father Alfonso, at Valladolid. All was in confusion among the Christians; and had it not been for the defection of Yusuf of Morocco, the tide of fortune might have turned in favour of Islam. As it was, the African monarch not only abandoned his cousin of Granada, but he was actually persuaded to send a large subsidy to his Christian rival at Seville in 1280.[1]

The value of this assistance was soon felt. Tarifa was taken in 1292, and the progress of the Moor was checked for ever in southern Spain. Mohammed II. died in 1302, and was succeeded by his son, Mohammed III., who was usually considered by the Moslem historians to have been the ablest monarch of his house. But he reigned for only seven years, and he was unable to defend Gibraltar from the assaults of his Christian rivals.

From this time the court of Granada became a sort of city of refuge for the disaffected lords and princes of Castile, who sometimes, but rarely, prevailed upon their Moslem hosts to assist them in expeditions into Christian Spain, but who were always welcomed with true Arab hospitality at the Moslem capital.

[1] A hundred thousand ducats. By the diplomatic skill of Guzman the Good the hero of Tarifa. See *ante*, vol. i., chap. xxviii.

To record their various intrigues would be a vain and unpleasing task. The general course of history was hardly affected by passing alliances. The Christian pressed on—with ever-increasing territory behind him—on his road to the southern sea.

In 1319, Abdul Walid or Ismail I. of Granada defeated and slew Don Pedro and Don Juan, Infantes of Castile, at a place near Granada, still known as the Sierra de los Infantes. But no important consequences followed the victory.

In the reign of Yusuf [1333-1354] was fought the great battle of the Salado [1340], when the Christians, under Alfonso XI., were completely successful; and the capitulation of Algeciras three years later deprived the Moslems of an important harbour and seaport.[1] Day by day, almost hour by hour—the Christians encroached upon Granada, even while cultivating the political friendship and accepting the private hospitality of the Moslem. Their treacherous intervention reached its climax in 1362, when, as we have already seen, Peter the Cruel decoyed the King Abu Said, under his royal safe-conduct, to the palace at Seville, and slew him with his own hand.

With Mohammed or Maulai al Aisar, or the Left-handed, the affairs of Granada became more intimately connected with the serious history of Spain. Al Hayzari, proclaimed king in 1423, and dethroned soon after by his cousin, another Mohammed, in 1427, sought and found refuge at the court of John II., by whose instrumentality he was restored to his throne at the Alhambra in 1429. Yet within four years a rival sovereign, Yusuf, had secured the support of the fickle Christian, and Muley the Left-handed was forced a second time to fly from his capital. Once again, by the sudden death of the new usurper, he returned to reign at Granada, and once again for the third time he was supplanted by a more fortunate rival, who reigned as Mohammed IX. for nearly ten years [1445-1454]. At the end of this period, however, another pretender was despatched from the Christian court, and after much fighting and intrigue, Mohammed ibn Ismail, a nephew of Maulai or Muley the Left-handed drove out the reigning sovereign, and succeeded him as Mohammed X.

Yet were the dominions of this ally unceasingly ravaged by his Christian neighbours. Gibraltar, Archidona and much surrounding territory were taken by the forces of Henry IV. and his nobles; and a treaty was at length concluded in 1464, in which

[1] The death of Alfonso XI. as he was about to invest Gibraltar has been spoken of, *ante*, chapters xvii., xxviii.

it was agreed that Mohammed of Granada should hold his kingdom under the protection of Castile, and should pay an annual subsidy or tribute of 12,000 gold ducats. It was thus, on the death, in 1466, of this Mohammed Ismail of Granada, a vexed and harassed throne that was inherited by his son Muley Abul Hassan, ever famous in history and romance as *The Old King*—the last independent sovereign of Granada.[1]

III.—*Boabdil.*

For many years after his accession this Muley Abul Hassan was induced either by honour or by prudence to maintain the existing treaties with his Christian neighbours. He did not even take advantage of their civil wars in Castile to add to the difficulties of Isabella, either by independent invasion or by alliance with her enemies; and in the spring of 1476, he sought a formal renewal of the old Treaty of Peace.[2]

The ever grasping Ferdinand made his acceptance of the king's proposal contingent upon the grant of an annual tribute; and he sent an envoy to the Moslem court to negotiate the terms of payment. But the reply of Abul Hassan was decisive. "Steel," said he, "not gold, was what Ferdinand should have from Granada!" Disappointed of their subsidy, and unprepared for war, the Christian sovereigns were content to renew the treaty, with a mental reservation that as soon as a favourable opportunity should present itself, they would drive every Moslem not only out of Granada, but out of Spain.[3]

For five years there was peace between Abul Hassan and the Catholic sovereigns. The commencement of hostilities was the capture of Zahara by the Moslems at the close of the year 1481; which was followed early in the next year 1482, by the conquest of the far more important Moorish stronghold of Alhama, not by

[1] A good deal of light has been thrown upon the history of some of the later Moslem kings in Granada by the discoveries of tombs at Tlemcen in Algiers by Monsieur Brosselard, sometime Prefect of Oran, whose work, published by the French Government in 1876, *Mémoire épigraphique et historique sur les tombeaux des emirs Beni zeiyam, et de Boabdil, dernier roi de Grenade*, is one of great originality and interest.

[2] Muley (Maulāi) is an Arabic word meaning "my lord".
Abu el Hassan = the father of Hassan. The name is often written Aben Hassan, and in many less intelligible ways. Abul Hassan is perhaps a convenient, as it is a fairly accurate, transliteration.

[3] *Conquistar el Reyno de Granada y lanzar de todas las Españas los Moros y el nombre de Mahoma.* Pulgar, *Cronica*, 180.

the troops of Ferdinand and Isabella, but by the followers of Ponce de Leon, the celebrated Marquis of Cadiz. Alhama was not merely a fortress. It was a treasure-house and a magazine; and it was but five or six leagues from Granada. The town was sacked with the usual horrors. The Marquis of Cadiz having made good his position within the walls, defied all the attacks of Abul Hassan; and at the same time sent messengers to every Christian lord in Andalusia to come to his assistance—to all save one, his hereditary enemy, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, chief of the great family of the Guzmans. Yet it was this generous rival, who assembling all his chivalry and retainers, was the first to appear before the walls of Alhama, and relieve the Christians from the threatened assault of the Moslem.[1] The days of civil discord had passed away in Castile; and against united Christendom, Islam could not long exist in Spain.

Meanwhile, Ferdinand, seeing that war had finally broken out, started from Medina del Campo, and marched with all speed to Cordova, where he was joined by Isabella early in April, 1482. The Inquisition had now been for over a year in full blast at Seville. The fires of persecution had been fairly lighted. The reign of bigotry had begun, and the king and queen were encouraged to proceed from the plunder of the Jews or New Christians, to the plunder of the Moslems. Ferdinand accordingly repaired in person to Alhama, with a large train of prelates and ecclesiastics of lower degree. The city was solemnly purified. Three mosques were consecrated by the Cardinal of Spain for Christian worship. Bells, crosses, plate, altar cloths were furnished without stint; and Alhama having been thus restored to civilisation, Ferdinand descended upon the fruitful valley or *Vega* of Granada, destroyed the crops, cut down the fruit trees, uprooted the vines, and without having encountered a single armed enemy in the course of his crusade, returned in triumph to Cordova.[2] A more arduous enterprise in the following July was not attended with the same success, when Ferdinand attacked the important town of Loja, and was repulsed with great loss of Christian life. An expedition

[1] Alfonso de Aguilar, the elder brother of Gonsalvo de Cordova, was less fortunate; and his army was repulsed by the Moors. It may give some idea of the power and importance of the great Castilian lords to know that the Duke of Medina Sidonia's *private* army numbered about 5000 horse and 40,000 foot!

[2] The king's army was accompanied by professional destroyers—*Taladores* or *Gastadores*—whose duty it was to cut down every fruit tree, trample down every field of corn, root up every vine, tear up every garden, burn every defenceless house, while the braver soldiers occupied themselves with the enemy in arms. Pulgar, *Cronica*, 226.

against Malaga, later in the year, undertaken by Alfonso de Cardenas, Grand Master of Santiago, and the Marquis of Cadiz, was even more disastrous, for a small body of Moors in the mountain defiles of the Axarquia fell upon the Christian marauders, and no less than 400 "persons of quality" are said to have perished in the retreat, including thirty commanders of the great military order of Santiago. The grand master, the Marquis of Cadiz and Don Alfonso de Aguilar escaped as by a miracle, and the survivors straggled into Loja and Antequera and Malaga, leaving Abul Hassan and his brother *Al Zagal*, or the Valiant, with all the honours of war.[1]

But the successes of the Moor in the field were more than counterbalanced by treason in the palace. By Zoraya,[2] a lady of Christian ancestry, Muley Abul Hassan had a son, Abu Abdallah, who has earned a sad notoriety under the more familiar name of Boabdil. Jealous of some rival, or ambitious of greater power, the Sultana and her son intrigued against their sovereign, and having escaped from the State prison, in which they were at first prudently confined, raised the standard of revolt, and compelled Abul Hassan, who was thenceforth more usually spoken of as *The Old King*, to seek refuge on the sea coast at Malaga.

Boabdil, jealous of the success of his father and his uncle at Loja and in the Axarquia, and anxious to confirm his power by some striking victory over the Christians, took the field and confronted the forces of the Count of Cabra, near Lucena. The battle was hotly contested, but victory remained with the Christians. Ali Atar, the bravest of the Moorish generals, was slain by the hand of Alfonso de Augilar, and Boabdil himself was taken prisoner by a common soldier, Hurtado by name, and fell into the hands of the victorious Count of Cabra.[3] The

[1] A full and *romantic* account of all their warlike operations will be found in Washington Irving's *Conquest of Granada*.

[2] Prescott is confused about *Ayesha* and *Zoraya*. The queen was *Ayesha*, a good Muslimin. The concubine was *Zoraya*, an Andalusian Christian, and no Greek. It was her supposed rival in the harem that is said to have been a Greek slave. *Zoraya* is said by D. Pascual Gayangos to signify *The Morning Star*. But the Arab word is somewhat uncertain. The lady's real name was Doña Isabel de Solis, and she was a daughter of Don Juan de Solis, governor of Martos. On the taking of this stronghold by the Moors, Doña Isabel was taken captive to Granada, and destined for the royal harem. *Cf.* Francisco Martinez de la Rosa, *Doña Isabel de Solis*, Madrid, 1839, *passim*.

[3] The title of Don (see *ante*, vol. i., p. 108) was granted to the Count of Cabra for this good fortune, as it was afterwards granted to Columbus for having discovered a new world. As to the origin and significance of the title itself, possibly from the Hebrew *Adon*, rather than the Latin *Dominus*, see Saez, *Demostracion de Monedas*, etc. (ed. 1796), pp. 320-336.

captivity of Boabdil, the Little King, *el Rey Chico*, as he was called by the Castilians, was the turning point in the history of the Moorish dominion in Spain. Released on payment of a magnificent ransom provided by his mother Zoraya, and bound to his Christian captors by a humiliating treaty, he returned to Granada, disgraced and dishonoured, as the ally of the enemies of his country. Driven out of the capital by the forces of his father, who had returned to occupy the great palace-fortress of Alhambra, Boabdil and his mother retired to Almeria, the second city in the kingdom; and the whole country was distracted by civil war.

Yet for four years the Castilians refrained from any important expedition against Granada. Their tactics were rather those of Scipio at Numantia. For delay was all in favour of disintegration.

Yet the merciless devastation of fields and crops was carried on with systematic and dreadful completeness. Thirty thousand destroyers of peaceful homesteads, granaries, farm-houses and mills were constantly at work, and ere long there was scarce a vineyard or an oliveyard, scarce an orchard or an orange-grove existing within reach of the Christian borders. Under cover of the treaty with Boabdil, this devilish enginery of destruction was steadily pushed forward, while *The Old King* and his more vigorous brother *El Zagal*[1] were prevented by domestic treason from making any effectual defence of their fatherland. Some of the border towns, moreover, fell into the hands of the Christians, and many forays were undertaken which produced rich booty for the marauders. Ferdinand in the meantime occupied himself rather with the affairs of the Inquisition and of foreign policy, while Isabella was personally superintending the enormous preparations for a final attack on Granada. Artillery was cast in large quantities, and artificers imported from France and Italy; large stores of ammunition were procured from Flanders. Nothing was hurried; nothing was spared; nothing was forgotten by Isabella. A camp hospital, the first, it is said, in the history of warfare, was instituted by the queen, whose energy was indefatigable, whose powers of organisation were boundless, and whose determination was inflexible. To represent her as a tender and timid princess, is to turn her true greatness into ridicule. But her vigour, her prudence, and her perseverance are beyond the vulgar praise of history.

[1] *Al Zagal*, the valiant. Viardot strangely enough has it *el saghir*, the young or the little = *el chico*, the nickname of Boabdil.

Meanwhile, Granada was gradually withering away. The "pomegranate," as Ferdinand had forseen and foretold, was losing one by one the seeds of which the rich and lovely fruit had once been all compact. *The Old King*, defeated but not disgraced, blind, infirm and unfortunate, was succeeded too late by his more capable brother, *Al Zagal*, a gallant warrior, a skilful commander and a resolute ruler. But if "the valiant one" might hardly have held his own against the enormous resources of the Christians in Europe, he was powerless against the combination of foreign vigour and domestic treachery. The true conqueror of Granada is Boabdil, the rebel and the traitor, who has been euphemistically surnamed the Unlucky (*Al Zogoibi*). Innocent, perchance, of the massacre of the brave Abencerrages, he is guilty of the blood of his country.[1]

The capture of Velez Malaga by Ferdinand, already well supplied with a powerful train of artillery, in April, 1487—while *Al Zagal* was fighting for his life against Boabdil in Granada—was soon followed by the reduction, after a most heroic defence, of the far more important city of Malaga in August, 1487. But the heroism of the Moslem woke no generous echo in the hearts of either Ferdinand or Isabella. The entire population of the captured city, men, women and children —some 15,000 souls—were reduced to slavery, and distributed not only over Spain, but over Europe.[2]

A hundred choice warriors were sent as a gift to the Pope. Fifty of the most beautiful girls were presented to the Queen of Naples, thirty more to the Queen of Portugal, others to the ladies of her court, and the residue of both sexes were portioned off among the nobles, the knights, and the common soldiers of the army, according to their rank and influence.[3]

For the Jews and renegades a more dreadful doom was reserved; and the flames in which they perished were, in the words of a contemporary ecclesiastic, "the illuminations most grateful to the Catholic piety of Ferdinand and Isabella".[4]

[1] The Abencerrages, or *Beni Sarâi*, were an old Cordovan family.

[2] For the generosity as well as the heroism of the Moslem garrison, see Pulgar, cap. xci.; Bernaldez, cap. lxxxiv.; and Hita, *Guerras de Granada*, i., 257. Boabdil actually waylaid and dispersed the army of his uncle on its march from Granada to relieve the gallant defenders of Malaga. Folly and wickedness could no further go, and a country which could tolerate such conduct positively deserved to perish.

[3] Pulgar, Bernaldez, Peter Mart., *Epist.*, i., 62-63; Prescott, i., 410-11.

[4] Albarca, *Reyes de Aragon*, ii., 30. Prescott states, without any authority, that this "dreadful sentence was obviously most repugnant to Isabella's natural

The town was repeopled by Christian immigrants, to whom the lands and houses of the Moslem owners were granted with royal liberality by the victors. The fall of Malaga, the second seaport and the third city of the kingdom of Granada, was a grievous loss to the Moors; and the Christian blockade was drawn closer both by land and by sea. Yet an invasion of the eastern provinces, undertaken by Ferdinand himself in 1488, was repulsed by El Zagal; and the Christian army was disbanded as usual at the close of the year, without having extended the Christian dominions.

But in the spring of 1489 greater efforts were made. The Castilians sat down before the town of Baza, not far from Jaen, and after a siege which lasted until the following December, the city surrendered, not as in the case of Malaga, without conditions, but upon honourable terms of capitulation, which the assailants, who had only been prevented by the arrival of Isabella from raising the siege, were heartily glad to accept. The fall of Baza was of more than passing importance, for it was followed by the capitulation of Almeria, the second city in the kingdom, and by the submission of *Al Zagal*, who renounced as hopeless the double task of fighting against his nephew at the Alhambra, and resisting the Christian sovereigns who had already overrun his borders. The fallen monarch passed over to Africa, where he died in indigence and misery, the last of the great Moslem rulers of Spain.[1]

In the spring of 1490, Ferdinand, already master of the greater part of the Moorish kingdom, sent a formal summons to his bondsman, Boabdil, to surrender to him the city of Granada; and that wretched and most foolish traitor, who had refrained from action when action might have saved his country, now defied the victorious Christians, when his defiance could only lead to further suffering and greater disaster.

Throughout the summer of 1490, Ferdinand, in person, devoted himself to the odious task of the devastation of the entire *Vega* of Granada, and the depopulation of the town of Guadix. But in the spring of the next year, Isabella, who was ever the life and soul of the war, took up her position within

disposition," and asks our approbation of his heroine's conduct in declining certain ecclesiastical suggestions that *every one* of the inhabitants should be put to the sword. See *Ferdinand and Isabella*, i., 411.

[1] Cardonne, iii., 304; Conde, iii., 245; Pet. Mart., lib. iii., *Epist.*, 81.

six miles of the city, and pitched her camp at Ojos de Huescar at the very gate of Granada.[1]

And here was found assembled, not only all the best blood of Castile, but volunteers and mercenary troops from various countries in Europe. France, England, Italy, and even Germany, each provided their contingent; and a body of Swiss soldiers of fortune showed the gallant cavaliers of the Christian army the power and the value of a well-disciplined infantry. Among the foreigners who had come over to Spain in 1486 was an English lord, the Earl of Rivers, known by the Spaniards as el Conde de Escalas, from his family name of Scales, whose magnificence attracted the admiration of all, even at the magnificent court of Isabella.[2]

But the destruction of Granada was not brought about by these gilded strangers, nor even by the brilliant knights and nobles of Spain. It was not due to skilful engineers nor to irresistible commanders. The gates were opened by no victory. The walls were scaled by no assault. The Christian success was due to the patient determination of Isabella, to the decay and disintegration of the Moorish commonwealth, and, to some extent, to the skilful negotiation and diplomatic astuteness of a young soldier whose early influence upon the fortunes of Spain have been overshadowed by the greatness of his late achievements.

For among all the splendid knights and nobles who assem-

[1] The events of the last war of Granada are much confused. The following sequence, with approximate dates, has been carefully prepared, and may assist the reader to form a somewhat clearer idea of the history:—

Surprise of Zahara	December,	1481
Capture of Alhama	February,	1482
Ferdinand's visit to Alhama	May,	1482
Christian defeat at Loja	July,	1482
Rout in the Axarquia	March,	1483
Defeat and capture of Boabdil at Lucena ...	April,	1483
Treaty between Boabdil and Ferdinand ...	August,	1483
Accession of *Al Zagal*	January,	1484
Capture of Ronda	June,	1485
,, Loja	May,	1486
,, Velez Malaga	April,	1487
,, Malaga	August,	1487
Repulse of Ferdinand in eastern Granada ...	June,	1488
Siege and surrender of Baza	May to Dec.,	1489
Ravage of the *Vega*	April and May,	1490
Final siege and capitulation of the city ...	25th November,	1491
Entry of the Christian Sovereigns	2nd January,	1492

[2] Peter Martyr, lib. i., *Ep.*, 62; Bernaldez, cap. lxxviii. Lord Rivers left Spain in 1487.

bled in the camp of Isabella, the chroniclers well-nigh overlooked a gay cavalier of modest fortune, the younger brother of Alfonso de Aguilar—distinguished rather as a fop than a warrior—Gonsalvo Hernandez of Cordova, whose fame was destined to eclipse that of all his companions in arms, and who has earned an undying reputation in the history of three countries as *The Great Captain.*

IV.—*Gonsalvo de Cordova.*

The life of Gonsalvo de Cordova is interesting as being the history of a brave soldier and an accomplished general, who flourished at a very important period of the history of Europe. But it is further and much more interesting as being the history of a man who united in himself many of the characteristics of ancient and of modern times. His bravery was the bravery of an old Castilian knight, and although he had many splendid rivals, he was pronounced by common consent to be their superior. Yet his individual courage was the least remarkable of his qualities. He was a general, such as the Western world had not known for a thousand years, and he was the first diplomatist of modern Europe. In personal valour, in knightly courtesy, in brave display, he was of his own time. In astute generalship, and in still more astute diplomacy, he may be said to have inaugurated a new era; and although greater commanders have existed after him, as well as before him, he will always be known as "The Great Captain".

The conquest of Granada marks an epoch, not only in the history of Spain, but in the history of Europe; and Gonsalvo was the hero of Granada. The expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy is a subject of almost romantic interest, very nearly preferred by Gibbon to his own immortal theme; and Gonsalvo in Italy was the admired of all French and Italian admirers. The succeeding expedition of Louis XII. was scarcely less interesting, and the part played by Gonsalvo was even more remarkable. At his birth artillery was almost unknown. At his death it had become the most formidable arm of offence; it had revolutionised the rules and manner of warfare; and it was employed by The Great Captain in both his Italian campaigns with marked skill and success.

Gonsalvo Hernandez was born at Montilla, near Cordova,

in 1453, of the noble and ancient family of the Aguilars.[1] After a boyhood and youth devoted, not only to every manly sport and pursuit, and to the practice of arms, but to the study of letters, and more especially of the Arabic language, he made his first appearance in serious warfare on the field of Olmedo, fighting under the banner of the Marquis of Villena. On the death of Prince Alfonso, Gonsalvo returned to Cordova. His father had already died; and according to the Spanish law of primogeniture the whole of the rich estates of the family of Aguilar passed, on the death of Don Pedro, to his eldest son Alfonso, while nothing but a little personal property, a great name, a fine person, and "the hope of what he might gain by his good fortune or his valour" was inherited by his younger brother.

Cordova was obviously too small a field for Gonsalvo de Aguilar; and in the course of the eventful year 1474, having just arrived at man's estate, he proceeded to Segovia, and distinguished himself among the young nobles who crowded to the court of Isabella, by his prowess at tournaments and all warlike games and exercises; and he soon became celebrated for his personal beauty as well as for his valour, distinguished for his fascinating manners, and, above all, by an eloquence rarely found in a young soldier of two-and-twenty. He was generally known as "the Prince of the Youth"; and he supported the character by an almost royal liberality and ostentatious expenditure entirely incompatible with his modest fortune.

In the war of succession between Isabella and her niece, Gonsalvo served under Alfonso de Cardenas, Grand Master of Santiago, in command of a troop of 120 horsemen; and he particularly distinguished himself at the battle of Albuera.

And now, in the camp before Granada, he was well pleased once more to sun himself in the smiles of his queen and patroness, whose presence in the camp inspired every soldier with

[1] It is certain, says Paul Jove, that his ancestors were noble and valiant warriors of very ancient lineage, for they called themselves Aquilari, and, as may be supposed, it was by virtue of their illustrious achievements that they bore the noble ensign of the legions of Rome. Whether, indeed, the Aguilars of the fifteenth century were descended from Roman or from Gothic ancestors, they bore the eagle in their arms, and though living in the great Moorish province of Cordova, they were undoubtedly entitled to the epithet of "Old Christians"—that is to say, their lineage was free from any taint of Moorish or Jewish blood. Their patronymic was, however, also written, though incorrectly, by contemporary poets and historians, "*Agidario*," "*Agellario*," and in Italian, "*Aghilar*," which last merely represents the true Spanish pronunciation of the word Aguilar.

enthusiasm. Isabella appeared on the field superbly mounted and dressed in complete armour, and continually visited the different quarters, and held reviews of the troops. On one occasion she expressed a desire to have a nearer view of the city, and a picked body of men, among whom was Gonsalvo de Cordova, commanded by the Marquis Duke of Cadiz, escorted her to the little village of Zubia, within a short distance of Granada. The citizens, indignant at the near approach of so small a force, sallied out and attacked them. The Christians, however, stood their ground so bravely, and performed such prodigies of valour under the very eyes of Isabella herself, that no less than 2000 Moslems are said to have fallen in that memorable affray.[1]

It happened one night about the middle of July, that the drapery of the tent or pavilion in which Isabella was lodged took fire; and the conflagration was not extinguished until several of the neighbouring tents had been consumed. The queen and her attendants escaped unhurt, but a general consternation prevailed throughout the camp, until it was discovered that no more serious loss had been experienced than that of the queen's wardrobe.

Gonsalvo, however, who on more than one occasion showed himself at least as practical a courtier as Sir Walter Raleigh, immediately sent an express to Illora, and obtained such a supply of fine clothes from his wife Doña Maria Manrique, that the queen herself was amazed, as much at their magnificence, as at the rapidity with which they had been obtained.

But this incident led to even more important results than the amiable pillage of Doña Maria's wardrobe, for in order to guard against a similar disaster, as well as to provide comfortable winter quarters for the troops, Isabella determined to construct a sufficient number of houses of solid masonry, to provide quarters for the besieging army, a design which was carried out in less than three months. This martial and Christian town, which received the appropriate name of Santa Fé, may be still seen by the traveller in the *Vega* of Granada, and is pointed out by good Catholics as the only town in Andalusia that has never been contaminated by the Moslem.

[1] After the conquest of Zahara, the gallant Ponce de Leon, Marquis of Cadiz, was created a duke, but unwilling to resign the older title under which he had won his laurels, ever afterwards subscribed himself and was called by his contemporaries, Marquis Duke of Cadiz. (Just as the favourite of Philip IV., Count de Olivares, after he was made Duke of St. Lucar was always called "the Count Duke of Olivares," never Duke of St. Lucar.—H.)

But in spite of the attractions of all these feats of arms and exhibitions of magnificence, and of all the personal display and rash adventure which savours so much more of mediæval chivalry than of modern warfare, Gonsalvo was more seriously engaged in the schemes and negotiations which contributed almost as much as the prowess of the Christian arms to the fall of Granada. He had spies everywhere. He knew what was going on in Granada better than Boabdil. He knew what was going on in the camp better than Ferdinand. His familiarity with Arabic enabled him to maintain secret communications with recreant Moors, without the dangerous intervention of an interpreter. He kept up constant communications with Illora, and having obtained the allegiance or friendship of the Moorish chief, Ali Atar, he gained possession of the neighbouring fortress of Mondejar. He sent presents, in truly Oriental style, to many of the Moorish leaders in Granada who favoured the party of Boabdil, and he was at length chosen by Isabella as the most proper person to conduct the negotiations that led to the treaty of capitulation, which was signed on the 25th of November, 1491.

The nature and the effect of this convention are well known. The triumphal entry of the Christians into the old Moslem capital; "the last sigh of the Moor," and the setting up of the cross in the palace-citadel of Alhambra, not only form one of the most glowing pages in the romance of history, but they mark an epoch in the annals of the world.[1]

[1] The taking of Granada was a subject of rejoicing throughout Christendom, and it is worthy of remark that a *Te Deum*, to return thanks for the success of the Christian arms, was sung in St. Paul's in London, by order of King Henry VII., in the presence of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Mayor, and all the nobles and prelates that were about the court.

For the terms of the capitulation of Granada, see Conde, *Dom. de los Arabes*, iii., 42, and Zurita, ii., 90. The capitulation, ajustada entre los Reyes catolicos y el ultimo Rey de Granada Boabdil, 25th November, 1491, is printed *in extenso* in tom. viii. of the *Documentos Ineditos*, etc., pp. 411, 436. The original is still preserved at Simancas.

CHAPTER XLII.

COLUMBUS.

(1474—1494.)

I.—*The Genoese Adventurer.*

The honour of the discovery of a new world in the Western Hemisphere has been consistently claimed by Spain; and to Isabella of Castile has usually been allowed the principal share in the ever-memorable enterprise of Columbus.

But no country and no sovereign ruler may justly enjoy the honour of the conception, the prosecution, and the realisation of the most memorable voyage in history. To one man, and to one man alone—the peaceful hero of two worlds—are due the glory and the renown. Columbus was an Italian; yet Italy had neither part nor lot in his work. The best days of his manhood were spent in Portugal; yet the Portuguese, albeit the pioneers of the ocean, scornfully rejected his proposals. For eight long years after he had passed into Spain, his projects met with no more intelligent regard; and the permission so long and so vainly sought, that he might endow the nation with a new world of boundless wealth and inestimable opportunities, was at last granted by the indifferent Isabella, only at the entreaties of a monk and a waiting woman.

It is due indeed to the uncommon intelligence of a forgotten Churchman[1] rather than to the wisdom or discernment of any queen or king or statesman in Spain, that from Palos in Andalusia, and not from any foreign port, the Genoese mariner was at length

[1] So far forgotten that his name has been mixed up with that of one of his subordinate friars, to whom is also due the credit of encouraging Columbus. But Fray Juan Perez was the prior and ex-confessor of the queen; Antonio Marchena was a humbler if an intelligent friar of La Rabida. "Juan Antonio Perez de Marchena" is one of the fantastic heroes of history.

permitted to set forth to annex a golden continent to the growing empire of Castile.

The affairs of America are necessarily excluded from the scope of a short history of Spain. Nor did the discoveries of Columbus exercise so great an influence upon the political or even the social condition of the Peninsula during the lifetime of Ferdinand the Catholic, as to render a study of the affairs of America and the Indies necessary to a due understanding of the position of Old Spain.

The story must therefore be told in a very few words. The early life of the great Italian forms no part of the history of Spain. Born in Genoa, probably between the years 1436 and 1441, Christoforo Colombo betook himself in 1470 to the great maritime port of Lisbon, seeking adventure beyond sea. A man of science and a man of action, he worked hard and he thought much. A practical seaman and a student of geography and mathematics, he speculated as a student, and sought to substantiate his speculation as a sailor.

In 1476 or 1477 he married a Portuguese wife [1] and settled at Lisbon, where he occupied himself with the manufacture and sale of charts and such nautical instruments as were then known to the leading maritime explorers of the world. After voyages to Iceland, to the coast of Guinea and to the Cape de Verd Islands, more than half-way between Lisbon and Cape St. Roque; after a residence of some years at Porto Santo; after much study and consideration, he submitted to John II. of Portugal a detailed and well-reasoned scheme for a voyage to the great undiscovered continent of the West.[2]

Nothing could be done in the fifteenth century without the

[1] His wife, Filippa Muñiz de Palestrello, or Perestello, was the daughter of an Italian navigator, at one time governor of the island of Porto Santo. See Elton, *Career of Columbus* (1892), pp. 72-78. His widow handed over to her son-in-law, all her husband's charts, papers and instruments, which were not only of the utmost value to Columbus in his actual business, but in his speculations for more distant voyages. Navarrete, *Viages*, Introduction, p. 81.

[2] As to the importance of their residence at the busy port of Porto Santo to the speculations of Columbus, see Elton, *Career of Columbus* (1892), pp. 72-89. Among other voyages certainly undertaken by the great navigator before that of Santo Domingo, a voyage to Iceland is usually included. See Clements Markham, *Columbus* (1892). For a very careful consideration of the evidence for this strange voyage, and for some suggestions and notes upon the possible connection, in days long anterior to Columbus, of the Icelanders and Greenlanders with North America, see Harrisse, *The Discovery of North America*, and Elton, *ubi supra*, pp. 99-168. (The authority for Columbus' voyage to Iceland is his own statement. "I sailed in the year 1477 in the month of February beyond Ultra Thule island a hundred leagues."—H.)

approbation of the Church; and the Ecclesiastical Council to which the proposal was duly submitted[1] had no hesitation in deciding that it was absurd. The Bishop of Ceuta, however, more crafty or more enlightened than his fellows, desired that this adverse report should not be communicated to Columbus, but that he should be amused with false hopes, whilst a vessel was fitted out and secretly despatched to seek for his new world. The pirate adventurer duly sailed; but having reached the Cape de Verd Islands and the Sargosso Sea she was driven back by storms, and lost her reckoning; and her captain, returning discomfited to Lisbon, reported that the voyage was impossible. The information thus obtained was scornfully conveyed to the Genoese dreamer by the well-satisfied councillors.

Disappointed, bereaved, ruined, but not hopeless, Christoforo took his little son Diego by the hand, and trudged out of Lisbon in the late autumn of 1484, a poorer and a sadder man than he had entered the city more than ten years before. Two hundred long miles did the humble traveller wend his way through the wild Alemtejo into the Andalusian province of Huelva, carrying in his wallet the title deeds of a new world.

Three or four miles nearer to the Straits of Gibraltar than the little town of Palos, and over-looking the far-famed Rio Tinto, stood and stands the old Franciscan Monastery of Santa Maria de la Rabida,[2] ever memorable in the earlier scenes of the great drama of which Columbus was the protagonist. And on the evening of the last day of January, 1485, the traveller and his child, weary after their long tramp from Lisbon, stood at the convent gate to ask for food and for shelter. The food and the shelter were not denied. A young monk, moreover, Fray Antonio Marchena, listened eagerly to the strange schemes that were laid before him by the grateful wayfarer, and even aroused the sympathy of his brethren. The good friar, in fine, agreed to undertake the care and the education of the little Diego, and

[1] The Bishop of Ceuta, the Bishop of Viseu, and two medical doctors, Roderic and Joseph, composed the court of inquiry. The verdict was unanimous against Columbus and his schemes.

[2] *Rabida*, from the Arabic, *Murabid* or *Murabit*, a soldier stationed on the frontier. See *Ed. Rev.*, lxviii., p. 394. The word is not given by Dozy and Engelmann. See note on *Almoravides*, vol. i., p. 188.

As to La Rabida *historically*, see the Duc de Montpensier's Monograph, "*La Rabida y Cristobal Colon*," 1855. (It is only right to say that very considerable, and apparently well grounded, difference of opinion exists as to Columbus' movements at this time. On good evidence it seems to me probable that he *sailed* from Lisbon for Huelva where he had relatives, but was driven by storm to Palos, and then walked by La Rabida to Huelva.—H.)

assisted the adventurer to proceed on his way to Seville. Further encouragement was soon found in the patronage and hospitality of the great La Cerda, Count, afterwards (1492) Duke, of Medina Celi;[1] and in the spring of 1486 Columbus, who had by that time adopted the Spanish patronymic of Colon, was presented to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella.[2] The fair-haired blue-eyed Genoese stood face to face with the fair-haired blue-eyed Castilian.

Instinctively attracted, as she was, by great men of any kind, unerring in her choice of ministers and councillors, Isabella may have sympathised with Columbus; but she was entirely incapable of understanding his speculations.[3] Yet the man himself at once commanded her attention.

Of almost heroic stature, in dignity of presence scarce inferior

[1] The duke and count were almost equal in rank among the Goths; the titles were frequently united in the same noble. In the eighth Council of Toledo, some of the Palatines sign as *Comes et Dux*. This double title was borne by Olivarez, the celebrated minister of Philip IV., better known in Spain as the *Conde Duque*. It was resumed by the late Duchess of Osuna, who, being Countess of Benavente in her own right, entitled herself "La Condesa Duquesa". To have called herself "Duchess Countess" would have sounded in her Castilian ears as an heraldic *bathos*, although she derived grandeeship from each title alike, and knew, of course, that the style of count in olden times was almost royal. Although the title of duke necessarily implies grandeeship, it by no means follows that every grandee is a duke; many are only marquises or counts; Alcañices (who, however, is also Duke of Sexto.—H.), Puñorostro, Chinchon and others. "Title, in fact, is of no importance; the real rank consists in being a grandee, who are all perfectly equal amongst each other. Formerly there existed three classes of grandeeship; the first, *la primera clase* (into which the other two have been absorbed), put on their hats in the royal presence *before* the king spoke to them; the second class covered themselves *after* the king had spoken to them; the third remained bareheaded until the king had spoken to them and they had answered."

These divisions into orders and classes, each of less dignity than another, were so many gradual processes by which the kings contrived to break down the remnant of *Rico-Ombria*, by making rank more and more dependent on the crown. The rank of grandeeship is conferred, not by giving a camp kettle, as in the case of older titles in Spain, but by the king addressing the individual with the word *cubrid-os*, cover yourself; whence the dignity is, as in the case of a cardinal, called a hat, from the tendency to materialise everything, and respect the form, emblem and substance, more than the essence, spirit and principle. The civility shown to the hat of a visitor is very marked among the formal gentry of the provinces of Spain. *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxii., p. 105, article by Richard Ford.

[2] It should be explained that after ineffectually applying to the head of the Guzmans, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, Columbus addressed himself to Medina-Celi, who undertook to fit out an expedition for him. When this came to the ears of the Sovereigns they considered that the project should not be in private hands, and Columbus was summoned to court at Cordova, where he arrived in January, 1486, three months before the monarchs, whom he first saw in May, 1486.—H.

[3] In the whole of Peter Martyr's voluminous correspondence upon almost every possible question or matter, done, spoken of, or even thought of at the court of Isabella, no reference whatever is made to Columbus or to his scheme before his return from his first voyage.

to the Queen of Castile, as proud as he was enthusiastic, and in good sooth one of the great ones of the earth, Columbus was easily recognised by Isabella as a man eminently worthy of her patronage; and he was permitted to unfold his schemes. The queen was pleased, if not convinced; and the project was once more referred to an ecclesiastical council, under the presidency of Talavera, the queen's confessor.

The report was entirely adverse. The scheme was pronounced to be impracticable, if not impious. The stranger's geographical theories indeed savoured of heresy; and had it not been that Talavera was one of the mildest of Churchmen, the speculator might have been handed over to the tender mercies of the Holy Office. Yet, it was due to another ecclesiastic, himself to be known in later years as one of the most vigorous rulers of the Spanish Inquisition, that Columbus did not at once quit Spain in disgust.

Diego Deza, a distinguished doctor of Salamanca, then occupied the honourable and important office of tutor to the Prince of Asturias, and the adventurer, dismissed by Talavera and disregarded by his royal mistress, contrived in some way to find favour in the sight of the future Grand Inquisitor of Spain. The court had moved from Cordova to Salamanca. Columbus followed. The sovereigns gave no further encouragement. Many of the noble courtiers, however, Cardinal Mendoza, the good Count of Tendilla, Alfonso de Quintillana, and others of less importance, took a kindly interest in the schemes of the stranger, and provided for his material necessities. But the court and the council showed no favour to the great geographer. A fairer face it was than that of Guzman or of Mendoza that kept Columbus a willing prisoner in Spain, in spite of all his disappointments and rebuffs.

Beatriz de Arana, the mother of his son Ferdinand, whether she was lawfully married to Columbus or no, was in every respect a worthy, as she was an affectionate companion, and she was honoured and cherished by her great lover all the days of his life. And in her society he found solace and encouragement, during five long years of royal and official neglect. Meanwhile, his younger brother Bartholomew, who had sought in vain the countenance of Henry VII. of England, had betaken himself in search of better fortune to the court of Anne de Beaujeu, the Regent of France. But neither in Spain nor in France did the scheme find favour with the palace.

1488 passed away, 1489, 1490, and at length Christobal Colon, well-nigh forgotten at the court of Castile, determined to join his brother in Paris. Yet he would bid farewell, ere he started, to his earliest friend in Spain, the young Fray Antonio Marchena at La Rabida. And in July, 1491, just seven years after he had first knocked at the gate of Palos, he once more presented himself at the old convent by the Rio Tinto.

It was a turning point in the history of the world. For within the walls of La Rabida was Fray Juan Perez, now superior of the monastery, once confessor to the Queen of Castile; and ere Columbus turned his back for ever upon Spain, the good priest heard his story, and saw, as no man had yet seen in Europe, the transcendent importance of his speculations.

Isabella was with the army before Granada—in the camp city of Santa Fé—200 miles, as the crow flies, from the monastery of La Rabida. But old Juan Perez was not daunted by distance. He mounted his mule, and made straight for the queen's camp. It was a noble journey, even though the friar knew not, as he rode across mountain and river, that he carried with him the fortune of Spain.[1] The ex-confessor knew how to speak to the queen. Columbus was summoned to the camp. His designs were pronounced reasonable, if they were not wholly approved. His position was at least recognised at court. But still nothing was done. Was not the destruction of the Infidel worth all the discoveries in the world? Thus, with hope ever deferred, another year passed away. At length on the 2nd of January, 1492, the Christians entered Granada. And then Columbus, ever expectant, pleaded for the favour and approbation of the victorious Isabella. His suit was well received. The queen was inclined to patronise the proposed expedition. Columbus should sail to the west. The terms of his engagement only were referred to Talavera; and the Churchman, still hostile, reported that the demands of the

[1] This is an imperfect account of what took place. The sworn evidence of the physician Garci Hermandez of Palos, in Diego Colon's suit against the crown, says that F. Perez sent a letter to the queen by a pilot named Sebastian Rodriguez, telling her of Columbus' intention of going to France, and representing his case: "and they detained Christobal Colon at the convent, until they could receive her highness's answer". The answer was a summons to Perez to come to court, "and he departed secretly at midnight". He appears to have explained Columbus' plans thoroughly to the queen, perhaps for the first time, and Isabella determined to give the aid asked. She at once sent Columbus a present of 2000 maravedis in order that he might "buy a decent suit of clothes in which to appear before her highness".—H.

adventurer were impossible[1] Columbus bowed his head, and set forth to seek the favour and protection of some other sovereign.

Six miles from Granada, a bridge known as the Puente de Piños spans the little river Xenil, the scene of many an affray between Moor and Christian during the last war of Granada. So far had Columbus proceeded on his journey in search of new patrons, when a royal messenger overtook him and compelled him to return to the court.[2]

Once again the Genoese stood before the Queen of Castile. But this time he spoke, not as a suppliant, but as a benefactor; and when he left the royal presence, it was as Admiral of the Ocean, Viceroy and Governor-General of the Countries of the West.

On the 12th of May, 1492, Columbus turned his head westward from Granada, and set out to seek and to find a new world. He was forty-six years of age. His golden hair had become grey from care and disappointment. But he was no less eager, no less energetic, no less confident than on the day that he first set foot in Lisbon eighteen years before. The munificence of the Spanish sovereigns, which it had taken eight years to provoke, consisted in an order to the people of Palos to supply two caravels, without payment, for the queen's use, as a punishment for some real or fancied misdemeanour committed in days gone by.[3] The royal vessels, thus cheaply provided, consisted of the *Pinta* of fifty tons burden, and the *Niña* of forty tons; a strange squadron for the discovery of a distant hemisphere. When the Princess Joanna had sailed from Laredo to

[1] They were in fact quite impossible and against public policy, as a perusal of them will prove. They were accepted at last by Ferdinand, doubtless in order to prevent Columbus from going elsewhere, but the king, it is clear, had no intention of fulfilling them and did not attempt to do so. There is reason to believe that the extravagant demands of Columbus were the cause of his repulse by John II. of Portugal.—H.

[2] It was the Marquesa de Moya, a lady attached to the queen's household, who is said to have persuaded Isabella to summon back the departing Columbus. Thus after eight years of weary waiting, he at length gained his point. By the terms of his capitulation with the sovereigns at Granada, he and his heirs for ever were created admirals of the ocean, viceroys and governor-generals of all the islands and continents he should discover. He was to have one-tenth of all the precious metals discovered within his jurisdiction, and the privilege of receiving an eighth share of the profits made by any ship in which he should have—as he might have in all cases—an eighth share as adventurer.

[3] This hardly seems just. The large sum of 176,000 silver reals was advanced from the royal treasury of *Aragon* on the personal responsibility of Ferdinand's Jewish financial secretary Sant Angel, who lent them to the monarchs and became answerable for the amount to the treasury. This sum was paid to Columbus for the fitting-out of the expedition.—H.

the Texel she had been convoyed by a squadron of 130 vessels. When Columbus sailed to discover America two coasting sloops were accounted an appropriate fleet. A more important ship, however, and one of no less than 100 tons burden, the *Santa Maria*, was provided by a private adventurer of Palos, Juan de la Cosa, whose ambition had been fired by the splendid speculations of Columbus.

Of the difficulties in fitting out the expedition, of the want of sailors, of the want of stores, of the want of money, of the voyage itself, of the discovery, of the return to Spain, of the thousand moving incidents of the journey, I may not speak here. The tale is old, but ever new; one of the great world stories of our race, fascinating, exciting, tremendous. But I may not cross the broad Atlantic even in a Spanish ship.

II.—*The Admiral of the Ocean.*

It was in the palace of the Bishop of Urgel at Barcelona, on May Day of the year 1493, that Ferdinand and Isabella received their triumphant admiral and his great tidings from the West.[1] That Ferdinand and Isabella should each of them have failed to realise the full importance of the discovery is scarcely surprising. To our own experienced understanding the infinite possibilities of the new world seem well calculated to arouse the imagination of the dullest of statesmen, to fire the ambition of the coolest of politicians in Europe. But the picture as we see it was not presented to the Spanish sovereigns. A few islands had apparently been discovered, and a new highway perhaps to the Indies. It was satisfactory at least that the voyage had been undertaken in a Spanish ship. The conversion of a few Indians and the spread of the True Faith would, of course, be pleasing to Isabella. The acquisition of a few nuggets and some possible commercial developments would doubtless be agreeable to Ferdinand. It was not to be supposed that either sovereign knew or even dreamed of continents in which Spain or France would rank but as districts or counties, whose rivers would swallow up Tagus or Ebro as the wand of Aaron swallowed up the wands of the Egyptians, and

[1] He reached Lisbon on the 4th of March, Palos on the 15th of March, and he entered Seville on Palm Sunday, 1493. The sovereigns had been at Barcelona since the end of 1492. In December an assault upon the king's person had been made by a madman; and for some days his life had been despaired of. But Isabella proved the best of nurses, and the wound quickly healed.

whose hidden greatness was to change the fortunes of the world.

Ferdinand was thus far more concerned with his negotiations with Italy and with Maximilian of Hapsburg, with his endeavours to hoodwink Henry of England and to outwit Charles of France, than with the prosecution of discovery or adventure in any unknown land. Yet he found time to show some favour to the discoverer. Isabella, as the more direct patron of Columbus, was necessarily pleased at the success of his expedition, even though she showed no extraordinary appreciation of the immensity of the prospect before her. But one Spaniard at least was found to rise to the greatness of the occasion—the Valencian priest who sat upon the throne of the Cæsars. Immediately on hearing of the success of Columbus, Roderic Borgia proclaimed the unknown continent of the West to be a part of his empire; and, drawing a line across the ocean from pole to pole, 100 leagues to the west of the Azores, he granted to his countrymen in Spain the whole world, discovered or to be discovered, to the westward of this magnificent limit.[1]

Columbus meanwhile was treated with the utmost consideration and distinction at Barcelona. He was confirmed in his title and offices. He was flattered by the king and queen. He was encouraged to undertake a second expedition with all possible despatch. At the same time, an office or department for the administration of all business connected with the western world was established at Seville.[2] Juan Fonseca, archdeacon of that diocese, was appointed chief superintendent of this Council of the Indies; and long before the great Admiral had been permitted to set out on his second voyage, he had been made to feel the chill and jealous influence of his new masters, even as every discoverer, inventor, or man of genius, as every admiral, and general, and man of action has been made to suffer in modern times at the hands of an insolent bureaucracy.

A Colonial Office, manned entirely by clerics, making up by

[1] The great practical effect of this prompt exercise of power was that the foreign possessions of Portugal and of Spain could be clearly distinguished: the Portuguese discoveries so far having been all very far to the east of the Papal line. And in spite of geographical ignorance, this magnificent division of an unknown world between the jealous rivals in Europe was a most admirable and successful exercise of imperial authority or Cæsarism. The actual map, marked with the pen of Alexander, is still shown at the Vatican.

[2] An interesting and valuable account of this institution and of the early colonial arrangements of Spain will be found in Manuel Danvila's *Casa de Contratacion de Sevilla y el Consejo Supremo de Indias.*—H.

necessary ignorance and limitless presumption, for the want of those obstructive traditions which are the stay of modern departments, was quite competent to vex the soul and impede the progress of the great Genoese, even though the enthusiasm of the admiral was patient, rather than excitable, in its character. Every obstacle was offered by the new India Office to the proposals and wishes of Columbus. Everything that he wanted was for some good official reason denied; and that which he knew to be useless was forced upon him in its stead. Isabella, who to the equipment of an army devoted days and nights of unremitting personal labour and supervision, was content to commit the destinies of the new world to an insolent archdeacon.

In May, 1493, the admiral took leave of the sovereigns, in order that he might superintend the operations at Seville; and in spite of all official objections and difficulties, a fleet of three ships and fourteen caravels, was by the end of September, prepared and made ready for sea.

Not one ecclesiastic had sailed with Columbus on his first voyage of discovery. Fray Bernardo Boil, with three subordinate friars, all hostile and disloyal to the viceroy, accompanied the second expedition; and a learned doctor of medicine, Diego Alvarez Chanca, whose narrative of the voyage has been largely drawn upon by Bernaldez in his Chronicle of the Catholic kings, sailed in the admiral's ship. The influence of Columbus, however, was allowed to prevail in the selection of some of the leaders of the *Armada*. Pedro de Arana, the brother of the lovely Beatriz, had the command of one of the vessels; and the admiral's own brother Diego took ship with him in the *Marigalante*. The father of the good bishop Las Casas accompanied the expedition as a "Councillor". But the most remarkable man who sailed with the fleet, after Columbus himself, was Alfonso de Ojeda, of Cuenca. Not yet twenty-one years of age, says a modern writer,[1] active, energetic, of extraordinary bodily strength and personal courage, he combined a cool head with a dare-devil love of danger and adventure; and he played a leading part in the early history of New Spain.

The number of volunteers for the voyage, however, was far greater than could have been accommodated in a fleet of fifty sail; and the number of candidates was reduced by official selection to 1500 men, who were alone to be permitted to take

[1] Clements Markham, *Columbus*, p. 144.

part in the expedition. But the selection was the worst that could have been made. Instead of artisans and labourers, manufacturers or mariners, gentlemen of honour and probity, or even the hardy peasants of Biscay and Gallicia—who in the present century have proved the mainstay of the most flourishing of the South American Republics—reckless and needy adventurers, unscrupulous seekers after gold, speculators, spendthrifts, haters of work, no colonists, but a horde of depredators, these were the men selected by the new department at Seville to harass the ever-patient admiral, and to ravage a new world. These were the men who lived to sow the seeds of shame in Spanish America. And the harvest, the most dreadful of which it has been given to this world to see the growth—is not yet fully reaped, or bound into bundles for the fire. With such a company it would have been impossible for any man to colonise an island, much less that unhappy world, to which Spain sent not peace or prosperity, but the sword of the tyrant, the heavy and reckless hand of the destroyer.

On the 25th of September of the same year, 1493, Alexander VI. issued his third Bull, once more investing the Spaniards with the sovereignty of the new world; and on the same day the Spanish fleet set sail from the Bay of Cadiz. An attempted expedition of the Portuguese had been prevented by the diplomatic remonstrances of Ferdinand; nor was the King of Portugal aware of the importance of the Spanish preparations and projects, until he heard that their second fleet had actually sailed. After much bickering on either side, a convention was held at Tordesillas, in June, 1494, when the Papal line of demarcation was, by the favour of the Spanish sovereigns, moved from *one hundred* to *three hundred and seventy* leagues to the westward of the Cape de Verd Islands; by virtue of which concession, the Lusitanians in later years laid claim to the noble empire of Brazil. Had Columbus on his first voyage steered south-south-west instead of nearly due west, he would have made Cape St. Roque or Paranahyba on the Continent of South America, hard on 1000 miles nearer Palos than the island on which he first planted the banner of Castile; and the history not only of two countries, but of two worlds, would have been changed.[1]

[1] On the 14th of April, 1494, the sovereigns nominated the admiral's brother Bartholomew, who had lately arrived from his fruitless visit to France and England, to the command of a third squadron of three caravels which sailed in the wake of the greater fleet.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE BANISHMENT OF THE JEWS.

I.

The fall of Granada left the Catholic sovereigns free to turn their attention more completely to the domestic affairs of the kingdom; and it seems moreover to have increased the bigotry both of the Church and of the court, and to have added new zeal to the fury of the Inquisition.

The conquest of the Moorish kingdom was said by pious ecclesiastics to be a special sign or manifestation of the approval by heaven of the recent institution of the Holy Office. The knights and nobles, proud of their military successes, may have attributed the victory to causes more flattering to their valour, their skill and their perseverance. The common people, as yet not demoralised, but gorged with plunder, and invited to occupy without purchase the fairest province in the Peninsula, were little disposed to quarrel with the policy of Ferdinand; and far from feeling any pity for the sufferings of the vanquished Moors, they sighed for new infidels to pillage. And new infidels were promptly found.[1]

The Inquisition so far had troubled itself but little with Christian heretics. The early Spanish Protestantism of the thirteenth century had died away. The later Spanish Protes-

[1] The rigours of the Inquisition had already, between 1481 and 1492, led to a considerable emigration of Jews, a fact that I do not remember to have anywhere seen alluded to. Thus the number of those that perished or were destroyed in the summer of 1492 is very far from representing the total loss to Spain, by royal and ecclesiastical persecution. "In Xerez, Seville and Cordova alone," says Bergenroth, *Calendar of State Papers* (Spanish), vol. i., 47, 4000 homesteads were deserted. The queen was implored to relent. But she answered that it was better for the service of God and herself to have the country depopulated than to have it polluted by heresy. Persecution even hunted the fugitives in foreign countries. The King of Naples, for instance, was requested in a tone of command, to torture and put to death all those who would not at once deliver up the small remnant of fortune that they had saved. *Calendar, ubi supra.*

tantism of the sixteenth century had not yet come into existence. Few men had done more than Averroës of Cordova and Ramon Lull of Palma to awaken religious thought in mediæval Europe; yet speculative theology has never been popular among the Spanish people. It was against the Jews, renegade or relapsed, even more than the avowedly unconverted, that the Holy Office directed all its exertions until the end of the fifteenth century. By April, 1492, although a great number of the unfortunate Hebrews had already found their way to the *Quemadero*, there was still a very large Jewish population in Spain, the most industrious, the most intelligent, the most orderly, but unhappily for themselves, the most wealthy of all the inhabitants of the Peninsula.

The Spanish Jews, as we have seen, were treated on the arrival of the Arab conquerors not only with consideration, but with an amount of favour that was not extended to them under any other government in the world; nor was this wise liberality, as time went on, displayed only by the Moslem in Spain. At the Christian courts of Leon, of Castile, and of Catalonia, the Jews were welcomed as lenders of money and as healers of diseases, and as men skilled in many industrial arts; and they supplied what little science was required in northern Spain, while their brethren shared in the magnificent culture and extended studies of Cordova. When the rule of the Arab declined, and Alfonso *el Sabio* held his court at southern Seville, the learned Jews were his chosen companions. They certainly assisted him in the preparation of his great astronomical tables. They probably assisted him in his translation of the Bible.[1]

Nor does this court favour appear to have caused any serious jealousy among Christian Spaniards. The fellow-student of Alfonso X., the trusted treasurer of Peter the Cruel, the accommodating banker of many a king and many a noble—the Jew was for some time a personage of importance rather than a refugee in the Peninsula. And during the whole of the thirteenth century, while the Jews were exposed throughout

[1] This translation was said to have been made from the Hebrew direct. See *ante*, vol. i., chapter xxvi.

Jusqu'au commencement du quinzième siècle, les trois religions qui se partagaient la Péninsule subsistaient sans querelles. Les rois de Castille prenaient des Juifs pour leurs trésoriers et leur médecins, des Maures pour leurs ingénieurs et leurs architectes. Personne ne refusait le "*don*" à un riche Israélite ni à un émir musulman. Je ne vois aucune trace de persécution, si ce n'est dans les prises des villes, où le vainqueur pillait de préference le quartier juif; et il est permis de douter que le fanatisme y eut autant de part que la cupidité. P. Mérimée, *Mélanges Historiques et Littéraires* (ed. 1876), p. 250.

western Europe[1] to the most dreadful and systematic persecutions, they enjoyed in Spain not only immunity, but protection, not only religious freedom, but political consideration.

They were particularly regarded under Alfonso XI., and even under Peter the Cruel, who, though he tortured and robbed his Hebrew treasurer, did not at any time display his natural ferocity in any form of religious persecution. Yet, as we are told that his rival and successor, Henry of Trastamara, sought popular favour by molesting the Jews, it would seem that already by the end of the fourteenth century they were becoming unpopular in Castile. But on the whole, throughout the Peninsula, from the time of James I. of Aragon, who is said to have studied ethics under a Jewish professor, to the time of John II. of Castile, who employed a Jewish secretary in the compilation of a national *Cancionero*, or ballad book, the Jews were not only distinguished, but encouraged, in literature and abstract science, as they had always been in the more practical pursuits of medicine and of commerce.[2]

But in less than a century after the death of Alfonso X. the tide of fortune had turned. Their riches increased over-much in a disturbed and impoverished commonwealth, and public indignation began to be displayed, rather at their un-Christian

[1] See Graetz, *Hist. of the Jews*, ed. Löwy, tom. iv., p. 110-124; and Rodocanachi, *Le Saint Siège et les Juifs* (ed. 1891), cap. v.

[2] For an account of the prosperous condition of the Jews in Spain from 1284 to 1388, see Amador de los Rios, *Hist. de los Judios en España*, tom. i., chap. iii.

The Jews of necessity became money-lenders, partly owing to so many legitimate trades and professions being closed to them, and still more owing to the insane prohibitions of successive Popes, directed against the taking of even the smallest interest by Christians on money lent under any circumstances. See particularly Bull of Alexander III., 1179, *ad hoc*; and decree of Clement V. in Council of Vienne, 1311, *apud* Döllinger, *Studies*, translated by Miss Warre (1890), pp. 224-6. Up to this time, according to Dr. Döllinger, the Jews had been an industrial and an agricultural, and by no means a purely mercantile, still less a purely money-lending, people. See also Dr. William Cunningham, *Christian Opinion on Usury* (1884). Gregory VII. called upon Alfonso VI. to dismiss the Jews from all judicial posts in the realm, but the Papal mandate was disregarded, and the Jews continued to flourish under the toleration and patronage of kings and nobles. Hefele, *Life of Ximenes*, cap. xiv. For the share of the learned Jews in the works of Alfonso X., and notably in the preparation of the Alfonsine Tables, see Amador de los Rios, *Hist. de los Judios en España*, vol. ii., chaps. iii. and iv. An historian of our own days, D. Vicente de Lafuente, is less tolerant than his ancestors in the fifteenth century; for in the year of grace 1870, he writes of the Spanish Jews of the Middle Ages as *a secret society*, and devotes a chapter to dilating, without reference or authority, upon their enormities, including the stealing of Christian children for the purposes of crucifixion, and other malevolent old wives' tales, that I had fondly thought were no longer credited by any man who could read and write, in Europe. *Hist. de las Sociedades Secretas en España*, por Don Vicente de Lafuente, Lugo (1870), pp. 54-63.

opulence than at their Jewish faith. Inquisition was made rather into their strong-boxes than into their theology; and it was their debtors and their rivals, rather than any religious purists, who towards the end of the fourteenth century, more especially in Aragon, stirred up those popular risings against their race that led to the massacres and the wholesale *conversions* of 1391.[1] The first attack that was made upon the persons and property of the Jews was in 1388, and it was no doubt provoked by the preaching of the fanatic archdeacon Hernando Martinez, at Seville. But it was in no wise religious in its character, and was aimed chiefly at the acquisition and destruction of the property of the rich and prosperous Hebrews. The outbreaks which took place almost simultaneously in all parts of Spain were disapproved both by kings and councils. Special judges were sent to the disturbed cities, and a considerable amount of real protection was extended to the plundered people. No one said a word about conversion; or at least the conversion was that of ancient Pistol, the conversion of the property of the Jews into the possession of the Christians.[2] When the Jewish quarter of Barcelona was sacked by the populace, and an immense number of Hebrews were despoiled and massacred throughout the country, John of Aragon, indolent though he was, used his utmost endeavours to check the slaughter. He punished the aggressors, and he even caused a restitution of goods to be made to such of the victims as survived.

The preaching of St. Vincent Ferrer, during the early part of the fifteenth century, was addressed largely to the Jews in Spain, but little or no religious persecution seems to have been directed against them in consequence of his harangues. On the contrary, we read of friendly conferences or public disputations between Jewish and Christian doctors in Aragon, where the Inquisition was, at least, nominally established. Such conferences could hardly be expected to convince or convert the advocates of either faith, but they tell at least of an amount of toleration on the part of the Christian authorities of the

[1] Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs* (1716), lib. vii., cap. v.; Castro, *Bibl. Esp.*, i., pp. 116 and 265. As to the dreadful theories or legends of the systematic murder by the Jews of Christian children, of their desecration of the consecrated wafer, and other forms of supposed sacrilege, legends apparently current in France and Germany long before they passed into Spain, see Döllinger, *Studies*, ed. Miss Warre (1890), pp. 222-225. Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos Españoles*, i., 630.

[2] "*Cobdicia de robar, y no devocion*," according to Ayala. *Cf.* Menendez Pelayo, *ubi supra*.

day, that was certainly not to be found in Spain at the close of the century; and there is no doubt that they were followed by a very large number of conversions of the more malleable members of the Hebrew community. But it is a far cry from Saint Vincent Ferrer to the uncanonised Tomas de Torquemada.[1]

Yet, even in outward conformity to the established religion, the Jews, as time went on, found no permanent safety from persecution and plunder. John II. indeed had little of the bigot in his composition;[2] it was politics and not persecution that, under his successor, engrossed the attention of clergy and laity in Castile; but, as soon as the power of Isabella was formally established, the destruction of all that was not orthodox, Catholic and Spanish, became the key-note of the domestic policy of the new government of Spain.

II.

The earliest efforts of the Spanish Inquisition were directed, as we have seen, almost exclusively against those converted Jews, or the sons and daughters of converts, who were known by the expressive name of New Christians, a title applied also to Christianised Moslems, and which distinguished both classes from the Old Christians or *Cristianos Viejos*, who could boast of a pure Castilian ancestry. These new Christians, as a whole, at the end of the fifteenth century, were among the richest, the most industrious, and the most intelligent of the population, and they were regarded with considerable envy by their poorer neighbours, whose blue blood did not always bring with it either wealth or fortune.[3] The rules and regulations for the guidance of the inquisitors were therefore specially framed to include every possible act or thought that might bring the members of the classes specially aimed at within the deadly category of the relapsed. If the "New Christian" wore a clean

[1] Lindo (*History of Jews in Spain*, 1849, p. 211); and *ibid.*, pp. 188-196.

[2] The *Pragmatica* of Arevalo granted by John II., 6th April, 1443, by the terms of which he placed under his special protection *y como cosa suya y de su camara*, all the Jews of Castile, put an end for the time being to the dangers arising from popular cupidity, by taking the Jews under the special protection of the crown. "*Elle ouvrait aux Juifs les anciennes voies de prosperité, et sans leur donner une importance préjudiciable à l'Etat, fournissait un aliment à leur activité et mettait à profit leurs connaissances des arts mécaniques.*" Amador de los Rios, *Hist. des Juifs d'Espagne* (ed. Magnabal), vol. i., pp. 113-115. See also Lafuente, ix., 223.

[3] Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos*, tom. i., 624-639, and tom. ii., 586.

shirt, or spread clean table-linen on a Saturday (Art. 4), if he ate meat in Lent (7), observed any of the Jewish fasts (8-17), or sat at table with any Jew of his acquaintance (19); if he recited one of the psalms of David without the addition of the Doxology (20), if he caused his child to be baptised under a Hebrew name (23), he was to be treated as a renegade and condemned to the flames.[1]

With every act of his life thus at the mercy of spies and informers, his last end was not unobserved by the Dominicans and the Familiars of the Holy Office. If in the article of death he turned his weary face (31) to the wall of his chamber, he was adjudged relapsed, and all his possessions were forfeit; or if the sorrowing children of even the most unexceptionable convert had washed his dead body with warm water (32) they were to be treated as apostates and heretics, and were at least liable to suffer death by fire, after their goods had been appropriated by the Holy Office or by the crown.[2]

In the sentences which condemned to the stake, to confiscation, and to penances, which were punishments of the severest description, we find enumerated such offences as the avoiding the use of fat, and especially of lard; preparing amive, a kind of broth much appreciated by the Jews; or eating "Passover bread"; reading, or even possessing a Hebrew Bible; ignorance of the Pater noster and the Creed; saying that a good Jew could be saved, and a thousand other equally harmless deeds or words.[3]

But with the professed and avowed Jew, unpopular as he may have been with his neighbours, and exposed at times to various forms of civil and religious outrage, the Holy Office did not directly concern itself.[4] The Hebrew, like the Moslem, was outside the pale even of Christian inquiry.

[1] Yet by a law of Henry II. a Jew was forbidden to give Christian names to his children. *Ordenanzas Reales*, viii., tit. iii., leg. 26. He must have found it, says Prescott, difficult to extricate himself from the horns of this dilemma. *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., cap. vii.

[2] Llorente, i., chap. v., art. 3.

[3] Mr. Lea, *Chapters from the History of Spain*, ed. 1890, pp. 470, 471, after giving his authority for these and a great number of other cases, from the records of the Inquisition at Saragossa, between 1488 and 1502, continues: "In one case the only crime asserted in the sentence of a woman was that she had been present at the wedding of a Jew—her brother. In another it was alleged against the penitent that when very sick his sister had told him to commend himself to the God of Abraham, and that he had returned no answer. In another, it was gravely asserted that the offender, when dealing with *Old Christians*, tried to cheat them, and rejoiced when he succeeded.

[4] *C'est contre les judaisants ou juifs chrétiens en apparence (juifs cachés) et non contre les vrais juifs*, says Hefele, *il faut bien remarquer, que l'Inquisition procéda,*

There is no doubt that it was the success of the operations against the Moors of Granada that suggested to Ferdinand and Isabella the undertaking of a campaign, easier by far, and scarcely less lucrative, against the unhappy descendants of Abraham who had made their home in Spain.

The annual revenue that was derived by the Catholic sovereigns from the confiscations of the Inquisition amounted to a considerable income; and the source as yet showed no signs of drying up. Yet cupidity, marching hand in hand with intolerance—the devil, as the Spanish proverb has it, ever lurking behind the Cross—the sovereigns resolved upon the perpetration of an act or state more dreadful than the most comprehensive of the *Autos de Fé*.

The work of the Holy Office was too slow. The limits of the *Quemadero* were too small. Half a million Jews yet lived unbaptised in Spain. They should be destroyed at a single blow.[1] The Inquisition might be left to reckon with the New Christians whose conversion was unsatisfactory.

As soon as the Spanish Jews obtained an intimation of what was contemplated against them, they took steps to propitiate the sovereigns by a tender of a donative of 30,000 ducats, towards defraying the expenses of the Moorish war; and an influential Jewish leader is said to have waited upon Ferdinand and Isabella, in their quarters at Sante Fé, to urge the acceptance of the bribe. The negotiations, however, were suddenly interrupted by Torquemada, who burst into the apartment where the sovereigns were giving audience to the Jewish deputy, and drawing forth a crucifix from beneath his mantle, held it up, exclaiming, "Judas Iscariot sold his Master for thirty pieces of silver; your Highnesses would sell Him anew for 30.000; here He is, take Him and barter Him away". The extravagant presumption of the Inquisitor-General would not perhaps have been as successful as it was, had it not been obvious to the covetous Ferdinand that 30,000 ducats was a trifle compared with the plunder of the entire body of Jews in Spain. Yet

Hefele, 286. This exclusiveness did not last long; although, as it was technically the royal and not the ecclesiastical authority that *proceeded against* the Jews in 1492, the apologists of the Holy Office may maintain that true Jews were never persecuted by the Inquisition. See on this point Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos Españoles*, tom. i., pp. 625-639.

[1] "The declaration of Innocent III. that the entire Jewish nation was destined by God, on account of its sins, to perpetual slavery, was the Magna Charta, continually appealed to by those who coveted the possessions of the Jews, and the earnings of their industry." Döllinger, *Studies*, trans. Miss Warre, 1890, p. 219.

the action of Torquemada was no doubt calculated to affect the superstitious mind of Isabella, and even the colder spirit of Ferdinand.

Whatever may have been the scruples of the Spanish sovereigns, the fanaticism of the Spanish people had been at this critical juncture stirred up to an unusual pitch of fury by the proceedings and the reports of the Holy Office in a case which has attracted an amount of attention so entirely disproportionate to its apparent importance that it merits something more than a passing notice.[1]

In June, 1490, a converted Jew of the name of Benito Garcia, on his way back from a pilgrimage to Compostella, was waylaid and robbed near Astorga, by some of the Christian inhabitants. A Jew, converted or otherwise, was a legitimate object of plunder. The contents of his knapsack not being entirely satisfactory, and the ecclesiastical authorities sniffing sacrilege in what was supposed to be a piece of the consecrated wafer, Garcia, and not the robbers, was arrested, subjected to incredible tortures, and finally handed over to the local inquisitors.

His case was heard with that of other *conversos;* first at Segovia and afterwards at Avila. Tortures were repeated. Spies were introduced in various guises and disguises, but no confession could be extorted.

At length, after a year and a half of such practices, the endurance of one of the accused gave way—the dreadful story affords some slight notion of the methods of the Inquisition—and the unhappy man invented a tale in accordance with what was demanded of him; the crucifixion of a Christian child; the tearing out of his heart, the theft of the Host from a Christian church, and a magical incantation over the dreadful elements, directed against Christianity, and more particularly against the Holy Office. The tribunal having been thus satisfied of the guilt of the accused, a solemn *Auto de Fé* was held at Avila, on the 16th of November, 1491, when two of the convicts were torn to death with red-hot pincers; three who had been more mercifully permitted to die under the preliminary tortures, were burnt in effigy; while the remaining prisoners were visited only with the slight punishment of strangulation before their consignment to the inevitable fire. That no boy, with or without a

[1] See *Eng. Hist. Review*, 1889. *Boletin de la Real Acad. de Historia*, volumes for July to September, 1887.

heart, could be found or invented, by the most rigorous examination; that no Christian child had disappeared from the neighbourhood of the unhappy Jews at the time of their arrest—this surprised no one. In matters of faith such evidences were wholly superfluous. *Secura judicat Ecclesia.*

That these poor Hebrews should have suffered torture and death for an imaginary sacrilege upon the person of an imaginary boy, was indeed a thing by no means unexampled in the history of religious fanaticism.[1] But the sequel is certainly extraordinary. With a view of exciting the indignation of the sovereigns and of the people against the Jews at an important moment, Torquemada devoted much attention to the publication throughout Spain of the dreadful story of the murdered boy, the *Niño* of *La Guardia,* the village where the crime is supposed to have taken place. As to the name of the victim the authorities did not agree. Some maintained that it was Christopher, while others declared for John. But the recital of the awful wickedness of the Jews lost none of its force by adverse criticism. The legend spread from altar to altar throughout the country. The *Niño de la Guardia* at once became a popular hero, in course of time a popular saint; miracles were freely worked upon the spot where his remains had not been found, and something over a century later (1613) his canonisation was demanded of Rome.[2]

His remains, it was asserted by Francisco de Quevedo, could not be found on earth, only because his body as well as his soul had been miraculously carried up to heaven, where it was the most powerful advocate and protector of the Spanish monarchy. The story, moreover, has been twice dramatised—once by Lope de Vega—and no less than three admiring biographies of this imaginary martyr have been published in Spain within the last forty years of this nineteenth century.[3]

[1] Strange as it may seem, this belief that Jews torture and murder Christian children has not even yet quite died out from rural Spain. Only a few years ago great excitement was caused in the kingdom of Valencia by the fear that Christian children were caught and killed in order that their fat might be used to anoint the telegraph wires, then being erected. The English especially were suspected of this crime.—H.

[2] The Holy See, indeed, with great wisdom, appears never to have formally admitted his claims; though it is said to have permitted indulgences, plenary or partial, to be granted to those who visited his churches and altars; and he is regularly styled *Santo* in the Papal Briefs. See Martinez Moreno, 10, 16, 101, 106, 109.

[3] The biographies referred to are those of Martin Martinez Moreno, 1785; Paulino Herrera, 1853; Moreno, reprinted, 1866; and Felipe Garcia, 1883.

Cf. Fidel Fita, *Boletin*, xi., 112, 156; *Eng. Hist. Review, ubi supra;* H. C.

At length from conquered Granada, on the 30th of March, 1492, the dreadful edict went forth. By the 30th of July not a Jew was to be left alive in Spain. Sisenand, indeed, 900 years before, had promulgated such an edict. But the Visigoth had been too tender-hearted to enforce it. Isabella, whose gentleness and goodness historians are never tired of applauding, was influenced by no such considerations, and the sentence was carried out to the letter. With a cruel irony, the banished people were permitted to sell their property, yet forbidden to carry the money out of the kingdom, a provision which has obtained the warm approval of more than one modern Spanish historian, by whom it is accepted as a conclusive proof that this wholesale depopulation did not and could not diminish the wealth of Spain!

Thus 200,000 Spaniards, men, women and children of tender years, rich and poor, men of refinement and of position, ladies reared in luxury, the aged, the sick, the infirm, all were included in one common destruction, and were driven, stripped of everything, from their peaceful homes, to die on their way to some less savage country. For the sentence was carried out with the most relentless ferocity. Every road to the coast, we read, was thronged with the unhappy fugitives, struggling to carry off some shred of their ruined homes. To succour them was death; to pillage them was piety. At every seaport, rapacious shipmasters exacted from the defenceless travellers the greater part of their remaining possessions, as the price of a passage to some neighbouring coast; and in many cases the passenger was tossed overboard ere the voyage was completed, and his goods confiscated to the crew. A rumour having got abroad that the fugitives were in the habit of swallowing jewels and gold pieces in order to evade the royal decree, thousands of unhappy beings were ripped up by the greedy knife of the enemy, on land or sea, on the chance of discovering in their mutilated remains some little store of treasure.

And thus, north, south, east and west, the Jews straggled and struggled over Spain; and undeterred by the manifold terrors of the sea, a vast multitude of exiles, whose homes in

Lea, *Chapters on the Religious Hist. of Spain*, 1890, *Appendix*. A mass of references are cited by Mr. H. C. Lea in this most interesting work, more especially on pp. 437-468, as to the universality of the belief, in the Middle Ages, that the Jews were in the habit of crucifying Christian children, and committing sacrilege in a thousand cruel, fantastic and disgusting ways, to the detriment of the Christian religion.

Spain once lay in sunny Andalusia, sought and found an uncertain abiding place in neighbouring Africa.[1]

Of all Christian countries, it was in neighbouring Portugal that the greatest number of the exiles found refuge and shelter; until after five brief years of peace and comparative prosperity, the heavy hand of Castilian intolerance once more descended upon them, and they were driven out of the country, at the bidding of Isabella and her too dutiful daughter, the hope of Portugal and of Castile.[2]

But to every country in Europe the footsteps of some of the sufferers were directed. Not a few were permitted to abide in Italy and southern France; some of the most distinguished found a haven in England; many were fortunate enough to reach the Ottoman dominions, where, under the tolerant government of the Turk, they lived and prospered, and where their descendants, at many of the more important sea-ports of the Levant, are still found to speak a perversion of the Castilian of their forefathers.[3]

[1] "The number of Jews expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella is," says Prescott, "variously computed at from 160,000 to 800,000 souls." *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., cap. xvii. After a careful comparison of the various contemporary authorities, I have set down a figure which is I trust approximately accurate, but which certainly does not err on the side of exaggeration. The orthodox Mariana (lib. xxvi., ch. i.) gives the numbers at 170,000 households (casas) or say 700,000 or 800,000 souls. And it is not easy to see why he should have exaggerated the horrors of the expulsion, even though he considered the edict as deserving of our admiration. Prescott, indeed, adopts the lowest estimate that he has recorded. But his arguments do not appear to me by any means convincing. See *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., cap. xvii., text, and note 14. Nor is the testimony of an apostate Rabbi, as recorded by Father Bernaldez, by any means conclusive, even if it is fairly acceptable evidence.

As to the disastrous political results of the expulsion of the Jews upon the fortunes not only of Spain but of America, see a very excellent chapter in Graetz, *Hist. of Jews*, ed. Löwy, vol. iv. (A.D. 1270 to 1648), cap. xl. On page 378 he computes the number of the exiles at 300,000. For the history of Jews in Spain from A.D. 500 to 1270, the third volume of Graetz's work may be advantageously consulted.

[2] Twenty thousand families, or say 100,000 Jews, are said to have entered Portugal in 1492, on payment of a tax of eight cruzados each to John II. Armourers and smiths were to pay four cruzados only. Lindo, 321-2. As to the dreadful results of King Emmanuel's decree, see *ibid.*, 323-331.

[3] Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. cx., cxi., cxiii. And as to Jews in Fez, *ibid.*, cap. cxiv. It is not generally known that the 80,000 Jews who now form the majority, and practically control the affairs of the great Turkish city of Salonica, claim to be descended from the Spanish Jews driven out by Ferdinand, and permitted to settle here, with reasonable privileges, by the more liberal-minded Sultan. They remain a singular population, of a type not to be found elsewhere among Jews. The men, especially, are very tall and handsome, and dress in a fine costume, of which a long cloak, worn open, and lined with fur, is a striking feature. They still use Spanish as their everyday language, and print two or more

That the edict of banishment was meant to be, as it so constantly was, a doom of death, and not merely a removal of heretics, is clear from the action of the Spanish sovereigns, who, at the instigation of Torquemada, procured from the pliant Innocent VIII. a Bull enjoining the authorities of every country in Christian Europe to arrest and send back to Spain all *fugitive* Jews under penalty of the Greater Excommunication.[1]

More than once, indeed, the demand for extradition was made. But save in the case of the Portuguese Jews, on the second marriage of the Princess Isabella to the reigning sovereign of that country, no foreign prince appears to have paid any heed to this savage edict. Nor was it, as a rule, of any material advantage, either at Rome or at Seville, that it should be put in force.

Avarice was perhaps the besetting sin of Rome in the fifteenth century; nor was bigotry unknown throughout western Europe. But in Spain, as the century drew to a close, avarice and bigotry joined hand in hand, and flourished under royal and noble patronage, preached by religion, practised by policy, and applauded by patriotism. It was not strange that, under such teaching, the people of Castile should have rapidly become demoralised, and that the great race should have begun to develop that sordid and self-satisfied savagery which disgraced the name of the Spaniard, in the heartless and short-sighted plunder of the new world that lay before him.

Yet in all human affairs there is something that too often escapes our observation, to explain, if not to excuse, what may seem the most dreadful aberrations of the better nature of man. And it may be that the uncompromising religious spirit, which has had so enormous an influence for evil and for good upon the Spanish people, is to some extent the result of their Semitic environment of 800 years.

Religious controversy indeed, between rival branches of

papers in Hebrew letters, but in the language they carried with them from the West. This dialect of Spanish probably possesses many archaic features worthy of study. *Cf. ante*, vol. i., p. .

For this very interesting note I am indebted to my friend Dr. Mahaffy. (I can confirm this note from my personal observation. I have devoted some attention to the Spanish dialect of the Constantinople Jews, and have found the subject of the utmost philological interest.—H.)

[1] See Bull of 3rd April, 1487; and Llorente, i., 8. At a meeting of the Consejo of Vittoria, 10th June, 1493, it is recorded "that there is a great scarcity of physicians owing to the departure of the Jews". The Jew physicians were actually requested by the municipality in other places to remain, lest there should be no medical assistance at the disposal of the inhabitants. Lindo, *ubi supra*, 300.

the Christian Church in the days of the Visigoths, developed religious animosities before the first Moslem landed at Tarifa; yet the Arab and the Moor, fired with the enthusiasm of a new and living faith, brought into their daily life in Spain, in peace and in war, a deep and all-pervading religious spirit—an active recognition of the constant presence of one true God—unknown to the Roman or the Visigoth, which must have had an enormous influence upon the grave and serious Spaniards who lived under the rule of the Arab.

Nor was the Moslem the only factor in this mediæval development. In no other country in Europe was the Jew, as we have seen, more largely represented, and more powerful, for the first fifteen centuries of our era, than in Spain, whether under Christian or Moslem masters. But the direct and simple monotheism of the Hebrew and the Arab, while it had so great a direct influence upon Spanish Christianity, provoked, as part of the natural antagonism to the methods of the rival and the enemy, the counter development of an excessive Hagiolatry, Mariolatry and Sacerdotalism, just as the scrupulous cleanliness of the Moslem reacted and caused the ostentatious filth of the Spanish Christian devotees.

It would be strange enough if the religious fervour which doomed to death and torment so many tens of thousands of Semites in Spain, should be itself of Semitic suggestion. It is hardly less strange that the Greek Renaissance, which revolutionised the Christian world, and whose anti-Semitic influence to the present day is nowhere more marked than in every department of religious thought, should by the irony of fate have been forestalled by a writer at once Spanish and Semitic;[1] and when, by the sixteenth century, the rest of modern Europe had been led by the teaching of Averroës to accept the philosophy of Aristotle, Spain, the earliest home of Hellenism, new born in Europe, had already turned again to a religious Philistinism or Phariseeism of the hardest and most uncompromising type, Semitic in its thoroughness, Greek only in its elaborate accessories, and Spanish in its uncompromising vigour.

Thus it was that the Arab and the Jew, parents, in some sense, of the religious spirit of Ximenez and of Torquemada, became themselves the objects of persecution more bitter than is to be found in the annals of any other European nation. The rigours of the Spanish Inquisition, and the policy that inspired

[1] *Ante*, vol. i., chapter xix.

and justified it, are not to be fully explained by the rapacity of Ferdinand, the bigotry of Isabella, the ambition of Ximenez, or the cruelty of Torquemada. They were in a manner the rebellion or outbreak of the old Semitic spirit against the Semite, the ignorant jealousy of the wayward disciple against the master whose teaching has been but imperfectly and unintelligently assimilated—perverted, distorted, and depraved by the human or devilish element which is to be found in all religions, and which seems ever striving to destroy the better, and to develop the worser part of the spiritual nature of man.

CHAPTER XLIV.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

(1483—1494.)

We now enter upon a period of European history which is but feebly characterised by the term interesting, and which has been too accurately chronicled, and too severely investigated to be called romantic; when a well-founded jealousy, or fear of the growing power of France, alone supplies the key to the ever-changing foreign policy of the sovereigns of Spain. Genuine state papers of the fifteenth century are by no means numerous. In such of them, however, as are still extant, we find the fear expressed over and over again that the kings of France would render themselves "masters of the world," would "establish a universal empire," or "subject the whole of Christendom to their dictation".[1] The best means to avert such a danger appeared to contemporary statesmen to be the foundation of another European state as a counterpoise. Ferdinand the Catholic, ambitious, diplomatic and capable, was the first prince who undertook the enterprise.

Within less than three years after the Inquisition had been established at Seville, Louis XI. of France, the old rival and colleague of John II. of Aragon, had died in Paris, 30th August, 1483. He was succeeded by his son Charles VIII., a young prince whose ignorance was only equalled by his vanity, and was if possible exceeded by his presumption. With such an antagonist, Ferdinand of Aragon was well fitted to deal, with advantage to himself and to Spain. To win over the Duchess of Bourbon, who had virtually succeeded to the Government of France on the death of Louis XI., and to marry his eldest daughter Isabella to the young king Charles VIII. were accordingly the first objects of his negotiations. But in spite

[1] *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), vol. ii., Introduction, p. 99.

of all the flattery lavished on the duchess, Ferdinand did not succeed in obtaining the crown for the Infanta.[1] A more richly dowered bride was destined for the King of France, to whom the acquisition of the province of Brittany was of far greater importance than the doubtful friendship of Spain; and after much public and private negotiation, the Spanish ambassador was reluctantly withdrawn from Paris in the summer of 1487 (29th of July).

Disappointed in his dealing with the court of France, the ever watchful and persistent Ferdinand turned his eyes to England; and in the last days of the year 1487, an ambassador from the Spanish sovereigns, Roderigo de Puebla, Doctor of Canon and Civil law, arrived at the court of London. Henry VII. who greatly desired to establish a closer alliance with Spain, succeeded in flattering the new envoy, and rendering him almost from the first subservient to his personal interests. Yet the King of England and the Spanish ambassador together, were no match for Ferdinand of Aragon. The negotiations between the sovereigns were prolonged for two years, and in the end Henry was worsted at every point. He had signed a treaty of offensive alliance with Spain against France, with which power he wisely desired to maintain friendly relations, and he had been prevailed upon to send some English troops into Brittany to co-operate with a Spanish contingent which never arrived, in the expulsion of the French from that country. He had concluded further treaties of friendship and alliance with the King of the Romans, who was actually encouraging Perkin Warbeck to assert his claim to the crown of England, and with the Archduke Philip, whom he personally and independently hated. And he had been forced to content himself with the promise of a very modest dowry with the Spanish princess who was affianced to his son Arthur, Prince of Wales.[2]

Relatively too, as well as positively, he had been falsely borne in hand. Maximilian, who had been no less ready than Henry with his promises to Ferdinand, did not send a single soldier into Brittany, but endeavoured to overreach Henry, Charles, and Ferdinand by a hasty marriage—by proxy—with the young Duchess of Brittany without the consent or knowledge of either England or Spain. Yet this diplomatic victory over the very astute Englishman did not satisfy Ferdinand and

[1] *Arch. gen. de la Corona de Aragon*, Barcelona, MS. Reg. 3686, fol 92, 93.
[2] *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), i., pp. 77-79.

Isabella, who, fearful less they should "become the victims of their honesty" if they permitted Maximilian to surpass them in political perfidy, immediately renewed secret negotiations with France, and declared themselves ready to abandon the king, the duchess and the emperor. Charles, they promised, should obtain what he wished, without risking the life of a single soldier, if only he would marry a Spanish Infanta. And they offered him, not Isabella their eldest born, but their second daughter Joanna.[1]

Charles however had other views, and finding no cohesion or certainty in Ferdinand's league against him, strengthened his cause and his kingdom by marrying the Duchess Anne of Brittany himself, and uniting her hereditary dominions for ever to the crown of France, a fair stroke of policy for a foolish sovereign in the midst of crafty and unscrupulous adversaries. (13th December, 1491).

Ferdinand replied by calling on Henry VII. to fulfil his engagements and invade France. Henry accordingly on the 1st of October, 1492, landed an army at Calais, and marched on Boulogne; while Ferdinand, without striking a blow either for Spain or for England, took advantage of the English expedition to extort from the fears and folly of Charles VIII. the favourable conditions of peace and alliance that were embodied in the celebrated convention which was signed at Barcelona, on the 19th of January, 1493. By this instrument[2] it was provided that each of the high contracting parties should mutually aid each other against all enemies, the Vicar of Christ alone excepted, that the Spanish sovereigns should not enter into an alliance with any other power to the prejudice of the interests of France, and finally, that the coveted provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne, whose recovery had long been one of the chief

[1] *Archivos de la Corona de Aragon*, Reg. 3686, fol. 101 and 104. Bergenroth, *Cal. State Papers*, i., Introd., 70, 71 and 78-80.

[2] See Dumont, *Corps Universel*, etc., tom. iii., p. 297. Henry VII. on his part concluded a treaty of peace, at the urgent request of his Council, at Etaples, near Boulogne, on the 3rd of November, 1492. The negotiations for the recession of Roussillon and Cerdagne to Aragon, were at this time very actively pushed forward by Ferdinand. See Peter Martyr, *Letter to Count of Tendilla*, 4th October, 1492. (Simancas) *Calendar* (Spain), vol. i., No. 77. Commines, *Mémoires*, lib. viii., cap. xxiii. Roscoe, *Leo X.*, i., cap. iii.; Prescott, ii., pp. 15, 16; Gaillard, *Rivalité de la France et l'Espagne*, tom. iv., p. 11. There is a secret memoir in existence in which Ferdinand and Isabella confess that the cession of Roussillon and Cerdagne was partly the consequence of the expedition undertaken by Henry against Boulogne. Paris, *Archives de l'Empire*, ix.; *Negotiations* (Espagne) K., 1638. It need scarcely be said that this was constantly and indignantly denied at the time.

objects of Ferdinand's ambition, should be immediately handed over to Aragon.

The services of England being no longer needed by the Peninsular sovereigns, Ferdinand abruptly broke off all further negotiations with Henry VII.; the signatures of Ferdinand and Isabella to the treaty with England, which had already been ratified, were disposed of by the simple but effective expedient of cutting them out of the parchment with a pair of scissors;[1] and the contract of marriage between Arthur, Prince of Wales, and the Infanta Catharine having served its immediate diplomatic purpose—was removed, for the time being,[2] from the sphere of practical politics.

It is sufficiently characteristic of both parties, that in the treaty of Barcelona, between Charles and Ferdinand, Naples, the true objective of the young King of France, was not even mentioned. Ferdinand, well content with the immediate advantages obtained by the treaty, was by no means imposed upon by such vain reticence, while Charles, pluming himself upon the success of his diplomacy in his treaties with England, with France, and with the empire, looked forward to establishing himself without opposition on the throne of Naples, on his way to assume the Imperial purple at Constantinople.[3]

The kingdom of Naples, on the death of Alfonso the Magnanimous of Aragon, had passed, we have already seen, to his illegitimate son Ferdinand, who proved to be a tyrant of the worst Italian type, worthless, contemptible and uninteresting. To expel this hated monarch, for whom not one of his Neapolitan subjects would have been found to strike a blow in anger, seemed but a chivalrous and agreeable pastime to the vain and ignorant youth who had succeeded Louis XI. upon the throne of France. His more experienced neighbours indeed smiled with some satisfaction at his presumption. Yet, strange to say, the judgment of the vain and ignorant youth was just; and the wise men, who ridiculed his statesmanship, and scoffed at his military ineptitude, were doomed to great and astounding disappointment.

Before the French preparations for the invasion of Italy were fairly completed, in the early spring of 1494, Ferdinand of Naples died, and was succeeded by his son Alfonso I., the

[1] *Calendar*, etc., i.; Introd., lxxiii., and p. 24; treaty of 27th-28th March, 1489.

[2] From January, 1493, till October, 1497.

[3] Zurita, *Hist. del Rey Hernando*, i., 31. He had purchased the Eastern Empire from Andrew Palæologos, the nephew of the last crownless Constantine.

cousin-german of Ferdinand of Aragon. This change of rulers altered in no way the wild schemes of Charles of France, nor, although the new King of Naples was far less odious than his father had been in his own dominions, did it make any important change in the condition of Italian politics. By the month of June, 1494, the French preparations were so far advanced that Charles judged it opportune to acquaint his Spanish allies with his designs on Naples, and to solicit their active co-operation in his undertaking.

That Ferdinand should, under any possible circumstances, have been found to spend the blood and treasure of Spain in assisting any neighbour, stranger, or ally, in any enterprise, without direct advantage to himself, was a supposition entirely extravagant. But that he should assist a feather-headed Frenchman to dispossess a son of Aragon of a kingdom from which his own ancestors had thrice driven a French pretender, and where, if any change were to be made in the sovereignty, his own rights of succession were far superior to the shadowy claims derived from the hated Angevins: this was a thing so grotesquely preposterous, that it is hard to suppose that even Charles of France should have regarded it as being within the bounds of possibility. Ferdinand contented himself for the moment with expressions of astonishment, and offers of good advice, while Charles pushed forward his preparations for the invasion of Italy. Don Alfonso de Silva, despatched by the court of Spain as a special envoy, came up with the French army at Vienne on the Rhone, towards the end of June, 1494. But he was instructed rather to seek, than to convey, intelligence of any sort; nor was it to be supposed that his grave remonstrances or his diplomatic warnings should have had much effect upon the movements of an army that was already on the march.

In August, 1494, 30,000 men, hastily equipped, yet well provided with the new and dreadful weapon that was then first spoken of as a *cannon*, crossed the Alps, and prepared to fight their way to Naples. But no enemy appeared to oppose their progress. The various States of Italy, jealous of one another, if not actually at war, were unable or unwilling to combine against the invader;[1] the roads were undefended; the troops fled; the citizens of the isolated cities opened their gates one after the other, at the approach of the strange and foreign

[1] Charles, indeed was already assured of the support of Sforza, Duke of Milan, the most powerful of the Italian sovereigns except the Pope.—H.

invader. The French army, in fine, after a leisurely *promenade militaire* through the heart of Italy, marched unopposed into Rome on the last day of the year 1494.

Ferdinand and Isabella had, in the first instance, offered no serious opposition to the French enterprise, which appeared to them to be completely impracticable; and they had awaited with diplomatic equanimity the apparently inevitable disaster, which, without the loss of a single Spanish soldier or the expenditure of a single maravedi, would at once have served all the purposes of Ferdinand, and permitted him to maintain his reputation for good will towards Charles, which might have been useful in future negotiations.[1] The astonishing success of the French invasion took the Spanish sovereigns completely by surprise, and it became necessary for Ferdinand to adopt, without haste, but with prudent promptitude, a new policy, at once towards France and towards the various parties in Italy.

[1] This chapter is very largely based upon the letters and State papers discovered at Simancas by Bergenroth, and published in the *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), vol. ii., and *Supplement*.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE SPANIARDS IN ITALY.

(1455—1497.)

I.—*Alexander VI.*

The boldest and the most capable of all the sovereigns of Italy, in these trying times, was the Spanish Pontiff, who by a singular fate has been made, as it were, the whipping boy for the wickedness of nineteen centuries of Popes at Rome, and who is known to every schoolboy and every scribbler as the infamous Alexander VI. Roderic Lenzuoli, or Llançol, was the son of a wealthy Valencian gentleman, by Juana a sister of the more distinguished Alfonso Borja, bishop of his native city of Valencia.[1]

Born at Valencia about 1431, Roderic gave evidence from his earliest years of a remarkable strength of character, and of uncommon intellectual powers. While still a youth, he won fame and fortune as an advocate. But his impatient nature chafed at the moderate restraint of a lawyer's gown; and he was on the point of adopting a military career, when the election of his uncle to the supreme Pontificate as Calixtus III. in 1455, opened for him the way to a more glorious future. At the instance of the new Pope, Roderic adopted his mother's name, in the Italian form already so well known and distinguished at the court of Rome, and taking with him his beautiful mistress Rosa Vanozza,[2] whose mother he had formerly seduced, he turned his back upon his native Valencia, and sought the fortune that awaited him at the capital of the world.

[1] Burchard, *Journal* (Florence), 1854; Alexander Gordon, *Life of Alexander and Cæsar Borgia* (1729); Massé, *Hist. du Pape Alex. VI.* (Paris, 1830); Gieseler, *Church History*, iii., 133. H. C. Lea, *Hist. of Sacerdotal Celibacy*. Valencia was made an *Archbishopric* only in 1458.

[2] This Rosa is said by some authorities to have been a friend of somewhat later date. In any case she survived Roderic, and adopted his Italian name of Borgia. Reumont, *Bd.* iii., pp. 202-3; Bower, *Lives of the Popes*, vii., 328.

Unusually handsome in his person, vigorous in mind and body, masterful, clever, eloquent, unscrupulous, absolutely regardless of all laws, human or divine, in the gratification of his passions, and the accomplishment of his designs, Roderic, the Pope's nephew, was a man made for success in the society in which he was to find himself at Rome. On his arrival at the Papal court in 1456 he was received with great kindness by his uncle, and was soon created Archbishop of Valencia, Cardinal of St. Nicholas *in Carcere Tulliano*, and Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church. On the death of Calixtus, in 1458, the Cardinal Roderic Borgia sank into comparative insignificance; and during the reigns of Pius II., Paul II., Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII. we hear little of him but that he was distinguished for his amours, for his liberality in the disposal of his fortune, and for his attention to public business. Having thus secured the goodwill of many of the cardinals and the affection of the Roman people, he had no difficulty, on the death of Innocent VIII. in July, 1492, in making a bargain with a majority of the members of the Sacred College, in accordance with which he was elected Pope, and took the title of Alexander VI. on the 26th August, 1492.

His election was received by the Roman people with the utmost satisfaction, and celebrated with all possible demonstrations of joy.[1] His transcendent abilities and his reckless methods could not fail to render him obnoxious to his companions and his rivals in Italy; but it is due rather to his foreign origin, his Valencian independence of character, and above all his insolent avoidance of hypocrisy in the affairs of his private life, that he has been made a kind of ecclesiastical and Papal scapegoat, a Churchman upon whose enormous vices Protestant controversialists are never tired of dilating, and whose private wickedness is ingenuously admitted by Catholic apologists as valuable for the purposes of casuistic illustration, as the one instance of a divinely infallible judge whose human nature yet remained mysteriously impure, and whose personal or individual actions may be admitted to have been objectively blameable.

To measure the relative depths of human infamy is an impossible as well as an ungrateful task. It is not given to mortals to know the secrets of the heart. But bad as Alexander undoubtedly was, he was possibly no worse than many of his contemporaries in the Consistory, less wicked than some of his predecessors at the Vatican. The guilt of greater and more

[1] Bower, *Lives of the Popes*, vii., 332.

vigorous natures passes for superlative infamy with the crowd;[1] but when dispassionately compared with that of his immediate predecessors, Sixtus IV.[2] and Innocent VIII.,[3] the character of Alexander VI. is in almost every respect less flagitious and more admirable.

So unblushing was the venality of the Holy See in the fifteenth century,[4] that sacred dialecticians and jurists of high

[1] Ranke (*Hist. of the Popes*, Introduct., chapter ii.) speaks of the "utmost vigour and singular success with which Alexander VI. acted of deliberate purpose" in the aggrandisement of the temporal power of the Papacy, an idea followed out with less subtilty but scarcely less vigour by his successor Julius II., the man who "wanted to be lord and master of the game of the world". *Venetian MS.*, *apud* Ranke, *ubi supra*.

[2] The death of Sixtus IV. was received in Rome with a pæan of joy, and we are told that men were less affected at his open sale of benefices to the highest bidder, and at his other devices for extorting money, than at the manner in which he rewarded the objects of his unnatural lust, by granting to them rich bishoprics and archbishoprics. Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, iii., 639-40, and authorities cited.

[3] Innocent VIII. took bribes, not only, as usual, from the Christians, penitents and potentates, but even from Bajazet II., the *Grand Signor* of Islam; and at the price of an annual subsidy from the Turk, of 40,000 golden crowns, and a Christian relic of inestimable value, he detained in a Roman prison Zem, the Sultan's brother and rival, who was burning to send an army against Constantinople for the advancement of Christianity. Bower, *Innocent VIII.* (1489).

A pun on the name and notorious immorality of Innocent VIII. is contained in the contemporary epigram:—

Octo nocens pueros genuit, totidemque puellas
Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma patrem.

Oswald Reichel, *The See of Rome*, etc., p. 529, Bayle, *Dictionnaire.*

[4] Nor was the enormous wickedness of the ecclesiastics at Rome by any means confined to the fifteenth century. Nothing can well be conceived more terrible than the account of the corruption and avarice of the Holy See in the fourteenth century, by Cardinal Matthew of Cracow; *De Squaloribus Romanæ Curiæ*. See also Lea, *op. cit.*, iii., 626, 630, and authorities cited. The cardinal died in 1411. Even more startling are the revelations of St. Brigitta of Sweden, who died in 1373, and was canonised in 1391 by Boniface IX. Nothing, says Mr. Lea, that Wycliffe or Huss could say of the depravity of the clergy could exceed the bitterness of her supremely orthodox denunciations. Lea, iii., 635-6.

One of the first acts of John XXII. on his accession (in 1317) was to cause a private enemy, no Jew, but a Catholic bishop, Hugues Sérold, Bishop of Cahors, to be flayed alive and burned at the stake in Avignon. Seventy years later, the scene having shifted to Rome, Urban VI., in 1385, caused six cardinals, who had offended him, to be seized as they left the Consistory, and subjected to the most horrible torture in the castle of Nocera. "When it came to the turn of the Cardinal of Venice, Urban entrusted the work to an ancient pirate whom he had created Prior of the Order of St. John of Sicily, with instructions to apply the torture till the howls of the victim should reach his eager ears. The torture was continued in various forms during the whole day, while the Holy Father paced the garden under the window of the torture chamber, reading his Breviary aloud, so that the sound of his voice might remind the executioner of the presence of his chief." Lea, i., 558. Yet the cruelties perpetrated by Clement VI., anti-Pope and rival of Urban, were if anything more enormous. Lea, i., 558-9, and authorities cited.

authority were found seriously to argue that the Pope was not subjectively capable of committing the offence of Simony.[1] It might have been contended with equal justice, that in every other respect he was at once above, or outside, the scope of the entire moral law.

From the death of Benedict XI., in 1303, to the death of Alexander VI., in 1503, the night was dark before the inevitable dawn; and in every phase of human depravity, in every development of human turpitude, in arrogance, in venality, in cruelty, in licentiousness, mediæval Popes may be found pre-eminent among contemporary potentates. Thus, if the wickedness of Alexander was extravagant, it was by no means unparalleled, even among the Popes of a single century. His cruelty was no greater than that of Urban VI. or of Clement VII., or of John XXII. His immorality was, at least, more human than that of Paul II. and of Sixtus IV., nor were his amours more scandalous than those of Innocent VIII. His sacrilege was less dreadful than that of Sixtus IV.[2] His covetousness could hardly have exceeded that of Boniface IX.; his arrogance was less offensive than that of Boniface VIII. If he was unduly subservient to Ferdinand and Isabella in his toleration of the enormities of Torquemada, his necessities as an Italian sovereign rendered the Spanish alliance a matter of capital importance. As a civil potentate and as a politician, he was not only wiser, but far less corrupt than Sforza, less rapacious than Ferdinand, more constant than Maximilian of Germany, less reckless than Charles of France. His administrative ability, his financial enlightenment, his energy as regards public works, were no less remarkable than his personal liberality, his affability, and his courage. His division of the New World by a stroke of the pen was an assumption of Imperial power which was at least justified by the magnitude of its success. As he sat in his palace on the Mons Vaticanus, he was the successor, not of Caligula, but of Tiberius—not of Commodus, but of Diocletian.

[1] Boniface IX. when in want of money to pay his troops, and defray the cost of his vast buildings in 1399, suddenly deposed an immense number of unoffending prelates, or translated them to titular sees; and then and there sold to the highest bidder the bishoprics thus vacated. Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, etc., vol. iii., 627-8.

[2] As to the attempted assassination of Giuliano de Medici by order of Sixtus IV. in the church of the *Reparata*, at Florence (26th April, 1478), at the moment of the elevation of the host, see Roscoe, *Lorenzo de Medici* (Bohn's ed., 1851), 138-146, and Bower, *Sixtus IV.* (1476-7).

Of the misfortunes of his eldest son, created by Ferdinand Duke of Gandia; of the wickedness of his second son, the fifteenth century Cæsar, who succeeded his father as Cardinal Archbishop of Valencia; of the profligacy of his daughter, so unhappily named Lucretia; of the marriage of his youngest son Geoffrey to a daughter of Alfonso of Naples, as a part of the treaty of alliance between the kingdom of the two Sicilies and the states of the Church, in 1494; of the alliance between Alexander and Bajazet, and the poisoning of the Sultan's brother, Zem, after thirteen years' captivity, on receipt of an appropriate fee; of the elevation of a facile envoy to the full rank of cardinal, to please the Grand Turk; of all these things nothing need be said in this place.[1]

We are more immediately concerned to know that on New Year's Day, 1495, Pope Alexander VI., a refugee, if not actually a prisoner, in the castle of St. Angelo,[2] was fain to accept the terms that were imposed upon him by the victorious Frenchmen —masters for the nonce of Italy and of Rome.

II.—*Charles VIII. in Italy.*

As Charles VIII. was marching through Italy, and was approaching, all unopposed, the sacred city of Rome, Alexander VI., anxious at all hazards to obtain the assistance of his countrymen in the hour of danger, had sent an envoy to the Spanish court representing the critical state of affairs in Italy, assuring the king and queen of his constant good will, in spite of certain disputes as to the Papal authority in Spain, and conveying to them, with other less substantial favours, the renewed grant of the *Tercias*, or two-ninths of the tithes throughout all the dominions of Castile, an impost which until the middle of the present century formed a part of the revenues of the Spanish monarchy. He also conceded to the Spanish

[1] *Ut faciat ipsum Cardinalum perfectum*, Bower, fourth ed., vii., 338. The price of blood is said to have been 300,000 Turkish ducats.

[2] An excellent life of Pope Alexander VI. and of his son Cæsar Borgia is that written in English by Alexander Gordon, one vol., folio, 1729, and afterwards translated into French. The details of the Pope's death by poison intended for some cardinal whom he desired to get rid of, is one of the best known of the many wicked incidents of his life, and will be found recorded in full detail in Guicciardini as well as by Bembo and Platina. But the incident is usually considered by modern critics as wholly fictitious. See an interesting article in *Blackwood's Magazine*, December, 1893.

crown the right of dominion over the whole of Northern Africa, except Fez, which had been given to the King of Portugal.[1]

A projected marriage between the Duke of Calabria, eldest son of the King of Naples, and the Infanta Maria, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, served to give the King of Spain an opportunity for negotiating with the Neapolitan court; and Ferdinand at the same time despatched the celebrated Garcilaso de la Vega as his ambassador, with instructions to return the most comforting assurances to the Pope at Rome. Yet he refrained from making any definite promises, or from committing himself to any definite policy. He was not a man to do anything rashly; and he preferred to await the course of events. Meanwhile, having sent a second mission from Guadalajara to the French court or camp, with good advice for his young friend and ally Charles VIII., Ferdinand betook himself with Isabella to Madrid, where the Spanish sovereigns devoted themselves to the preparation and equipment of an army to be despatched at an opportune moment to any part of Italy where subsequent events might render its presence necessary. As, for various reasons, it was impossible that either Ferdinand or Isabella should accompany their army abroad, it became necessary to select a general. Among all the skilful leaders and gallant knights who had signalised themselves in the wars of Granada, it was somewhat difficult to decide upon a commander. But Isabella had never lost sight of Gonsalvo de Cordova, in whom she discerned traces of rare military talent; and from the moment the Sicilian expedition was planned, she determined that he should be Captain-General of the royal forces. The greater experience and apparently superior claims of many who had distinguished themselves in battle against the Moors were urged by Ferdinand without avail. The command was given to Gonsalvo de Cordova.

But while the Spanish fleet, under the gallant Count of Trivento, was riding at anchor at Alicante, and Gonsalvo was preparing to embark his army on board the ships in that harbour, the Spanish sovereigns despatched a final embassy to Charles in Italy. On the 28th of January, 1495, as the king was leaving Rome on his way towards Naples, the ambassadors, Juan de Albion and Antonio de Fonseca arrived at the Vatican. They found Pope Alexander smarting under the humiliation of

[1] A right which was practically asserted less than a dozen years later by Cardinal Ximenes (1509).

his recent treaty with the invader,[1] and willing to assist them in any scheme for his discomfiture. They accordingly followed the French army with all speed, overtook it within a few miles of Rome, and immediately demanded an audience of Charles, even before his troops had come to a halt. They delivered up to him their credentials as he was riding along, and peremptorily required him to proceed no further towards Naples. The haughty tone of the Spaniards, as may be supposed, excited the greatest indignation in the breast of Charles and those who surrounded him; high words arose on both sides, and finally Fonseca, giving way to a simulated transport of rage, produced a copy of the once prized treaty of Barcelona, tore it to pieces, and threw down the fragments at Charles' feet. Paolo Giovo seems to think that this violent and unjustifiable conduct on the part of the Spanish ambassador was entirely unpremeditated; but it is certain that the whole scene had been preconcerted with either Ferdinand or the Pope. Zurita and the other chroniclers are silent on the point, but Peter Martyr in one of his letters[2] affirms that the mutilation of the treaty in Charles' presence was included in the secret instructions given to Fonseca by Ferdinand.

The envoys, as was expected, were promptly ordered to quit the French camp; and retiring with all speed to Rome, they hastened to transmit to Spain the earliest intelligence of the success of their mission. They were also permitted to inform their sovereigns of the new honour that had been conferred upon them by His Holiness Alexander VI., in the shape of the grant to them and to their heirs for ever on the throne of Spain of the title of *Catholic Kings*.[3]

Meanwhile Charles VIII. had reached Naples, which had at once opened its gates to the invaders, and the Castel Nuovo and the Castel d'Uovo were reduced to submission by their well served artillery. King Alfonso abdicated the crown, and

[1] The treaty that had been forced upon Pope Alexander VI. had included provisions to the effect that the fortresses of Civita Vecchia, Terracino and Spoleto should be delivered up to him, to be occupied until the termination of the war; that the Pope's son Cæsar Borgia should accompany the French army as a hostage, with the ostensible title of Cardinal Legate; that Prince Zem, brother of the Sultan Bajazet, who was a prisoner, or rather a refugee at the Vatican, should be delivered up to the French, with a view to assisting them in their expedition against Constantinople, and various other points of minor importance.

[2] *Epist.*, 144.

[3] *Reyes Católicos.* According to Philip de Commines, Alexander wished to deprive the French king of his title of "Most Christian," that had been conferred upon his most exemplary father Louis XI.

Fabricio Colonna ravaged the whole kingdom of Naples to the very gates of Brindisi, dispersing the little band of troops that had been collected by Don Cæsar of Aragon, illegitimate brother of the king; while Perron dei Baschi and Stuart d'Aubigny over-ran the whole country almost without striking a blow; and the greater part of the Neapolitan nobility gave their adhesion to the French. Nothing, however, could be more impolitic or more ungrateful than the manner in which Charles made use of his unexpectedly acquired authority, and it soon became evident that the new state of affairs in Naples would not be of very long duration. The moment for the judicious interference of Ferdinand of Aragon had not been long in arriving.

The conduct of the French at Naples showed pretty clearly to the Italian States the mistake they had made in permitting Charles to enter the country, and they were not slow to accept the suggestions of the Spanish ambassador, Don Lorenzo Suarez de Mendoza y Figueras, that they should form a league with the object of expelling the French from Italy. The attitude of the Duke of Orleans, who had remained at Asti, towards the Duchy of Milan, and the favourable reception accorded by Charles to Giovanni Trivulzio, Cardinal Fregosi, and Hybletto dei Fieschi, the chiefs of the banished nobles, and the sworn enemies of Ludovico Sforza, showed that prince how little he had to expect from the French alliance into which he had entered; and the conduct of Charles towards the Florentines, and indeed towards every government whose dominion he had traversed throughout Italy, terrified and enraged every statesman from Milan to Syracuse.

The envoys of the various states assembled at Venice. The deliberations in the council chamber were brief and decisive; and such was the secrecy with which the negotiations were conducted, that the astute statesman and historian Philip de Commines, who then represented France at the court of Venice, was only informed officially by the Doge Agostino Barberigo, on the morning of the 1st of April, 1495, that the treaty had been signed on the previous day. The avowed objects of this *Most Holy League*, which was entered into by Spain, Austria, Venice, Milan and the court of Rome, were the recovery of Constantinople from the Turks, and the protection of the interests of the Church; but the secret articles of the treaty, as may be supposed, went much further, and provided that Ferdinand should employ the Spanish armament, now on its way

to Sicily, in re-establishing his kinsman on the throne of Naples; that a Venetian fleet of forty galleys should attack the French positions on the Neapolitan coasts, that the Duke of Milan, the original summoner, should expel the French from Asti, and blockade the passage of the Alps, so as to prevent the arrival of further reinforcements, and that the Emperor and the King of Spain should invade France on their respective frontiers, while the expense of all these warlike operations should be defrayed by subsidies from the allies. The Sultan Bajazet II., though not included in the League, offered, and was permitted, to assist the Venetians both by sea and land against the French. Thus we see the strange spectacle of the Pope and the Grand Turk—the Prince of Christendom and the Prince of Islam—united against the first Christian power of Europe, under the leadership of The Most Christian King.[1]

Within six weeks of the signature of this important treaty, Charles VIII. of France had caused himself to be crowned at Naples, with extraordinary pomp, not only as king, but as emperor, and having thus gratified his puerile vanity, he abandoned his fantastic empire, and flying from the dangers that threatened him in Italy, he returned to Paris. His army in Naples was entrusted to his cousin Gilbert de Bourbon, Duc de Montpensier, who was invested with the title of viceroy, and instructed by the fugitive king to maintain his position in the country against all opponents.[2]

III.—*Gonsalvo de Cordova.*

It is not within the scope of this history to give any detailed account of the retreat of the French through Italy, of the wonderful passage of the Apennines at Pontremoli, and the still

[1] The text of the League dated "Venice, in the Ducal palace, in the bed-chamber of the Duke, 30th March, 1495," will be found in the *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), pp. 9 and 54-56. The commanding position taken by Alexander VI. among the allies is sufficiently remarkable. By clause 5 of the new Convention, he engages to assist, not only with temporal arms, and an army of 6000 men, but with spiritual arms, *armis spiritualis*, in the operations of war. Henry VII. of England at the earnest and oft-repeated solicitations of Ferdinand and Isabella, entered the League, 23rd September, 1496. Rymer, xii., 638, *Cal. State Papers* (Spain), i., 113.

[2] Like Bon Jean St. André, who,

> "Fled full soon on the first of June,
> And bid the rest keep fighting".

more wonderful victory of Fornovo on the Taro, when the French, whose entire force did not exceed 10,000 soldiers, completely routed the Italian army of 35,000 men, under the command of Gonzaga Marquis of Mantua. The French forces that remained in southern Italy were doomed to a very different fate. The command of the French army had been entrusted to the celebrated Stuart d'Aubigny, a knight of Scottish ancestry, who had been invested by Charles VIII. with the dignity of Constable of France, and who was accounted one of the most capable officers in Europe.[1] But a greater captain than d'Aubigny was already on his way from Castile, who was in a single campaign to restore the reputation of the Spanish infantry to the proud position which they had once occupied in the armies of ancient Rome.

Landing at Reggio in Calabria, on the 26th of May, 1495, with a force of all arms not exceeding 5000 fighting men, Gonsalvo de Cordova speedily took possession of that important base of operations, established himself on the coast, captured several inland towns, was victorious in many skirmishes, and would soon have overrun the whole of Calabria, had not the rashness of Frederic, the young King of Naples, who had succeeded but a few months before to the crown which Alfonso had abdicated after a reign of less than one year, led to a disastrous check at Seminara. But Gonsalvo rapidly reorganised his army, and showing himself, like a great general, no less admirable in repairing a defeat than in taking advantage of a victory, he had kept d'Aubigny so completely in check that he had been unable even to go to the assistance of Montpensier, who was in sore straits in Naples. The citizens soon opened their gates to their lawful sovereign, and Montpensier retreated with his remaining forces to Avella, on the banks of the Lagni, twenty miles north-east of the city of Naples, whither Gonsalvo promptly marched to besiege him. Having received intelligence in the course of his march—Gonsalvo was ever well informed—that a strong body of French, with some Angevin knights and nobles, were on their way to effect a junction with d'Aubigny, he surprised them by a night attack in the fortified town of Lino, where he captured every one of the Angevin lords, no less than twenty in number, and immediately marching off to Avella with his spoils and prisoners, and an immense booty, he

[1] Brantôme speaks of him with the utmost respect, and calls him the "*Grand Chevalier sans reproche*". *Vie des hommes Illustres*, ii., 59.

arrived at Frederic's camp early in July, just thirteen months after their separation on the disastrous field of Seminara.

On hearing of Gonsalvo's approach, the king marched out to meet him, accompanied by Cæsar Borgia, the Papal Legate, and many of the principal Neapolitan nobles and commanders, who greeted the victorious Castilian with the proud title of *the Great Captain*, by which he was already known to some of his contemporaries, and by which he has ever since been distinguished by posterity. At Avella he found a reinforcement of 500 Spanish soldiers, a welcome addition to his small force, which amounted on his arrival to only 2100 men, of whom 600 were cavalry. With such an army, less numerous than a modern German regiment, did Gonsalvo overrun Calabria, outgeneral the most renowned French commanders, and defeat their gallant and well-disciplined forces, emboldened by uninterrupted success.

The siege operations at Avella, which had been conducted without energy by the Neapolitans, received a new impetus from the presence of the Spaniard, who displayed such skill and vigour, that in a few days the French, defeated at every point, were glad to sue for terms, and on the 21st of July, 1496, signed a capitulation which virtually put an end to the war. It was meet that Gonsalvo should now pay a visit to his countryman at the Vatican, and having, on his way to Rome, delivered the town of Ostia from the dictatorship of a Basque adventurer of the name of Guerri, the last remaining hope of the French in Italy, he was received by Alexander VI. with such splendour, that his entry into the city is said to have resembled rather the *Triumph* of a victorious general into ancient Rome, than the visit of a modern grandee.

The streets were lined with enthusiastic crowds, the windows were filled with admiring spectators, the very tops of the houses were covered with lookers on, as Gonsalvo marched into and through the city, preceded by bands of music, and accompanied by his victorious army. The entire garrison of Ostia, with Manuel Guerri at their head, mounted on a wretched horse, was led captive to the Vatican, where Roderic Borgia, in the full splendour of his tiara and pontifical robes, and surrounded by his cardinals, sat on his throne awaiting the coming of his victorious countryman. When Gonsalvo reached the foot of the throne, he knelt down to receive the pontifical benediction, but Alexander raised him in his arms, and presented to him the Golden Rose, the highest and most distinguished honour

that a layman could receive from the hands of the sovereign Pontiff.[1]

The *Great Captain* now returned to Naples, into which city he made an entry scarcely less splendid than that into Rome; and he received at the hands of Frederic more substantial honours than those of a golden rose, in the shape of the Duke-dom of Santangelo, with a fief of two towns and seven dependent villages in the Abruzzo. From Naples the new duke sailed for Sicily, which was then in a state of open insurrection, in consequence of the oppressive rule of Juan de la Nuza, the Neapolitan Viceroy. By the intervention of Gonsalvo, the inhabitants were satisfied to return to their allegiance; and order was restored, without the shedding of a single drop of blood. After some further services to the state, and to the cause of peace, services both diplomatic and military, in Naples, in Sicily and in Calabria, adding in every case to his reputation as a soldier and a statesman, and above all as a great Castilian gentleman, Gonsalvo returned to his native Spain, where he was received with the applause and respect that is not always granted to great men by their own sovereigns, or even by their own countrymen.

His last services to King Frederic and his people, ere he quitted the country, were no less honourable than wise. Frederic was engaged in the siege of the last city in the kingdom of Naples that refused to recognise the dominion of Aragon, the ancient and noble city of Diano, whose inhabitants, vassals of that Prince of Salerno who was attached to the Angevin cause, refused to listen to the terms which were proposed. Gonsalvo took charge of the operations; and the citizens, convinced of the hopelessness of holding out any longer against so vigorous a commander, surrendered a few days afterwards at discretion. Gonsalvo, whether touched at their bravery and their forlorn condition, or merely being averse to severe measures for which he saw no reason, obtained from the king favourable terms for the garrison.

The expulsion of the French from Naples put an end, as might have been supposed, to the Most Holy League. For the high contracting parties, finding themselves secure from immediate danger, conceived themselves no longer bound by

[1] As to the rebuke he is said to have given to His Holiness, the legend is probably copied from that of the Cid. In any case there is a strong family resemblance between them. The authorities for Gonsalvo's presumption are Paolo Giovo, 222; Zurita, lib. iii., 175; Guicciardini, iii., 175; *Cronica del Gran Capitan*, 30.

its provisions. Maximilian, ever penniless and generally faithless, had made no attempt to engage in any operations on the French frontier, nor had any one of the allies contributed to defray the heavy charges incurred by the Spanish sovereigns in fulfilling their part of the agreement. The Venetians were fully occupied in securing for themselves as much of the Neapolitan territory as they could acquire, by way of indemnification for their own expenses. The Duke of Milan had already made a separate treaty with Charles VIII. Each member of the League, in fact, after the first alarm had subsided, had shown himself ready to sacrifice the common cause to his own private advantage; and Ferdinand of Aragon, who had already suspended his operations on the frontiers of Spain in October, 1496, had no difficulty in agreeing to a further truce as regards Naples and Italy, which was signed on the 5th of March, 1497.

The Spaniards had borne the entire burden of the late war. They had been virtually abandoned by their allies, and their unassisted operations had led to the deliverance of Naples, and the safety of the Italian states, and to the humiliation and the defeat of the French. Their immediate objects having been thus happily accomplished, Ferdinand and Isabella proposed to Charles VIII., without shame or hesitation, that the French and Spaniards should enter into an immediate treaty of alliance, with a view to drive out the reigning sovereign of Naples, and divide his kingdom between themselves! Meanwhile the Castilian envoy to the Holy See endeavoured to induce Alexander VI. to withhold the investiture of his kingdom from Frederic, the new sovereign of Naples, on the ground that he was friendly to the Angevin party in Italy, the hereditary enemies of Spain.[1] But Alexander paid no heed to Garcilaso de la Vega. Charles showed himself not only willing, but eager to treat with Fernando de Estrada; but unwilling at once to abandon all his claims to Italian sovereignty, he offered to cede Navarre to Ferdinand, and keep all Naples to himself. Proposals and counter proposals thus passed between France and Spain; but before any definite programme had been agreed to, the negotiations were cut short by the sudden death of the French monarch, in the tennis court at Amboise, on the eve of Easter, 1498.

The success of the Spanish arms under Gonsalvo de Cordova

[1] De Commines, i., viii., c. xxiii.; Mariana, lib. xxvi., c. xvi.

in Italy was but the beginning of a long career of triumph. From the great victory at Seminara, in 1503, to the great defeat of Rocroy, in 1643, the Spanish infantry remained unconquered in Europe. The armies of Castile had been, indeed, as Prescott has it, "cooped up within the narrow limits of the Peninsula, uninstructed and taking little interest in the concerns of the rest of Europe".[1] But the soldiers and sailors of Aragon and Catalonia had fought with distinction, not only in Italy and in Sicily, but in the farthest east of Europe, for 200 years before the *Great Captain* of the united kingdom set foot on the shores of Calabria. Yet the victories of Gonsalvo were the beginning of a new era, and his life is interesting, not only as that of a brave soldier and an accomplished general, who flourished at a very important period of the history of Europe; but it is further and much more interesting as being the history of a man who united in himself many of the characteristics of ancient and modern civilisation, and who himself appears as a sort of middle term between mediæval and modern times.

In personal valour, in knightly courtesy, in gaudy display, he was of his own time. In astute generalship, and in still more astute diplomacy, an envoy not an adventurer, the servant and not the rival of kings, he belongs to a succeeding age, when the leader of a victorious army is prouder to be a loyal subject than a rash rebel. The Castilian lords of earlier days had ever been brave knights; their followers had ever been hardy and untiring combatants. But Gonsalvo was not only a tactician, but a strategist. The men whom he commanded were soldiers. Newly

[1] Don Modesto Lafuente, not without good cause, falls foul of Mr. Prescott for these words, used of Spain in general. "A new world," continues the biographer of Ferdinand and Isabella [meaning, strange to say, not America but *Italy*], "was now open to the Spanish nation." *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii., cap. iii. The statement is certainly unfortunate. The Spanish historian in his rejoinder forbears to go back further than the ninth century. He reminds his readers, not perhaps very happily, of the negotiations of Alfonso X. to secure the Empire for himself, and of various other embassies, including, of course, that sent by Henry III. to the court of Tamerlane; and he is fully justified in reproaching the American writer for overlooking the constant interference, both diplomatic and warlike, of the House of Aragon in the affairs of Sicily and Naples; of the bold stand made by more than one King of Aragon against the Popes; of their campaigns in southern France and in every part of Italy; of the expeditions to Greece and even to Asia Minor; and of the enormous and most beneficial influence of Alfonso V. over every Italian State. And, lastly, he reminds us that in the course of the wars of succession between Castile and Portugal and England, a Spanish fleet was twice victorious over a British squadron in British wars. The American historian has made a still stranger misstatement of the same character with regard to the matrimonial alliance of the Spanish kings. Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, cap. iv., v., ii.; and Lafuente, tom. x., pp. 65-67.

armed and admirably disciplined, the regiments were no longer the followers of some powerful nobleman; they formed a part of the national army of Spain. The short sword of their Celt-iberian ancestors was once more found in their hands. The long lances of the Swiss mercenaries were adopted with conspicuous success. The drill-sergeant took the place of the minstrel in the camp.

Nor was this revolution in the art of war confined to the conduct of the Spanish troops in the field. Before the close of the campaign a national militia, or rather a standing army, had taken the place of the brave but irregular levies of mediæval Spain. A royal ordinance regulated the equipment of every individual, according to his property.[1] A man's arms were declared free from seizure for debt, even by the crown, and smiths and other artificers were restricted, under severe penalties, from working up weapons of war into articles of more pacific use. In 1426 a census was taken of all persons capable of bearing arms; and by an ordinance issued at Valladolid, on 22nd February of the same year, it was provided that one out of every twelve male inhabitants, between twenty and forty-five years of age, should be enlisted for the service of state, whether in the conduct of a foreign war or the suppression of domestic disorder.[2]

[1] *Pragmaticas del Reyno*, 1495, 83, 127, 129.

[2] The remaining eleven were liable to be called on in case of urgent necessity. These recruits were to be, during actual service, excused from taxes; the only legal exempts were the clergy, hidalgos and paupers. A general review and inspection of arms was to take place every year in the month of March or September. *Mem. de la Real Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi., ap. 13.

CHAPTER XLVI.

ROYAL MARRIAGES.

(1490—1506.)

I.—*Schemes of Empire.*

The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella had been blessed, as the phrase runs, with five children. Isabella, the eldest, was born in October, 1470; John, their only son, in 1478; Joanna in June, 1479; Maria in June, 1482; and Katharine in December, 1485. In the education of this royal family no pains were spared by the queen. Ferdinand concerned himself but little about literature or science, within or without the palace. His own scholarship, indeed, was not so imperfect as has sometimes been asserted, and he was at least able to write a letter with his own hand, in very fair Castilian. Nor could Isabella herself lay claim to any very superior attainments.[1] The lessons of Torquemada had been mainly religious or political, and profane letters had been despised, if not absolutely prohibited, by the Dominican, who had directed her earliest steps in knowledge. Both king and queen were essentially practical in their methods; ever inclined to action rather than to contemplation, dealing with men rather than with books, yet appreciating knowledge and culture in others, and making use of the students, rather than of the objects of their study, whenever occasion offered.[2]

But Isabella determined at least that her children should

[1] Bergenroth considers it probable that she was unable to understand any other language than Spanish. *Calendar*, etc., i., 35.

Prescott, chiefly on the authority of Pulgar, asserts that "she could understand, without much difficulty, whatever was spoken or written in Latin in a very moderate standard of excellence, and that she was a diligent collector of books". *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii., cap. xix., a statement for which I can find no authority whatever.

[2] *Calendar*, etc., i., xxxv., xxxvi. There was a most remarkable similarity in the handwriting of the king and the queen.

be provided with such an education as befitted their exalted birth, and her own still higher aspirations. Accomplished scholars from Italy, as well as from the universities of Castile, were found to instruct the young princesses, as well in elegant Latinity as in general literature; while, in the education of the Prince of Asturias, no pains were spared to cultivate his scientific and literary powers, which were by no means inconsiderable, and to fit him by special and intelligent methods of culture and mental development, for the duties of the government of the great kingdom that was reserved for him.[1]

Nor was the education of the noble youth of Castile disregarded by their ever-watchful queen. The reduction of their fathers to loyal obedience, united under an admired but masterful sovereign, had been one of the greatest glories of the early years of her reign; and the encouragement of the young aristocracy of Castile in something better than their old occupation of fighting among themselves, and combining against their sovereign, became, after the conquest of Granada, one of the most legitimate objects of the queen's solicitude.

Peter Martyr, whose letters throw so much light upon the contemporary history of the country, was induced by the queen to return from Italy to Spain, and to assume the direction of a school for the young nobles, a task in which he was ably seconded by one Lucio Marineo, a Sicilian of distinction, a student, an author, and a man of varied attainments in literature and science.

But the subject that occupied the attention of both king and queen more closely than the education of princes or peers was the politic marriage of their children.[2] And yet, by a sad and strange fate, the disposal of these royal princes and princesses, so constantly cared for, the object of so much solicitude at home, the subject of so much negotiation abroad, was, from almost

[1] *Memorias de la Real Acad. de Hist.*, vi., 14.

[2] An inexcusable mistake is made by Prescott (ii., cap. iv.) in saying that "the Spanish monarchs had rarely gone beyond the limits of the Peninsula for their family alliances". A few of the more striking foreign marriages might surely have suggested themselves, such as that in the *ninth* century Alfonso the Chaste married Bertha of France; in the *eleventh* century Afonso VI. married in succession *four* foreign princesses, of whom Isabella, the fourth, was a daughter of the Emperor. Passing over the marriages of the Berenguers of Barcelona with French and Italian ladies, we have in the *twelfth* century the marriage of Alfonso VII. of Leon with a daughter of Ladislaus of Poland, and Alfonso VIII. with Eleanor of England; while in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there was scarcely a king who did not seek and find matrimonial alliances beyond the limits of his Spanish monarchy. A list—and it is a long one—is given by Modesto Lafuente, *Hist. de España*, vol. x., pp. 65-67.

every point of view, the one great and conspicuous failure of the reign of the Catholic kings. Their entire family would seem to have been smitten with some dreadful blight, and to have carried a curse with them into every home in which they were received. John, the only son, died in the flower of his youth within a few months of his early marriage. Isabella, his eldest sister, a widow at twenty, a wife once more, under the most odious conditions, died ere the first year of her new married life was accomplished, leaving, indeed, a son, the hope of two nations—who in his turn withered and perished, within two years of his mother's death. Katharine, the youngest born, whose English marriages ended so unhappily, has been celebrated rather for her misfortunes than for her virtues, great as the latter were. Maria, the least gifted and the least unhappy, found an unambitious husband in her widowed brother-in-law, Emmanuel, King of Portugal. For Joanna, distinguished by the most magnificent of alliances, was reserved also the most dreadful fate—a fate of which the full horror has only of late been appreciated by an indulgent posterity.

The first to be celebrated of all these royal marriages was that of the Princess Isabella with Alfonso, the heir to the crown of Portugal, which took place in the autumn of the year 1490, and which was apparently calculated to lead to the happiest results. But the magnificent wedding festivities at Lisbon were scarce concluded when the bridegroom died, and the widowed princess returned disconsolate to her mother (Jan., 1491).

The marriage of John, Prince of Asturias, was the next, and apparently the most important alliance, that engaged the attention of his parents; and, moved by many considerations of policy and prestige, they turned their thoughts to far-away Flanders. Maximilian of Hapsburg,[1] the titular sovereign of the Holy Roman Empire, had, by his first wife, Mary, a daughter of Charles the Bold, and in her own right Duchess of Burgundy, been made the father of two children, Philip, born in 1478, and Margaret, in 1480. Their beautiful mother died in 1482; and Philip, on attaining his legal majority at the age of sixteen, assumed, in her right, the government of the Low Countries in 1494. It was with this youthful sovereign, the heir to yet more splendid possessions, that the Catholic sovereigns desired

[1] Maximilian was in many ways a very remarkable man. His character is vigorously defended by Coxe in his *History of the House of Austria* (i., cap. xxv.), from the usual aspersions of Robertson, David Hume and Roscoe. He married, secondly, Bianca Maria, daughter of Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan.

to unite their younger daughter in marriage, while the hand of his sister Margaret was sought for the Prince of Asturias. The advantages to Spain of such a double marriage were enormous.

If Prince John were to marry the Archduchess Margaret, the only daughter of the emperor, he would inherit, in the event of the death of the Archduke Philip without issue, the great possessions of the Hapsburgs, Austria, Flanders and Burgundy, with a claim to the empire that had eluded his great ancestor, Alfonso X.[1] That the Archduke Philip should in his turn espouse, not Isabella, the eldest, but Joanna, the second daughter of the Catholic king, would prevent Spain from passing under the dominion of Austria, even in the unlikely event of the death of Prince John without issue, inasmuch as Isabella of Portugal would, in such a case, inherit the Spanish crown, to the prejudice of her younger sister in Flanders. And finally, if all the young wives and husbands should live to a reasonable age, and should leave children behind them at their death, one grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella would wear the Imperial purple as lord of central Europe, and another would sit upon the throne of a great united Peninsular kingdom of Castile, Portugal and Aragon.

The manifold advantages to Spain from such an arrangement were so obvious, that the emperor would possibly have refused his consent, had it not been for the consummate skill in negotiation that was displayed by the Spanish envoy, Don John Manuel, not the least remarkable of the many remarkable men selected by Isabella to do her bidding at home and abroad.[2]

A Castilian of uncertain origin, introduced in the first instance to the queen's notice as clerk or secretary in the palace, he speedily obtained the confidence, not only of Isabella, but of Ximenez, and after proving his skill and devotion in many less important negotiations, he was chosen to represent the Spanish sovereigns at the courts of the Emperor and of the Archduke. His success as a diplomatist was complete, for he not only prevailed upon Maximilian to agree to all that was desired by Ferdinand and Isabella, but he secured the good will and personal regard

[1] The inheritance consisted of the kingdom of Aragon, with its dependencies of Sicily, Naples, Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic Islands; of Castile, with the newly-discovered countries beyond the Atlantic; of the Burgundian States, including the Netherlands, Alsatia and the Duchy of Burgundy; of the five Austrian principalities; and of the Imperial purple.

[2] See Marsollier, *Vie de Ximenes*, i., 232-242; Peter Martyr, *Ep.*, 282; Zurita, *An.*, vi., lib. vi., 1; Gomez, 53; Mariana, ii., lib. xxviii., 12; Rodriguez Villa, *Juana la loca* (1892), p. 107.

of all the parties to the transaction. The negotiation for the double marriage, for a league against France, for an alliance with England, and for the maintenance of the situation in Italy, were all satisfactorily concluded in the course of the year 1495.[1]

In the early autumn of 1496 (22nd Aug.), a splendid fleet set out from Laredo, a little port between Bilbao and Santander, which carried Joanna in safety to her expectant bridegroom. The archduke, and the princess for whom so sad a fate was reserved, were married at Lille with the usual rejoicings; and the Spanish admiral, charged a second time with a precious freight of marriageable royalty, brought back the Lady Margaret of Hapsburg with all honour to Spanish Santander, early in March, 1497. The marriage of the heir apparent took place at Burgos, on the 3rd of April; and on the 4th of October of the same year, the gentle and accomplished Prince of Asturias had passed away from Spain, and from this world. A youth of great promise, apparently destined to fill the most splendid position in Europe, amiable, intelligent, highly cultivated, John was a prince whose loss could never be supplied, and his death was an irreparable blow dealt to Spain.

Yet, once again, and for a few months, there lived an heir to United Spain, whose brief existence is scarce remembered in history. Isabella, the widowed queen of John II. of Portugal, had been persuaded or constrained by her parents to contract a marriage with her husband's cousin and successor Emmanuel; but the price of her hand was the price of blood. For it was stipulated that the Jews, who, by the liberality of the late king, had been permitted to find a home in his dominions, should be driven out of the country after the stern Castilian fashion of 1492, ere the widowed Isabella should wed her cousin on the throne of Portugal. Whether the princess was an apt pupil, or merely the slave of her mother and the inquisitor that lurked behind the throne, we cannot say, but the Portuguese lover consented to the odious bargain. The marriage was solemnised at Valencia de Alcantara, in the early days of the month of August, 1497, and the stipulated Tribute to Bigotry was duly paid. But before ever the bridal party had left the town, an express had arrived with the news of the mortal illness of the bride's only brother; and in little more than a year, the young queen herself, on the 23rd of August, 1498, expired in giving birth to a son. The boy received the name of Miguel, and

[1] See *Calendar*, etc., i., pp. 54-75.

lived for nearly two years—the heir apparent of Portugal, of Aragon, and of Castile—until he too was involved in the general destruction.

But some time before the death or even before the birth of Miguel, another royal marriage had been concluded, whose results throughout all time were no less remarkable and scarce less important than that which handed over Spain to a Flemish emperor. For after infinite negotiations and more than one rupture, after some ten years huxtering about dowry, and a dozen changes of policy on the part of the various sovereigns interested in the alliance, Katharine, the youngest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, more familiarly known as Katharine of Aragon, had been married to Arthur, Prince of Wales, and the first act had been concluded of that strange and fateful drama that led to the Reformation in England.[1]

II.—*Negotiations in England.*

If the protracted negotiations that ultimately led to the marriage of Katharine of Aragon with two English princes are interesting in themselves, a brief sketch of the character of the chief negotiator between Spain and England will scarcely be considered impertinent. The position of Roderigo de Puebla,[2] the principal envoy of the Spanish sovereigns at this time at the court of London, was somewhat remarkable. Trusted rather by Henry VII. than by either Ferdinand or Isabella, looking for his remuneration to England rather than to Spain, and holding

[1] The first commission to the envoy Puebla and his colleague Sepulveda to conclude the marriage between the Infanta Katharine and Arthur, Prince of Wales, is dated from Murcia, as early as 30th April, 1488, when the young princess had not yet completed her *third* year. *Calendar*, etc., i., p. 3. In the following July, Henry VII. congratulates the Spanish sovereigns on their successes against the Moors; and on the same day it is stated that the Infanta Katharine's marriage portion is to be 200,000 crowns of 4s. 2d., *Calendar*, etc. (1862), pp. 129-131, and correspondence of October, 1496. The preliminary treaty of marriage was signed by the commissioners in London the next day, 7th July, after protracted negotiations about marriage portion, dowry and alliance with France and Germany, and the disposal of the person and dominions of Anne of Brittany. See also *Documentos Ineditos*, etc., i., 356-361.

[2] In 1489 he was temporarily recalled to Spain. Nor was any further negotiation of any importance undertaken through him from September, 1491, to November, 1494, when he returned, invested with extraordinary powers, to London, where he represented, not only the crowns of Castile and Aragon, but also the Pope and the German Emperor. *Calendar of State Papers* (Spanish), 1485-1509, Introduction, pp. 20, 21.

the interests of England at least as dear as those of his native country, he retained his diplomatic position rather as a man from whom Ferdinand could learn what Henry wanted, than as one who would necessarily further the interests of Spain in England.

Puebla, as Bergenroth happily says,[1] was treated by Ferdinand more as an English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, well-disposed towards Spain and bitterly hostile to France, than as an ambassador as we understand the word. For he not only followed the profession of a lawyer in London, "extorting money from every Spaniard who came within his clutches";[2] but he economised in personal expenditure by dining nearly every day with the king, though it is just possible that the wily doctor may have been quite as anxious to obtain information as food. The ambassador was certainly not extravagantly fond of good living; nor were the diplomatic traditions of later days as regards the political importance of a good cook as yet developed in Europe. For when royal entertainment was not at the disposal of Puebla, he dined at the table of the mason who kept the house of ill-fame at which he resided in London. The price charged was not high. It was no more than two-pence per diem. The landlord recouped himself, as we are told, by robbing the other gentlemen who frequented the house, and de Puebla protected him against the agents of the law.

But the envoy had no direct emoluments from England. In 1497 Henry offered him an English bishopric. His acceptance of so lucrative a post would, however, have rendered him entirely independent of Spain, and the required permission was not granted by Ferdinand and Isabella.[3] Three years later Henry offered him a rich English wife; but the lady was no more acceptable than the mitre to the court of Spain.

Puebla remained, therefore, in London, unwedded and unbeneficed, poor, servile, avaricious; conferring with the King of

[1] "There were sufficient indications that Henry trusted to De Puebla more than he would confide to any ambassador. It is even probable that at that time there was not a single Englishman who shared the confidence of the king to so great an extent. What could be more convenient for Ferdinand and Isabella than to have a man who had such intimate relations with the king, subject to their orders? But in order that the interests of Spain should not suffer they always kept another ambassador in England in addition to De Puebla." *Calendar*, etc., vol. i., Introduction, pp. 23, 24.

[2] Dr. Breton to Londoño, 18th July, 1498. *Calendar*, etc., i., p. 166.

[3] The only hold that his own sovereigns maintained over this strange ambassador was the power of immediate recall.

England in his closet, when no English subject was present, assisting at the deliberations of the Privy Council as the friend of English royalty; distrusted by Ferdinand, flattered by Isabella, supported by Henry, a strange go-between in the service of two countries.[1]

The treaty of marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Katharine was concluded, for the second time, in the month of October, 1497. It had been ratified by both parties over and over again; and the marriage ceremony had been more than once performed by proxy, the last time secretly[2]—in fear of the King of Scots—in the Chapel of the Royal Manor at Bewdley.

Yet after everything had been done, and great sums had been spent in order that a splendid reception might be given to the princess, her departure from Spain was still postponed. There were more reasons than one for the delay. Ferdinand, on closer examination of the treaty, found out, or fancied, that he had been deceived by Henry in regard to the dowry.[3] Objections of all kinds were raised; and renewed excuses were offered for the postponement of the departure of the princess. The weather, the Moors of Granada, the receipt or delay of a letter. Anything would serve its turn. The question about the servants who were to accompany the Princess Katharine to England, moreover, gave no little trouble. Ferdinand and Isabella desired to send as many, and Henry to receive as few as possible. But upon one thing the king insisted—that the Spanish ladies who were to reside with the princess in England should be all of them beautiful, or, in any case, not ugly![4]

This last stipulation was, no doubt, a matter of policy; but every trifle was earnestly debated; and every debate gave rise to further delay: the potability of English water; the facilities for obtaining drinkable wine; the title to be given to the King of England; the influence of English life upon female morality; all

[1] Don Pedro de Ayala, apostolic and Imperial prothonotary, with the rank of a bishop, the bitterest enemy and rival of Puebla, was first nominated ambassador to the King of Scots, but afterwards, while retaining his post in Scotland, he was also accredited to the King of England.

See *Calendar* (1862), pp. 114-119, Isabella to Puebla, 18th August, 1496.

[2] The Bishop of Lincoln had scrupled to officiate on that occasion, because dignitaries of the Church were forbidden to sanction clandestine marriages. His objections, however, were overruled by De Puebla.

[3] See *Calendar*, etc., Introd. lxxxix., p. 220; and Ferdinand and Isabella to de Puebla, 6th June, 1500 (Simancas).

[4] *Calendar*, etc., Introd., p. 90.

these things were seriously considered. Nor did the regular diplomatic channels of correspondence suffice for information or procrastination.[1] Some private letters that passed between one of Henry's secretaries and his nephew in Castile were placed at the disposal of the king and queen; and some of them may still be read among the national archives of Spain.[2]

But the resources even of diplomatic correspondence are not infinite; and at last, on Sunday, the 2nd of October, 1501, more than thirteen years after the first letter had been written, Katharine of Aragon sailed into the harbour of Portsmouth. Within a few days the long-looked for marriage was solemnised at Westminster.[3] And within six months—2nd April, 1502—the young bridegroom died at the castle of Ludlow, whither he had kept his little court, in the hope that the pure air of the west country would strengthen his delicate constitution.

When the news of the death of Arthur reached Ferdinand and Isabella they sent, without a moment's delay, the Duke de Estrada as their ambassador to England. He received two commissions, both dated on the 10th of May, 1502. By the first, which was drawn up for show, he was commanded: (1st) To demand and receive back from the King of England the 100,000 crowns which had been paid as an instalment of the marriage portion of the Princess of Wales. (2nd) To demand that the King of England should deliver to the princess the towns, manors and lands which had been assigned as her dowry. (3rd) To beg Henry to send the princess back to Spain in the most becoming manner and with the least possible delay; and lastly, to superintend himself, if necessary, the preparations for her immediate departure from England.

By the second commission, which was drawn up for use, he was authorised to conclude a marriage between the Princess Katharine and Henry Prince of Wales.[4]

The second instructions, of course, represented the true scope of the embassy. Ferdinand and Isabella had been already informed of Henry's desire for the second marriage; but Estrada was ordered on no account to allow the English king to know

[1] The Duke of Northumberland is written of in one of these private letters as el Duque de *Nuestroberlenguen!*

[2] *Calendar*, etc., i., Introduction, xci., and p. 254, No. 294.

[3] An account of the marriage festivities at Westminster, which were most magnificent, is given, from a contemporary MS., in Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. v., pp. 356-373.

[4] *Calendar*, etc., i., Introd., p. 93.

that such an alliance would be pleasing to the Catholic sovereigns, lest he should drive too hard a bargain with them in the matter of the dowry.

Isabella wrote with her own hand in August, 1502, urging the immediate return of Katharine, that she might give freer vent to her grief in the arms of her mother. She actually sent formal instructions to Estrada for the embarkation of the household, and even of the furniture, of the princess. But at the same time she privately informed the envoy that Katharine was on no account to be permitted to return to Spain, but that the most favourable terms as regards her marriage with her brother-in-law should be exacted from the English court.[1]

Henry, on the arrival of Estrada, and the display of his well-prepared letters, at once made overtures for the second marriage; and he was at length on the point of signing a new treaty of matrimonial alliance, when the death of his own queen, Elizabeth, caused him to change his plans. He would marry Katharine himself! The fact of her being his own daughter-in-law was an obstacle not even worthy of consideration by a solvent sovereign in those palmy days of Papal indulgence.

But Isabella would not hear of the proposal; and the court of Spain suggested that Henry should console himself with the Queen-Dowager of Naples, who was then residing at Valencia, and to whom Ferdinand offered a magnificent marriage portion, in the event of her accepting the hand of the King of England. Henry accordingly withdrew his pretensions to the hand of his daughter-in-law, and despatched a confidential envoy to Spain to examine and report upon the personal qualifications of the Queen of Naples; on the 23rd of June, 1503, in the palace at Richmond, Katharine of Aragon was formally affianced, not to her father-in-law Henry VII., but to her brother-in-law, more celebrated in the history of England and of the world as Henry VIII.[2]

[1] *Calendar*, etc., i., pp. 278-282.

[2] The treaty of marriage or betrothal, or rather an English translation of the Latin original, is printed in vol. i. of the *Calendar*, etc. (Spain), on pp. 306-308. The greater part of the treaty is devoted to stipulations as regards dowry and "*escudos* of 4s. 2d. of English money"; but articles 1 and 2 are perhaps of sufficient interest to justify their quotation in their entirety:—

1. Ferdinand and Isabella, as well as Henry VII., promise to employ all their influence with the court of Rome, in order to obtain the dispensation of the Pope necessary for the marriage of the Princess Katharine with Henry, Prince of Wales. The Papal dispensation is required, because the said Princess Katharine had on a former occasion contracted a marriage with the late Prince Arthur, brother of the present Prince of Wales, whereby she became related to Henry, Prince of Wales, in the first degree of affinity, and because her marriage with Prince Arthur

It has been recently suggested that it was not intended by the King of England that the marriage of Katharine with the Prince of Wales should ever be consummated, and that the treaty of alliance was forced upon Henry by Ferdinand. Be this as it may, it is at least certain that the young bride and bridegroom were kept apart, and scarce permitted to see one another, even in company, while Henry was carrying on the negotiations, for his own marriage with the Queen of Naples. And his negotiations, like most of those between the kings and queens of Europe in or about the year of grace 1503, ran by no means a straight or a rapid course. When this matrimonial alliance was first proposed by the Spanish sovereigns to Henry VII., the political state of Europe rendered the friendship of the King of England highly desirable to Ferdinand, while the goodwill of Ferdinand was equally valuable to Henry. Ferdinand was involved in a war with France, in consequence of the quarrels which had arisen respecting the partition of the kingdom of Naples, and Henry wished to make use of Ferdinand in order to obtain, through his influence, possession of the Earl of Suffolk. But as soon as Ferdinand had entered into negotiations for peace with France, the alliance with Henry became a subordinate consideration, and he accordingly proposed to Louis XI. that the intended bride of Henry should be married to King Alfonso of Naples—and he threw over the King of England without hesitation or apology.

Protest, as Henry well knew, was of no avail with such an antagonist as the King of Aragon. But an occasion soon presented itself for a practical retort, of which the English king was not slow to take advantage; and Henry was able to revenge himself by the execution of a treaty with Philip of Burgundy, the rival regent of Castile.[1]

was solemnised according to the rites of the Catholic Church, and afterwards consummated.

2. If the aforesaid dispensation be obtained, Ferdinand and Isabella on the one side, and Henry VII. on the other, promise that a marriage *per verba de præsenti* shall be contracted within two months after this treaty shall have been ratified by both the contracting parties.

[1] During the lifetime of Perkin Warbeck Henry looked upon Philip as one of his most determined enemies. The animosity existing between Henry and the archduke soon communicated itself to the two nations. The English were treated badly in Flanders, and the Flemings had much to suffer in England. But from the time that Philip leant more towards the policy of France the relations between him and England sensibly improved. The beginning of a much more intimate friendship between Henry and Philip is to be dated from their interview near Calais on Whit-Tuesday, in the year 1500. Henry seems to have appreciated the confidence placed in him by Philip, who came to the meeting without ceremony

Meanwhile the unfortunate Katharine was leading a hard life in England. A hostage, to all intents and purposes, in the hands of Henry; affianced but not married to his son; left without money by Ferdinand in order to annoy Henry, and stinted by Henry in order to coerce Ferdinand, she was constantly employed by her father and mother to conduct negotiations too shameless, or, in diplomatic language, too delicate, to be committed to the harder hands of de Puebla or of Ayala.

Not the least strange, and not the least disgraceful of the negotiations that she was privileged to conduct, was that for the marriage of her father-in-law, Henry VII.—the father of both her husbands—with her own sister Joanna, whom her own father had publicly asserted to be mad. A more humiliating position than that which she occupied when she was compelled to indite love letters from her father-in-law to her sister, it is hardly possible to imagine. A man of ordinary good feeling would have felt degraded by any participation in the sordid and shameless schemes of matrimonial alliance that a young and royal lady, herself intimately connected with the principal actors in the ever-shifting drama of international politics, was specially called upon to negotiate.

The dignified sadness of her story as *Queen Katharine*—insulted, divorced and abandoned—the unwilling heroine of the great tragic drama that was played in the reign of Henry VIII. of England, is known to all men, who extend to her, with one consent, their pity and their respect. But those only who know something of the seven dreary and disgraceful years that she spent in the palace of her father-in-law, before she was permitted to know, even for a season, the happiness of a husband's love, or to enjoy the great position of Queen of England, may alone understand the fulness of the measure of her wretchedness.

and without protection. Nor was he the only person on whom the behaviour of the young Archduke produced a favourable impression. He became popular with all the English who were present, and even De Puebla wrote that he was a much better prince than he was generally reported. The vanity of Henry must, moreover, have been flattered to a considerable extent, when he overheard the Archduke telling the Spanish ambassador that he regarded the King of England as his natural Protector. On the whole, they behaved to one another like father and son. Although Henry had afterwards occasionally to complain of the Archduke, they never ceased to call one another father and son down to the death of the latter. *Calendar* (Spain), etc., i., pp. 101, 102.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE RISE OF XIMENEZ.

(1436—1499.)

I.

The elevation or the removal of the virtuous Talavera to the Archiepiscopal See of Granada vacated the yet more important post of confessor to the Queen of Castile; and the fortunate ecclesiastic who was chosen to fill that great position was destined to occupy a place in the history of Spain and of Europe undreamed of by Torquemada himself.

Alfonso[1] Ximenez de Cisneros was born of honourable parents at Torrelaguna, on the southern slopes of the Guadarrama, not far from Madrid, some time in the year 1436. After some preliminary studies at Alcalà, already celebrated as a school of learning, he was admitted at an early age as a student at Salamanca. Having taken his degree at that university, he proceeded to Rome, and after a residence of nearly six years at the capital of Christendom, he obtained from the Pope Paul II. a Bull *expectative*,[2] preferring him to the first benefice of a certain value that should become vacant in the See of Toledo. Thus provided for, he at once returned to Castile, and on the

[1] According to Hefele, Gonzalez was his baptismal name—perhaps in addition to that of Alfonso. (Gonzalez was not a baptismal name but an ancestral surname borne by the Ximenes family.—H.)

[2] These Bulls had been condemned as long ago as 1179 by the third Lateran Council under Alexander III. Hardouin, *Col. Conc.*, vi., 1677. Innocent III. revived the practice by a subterfuge, causing the words of the grant to be somewhat varied; and Boniface VIII., while sternly condemning a *special* expectative, permitted the adoption of the *general* expectative—that is, a promise without specification of benefice. The entire system was finally abolished by the Council of Trent, 1563. Pallavicini, *Hist. Conc. Trident.*, lxxiii., c. vi. The grant to Ximenez was *generally expectative;* and was thus in accordance with the letter, if contrary to the spirit, of the existing ecclesiastical law.

death of the arch-priest of Uzeda, in 1473, took possession of his ecclesiastical office by virtue of this Papal grant.

But Alfonso Carrillo, the warlike Archbishop of Toledo, was a Churchman of what may be called the old school in Spain; and he showed his Castilian independence, and his practical contempt for the Pope[1] and his patronage, by lodging the *expectant* Ximenez not in the clergy-house, but in the prison, of Uzeda. Here the young priest remained in confinement, in spite of Bulls and benefices, for nearly six years, when he was glad (1480) to exchange his very unenviable position at San Torquato[2] for that of chaplain to the great Cardinal Mendoza, at that time Bishop of Sigüenza. Mendoza soon conceived so great a respect and affection for Ximenez that he nominated him to be his Grand Vicar, and entrusted him with a large share in the administration of his diocese. In addition to this spiritual jurisdiction, the Count of Cifuentes, who was a prisoner in the hands of the Moors, about the same time appointed Ximenez to be the agent or administrator-general of all his landed property which lay near Sigüenza.[3]

But in 1483 Mendoza was raised to the archiepiscopal throne of Toledo; the Count of Cifuentes obtained his liberty, and returned to his estates in Castile; and Ximenez, although he is said to have devoted his abundant leisure to the study of Oriental languages, was not the man to reconcile himself to the pale and uneventful life of a country priest. These real or supposed studies may perhaps have suggested to his maturer years the production of the great *Polyglot*. But Ximenez, though he became so great a patron of scholarship, was never himself a scholar. His life would have been wasted in the study. He was, for good or for evil, essentially a man of action.

He accordingly abandoned his benefice at Sigüenza, and following his friend and patron Cardinal Mendoza to Toledo, he entered the Franciscan Monastery of San Juan de les Reyes,[4] which had been lately founded by Ferdinand and Isabella. The new friar was now[5] nine-and-forty, a mature age for any one

[1] Pope Gregory had been succeeded at the Vatican by Sixtus IV. in 1473.

[2] Previous to his release, which was obtained by the intervention of the Countess of Buendia, a sister of the archbishop, he had been confined in the ecclesiastical prison of *San Torquato*.

[3] Marsollier, i., 47.

[4] He then changed his own Christian name of Alfonso to that of Francisco, by which he was ever afterwards known.

[5] A.D. 1484 or 1485.

to change his way of life. When a man close upon fifty forsakes the world for the cloister, it is usually to seek repose, and to find obscurity. Ximenez is perhaps in all history the most striking exception to the rule. For three years he lived in a hut in the precincts of the monastery at Castañar. For five years more he administered the affairs of the more important Confraternity at Salceda. At length, upon the conquest of Granada, and the promotion of Father Talavera to the newly created archbishopric, he was called, at the urgent request of Cardinal Mendoza, and to the astonishment of all Spain, to take his place in the queen's closet, in 1492; and on the death of the same eminent protector three years later, having secured the confidence of Isabella, he succeeded him in the more than princely office of Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain (1495.)[1]

Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, Cardinal of Spain, a great nobleman, an eminent ecclesiastic, and a powerful statesman, had exercised for full twenty years before his death so enormous an influence upon the affairs of his country, both at the court of Henry IV. and at the court of Isabella and Ferdinand, that he was generally spoken of as "the third King of Spain". The youngest son of the celebrated Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana, the archbishop had ever been a loyal supporter of Henry IV.; but on the death of that monarch, he attached himself to the party of Isabella rather than to that of Joanna, and contributed largely by his wealth, his experience, and his commanding influence, to the ultimate success of her cause. One of the last, if not actually the last representative of the old school of aristocratic Churchmen who obtained great preferment in Spain, he maintained a princely state, and dispensed a magnificent hospitality. A troop of children was considered no disgrace to his orders; a liberal interpretation of the duties of his office brought with it no suspicion of heresy. A patron of learning and of learned men, and of all that was noble and worthy, generous in every sense of the word, he founded a college at Valladolid, and an hospital at Toledo, and he resisted the establishment of the Inquisition as a needless novelty in Spain.

How keen was his judgment of men, how prompt his appreciation of merit, may be seen in his early patronage of the unknown and disregarded country priest, whom he afterwards

[1] Alfonso de Carrillo had filled the see from 1446 to 1483—a primacy of nearly forty years! He was immediately succeeded by Mendoza, who lived till 1495.

introduced to Isabella as her confessor. How true he was to his Church and to his country, may be judged by the fact that he prevailed upon the queen to select the obscure friar to succeed him on the throne of Toledo.

If Ximenez was of humble birth, he was of Imperial ability. If he was bigoted, he was zealous. If he was hard, he was also great of heart. And if, as was said, it was in accordance with Mendoza's dying wishes, it certainly was in accordance with the queen's policy, that the most exalted dignity in Castile, to which the highest nobles were proud to aspire, and which carried with it an amount of power and influence unrivalled in Spain, should be bestowed upon a poor priest, a man of the people, whose severe life and inflexible will had alone commended him to his sovereign.

The story of the friar's reluctance to accept the archiepiscopal dignity is well known. Ferdinand, indeed, strenuously opposed his appointment to the office, which he had destined for one of his illegitimate children, Don Alfonso of Aragon, who, although but twenty-four years of age, was already a prelate of some standing, having been consecrated Archbishop of Saragossa at the early age of six years, on the death of the former primate, himself an illegitimate son of John II. of Aragon.[1] But Isabella behaved with her usual determination. She disregarded at once the entreaties of her husband and the protestations of her confessor;[2] and she obtained from Alexander VI., not one, but two Bulls, appointing Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros to the vacant See.[3] Thus Ximenez, who in 1492, was still an obscure friar, whose fifty-six years of life had been passed in comparative obscurity, found himself, less than three years later, the most powerful man in Spain,[4] the most magnificent ecclesiastic in

[1] The spiritual primacy of Aragon seems to have been carefully reserved for the bastards of the reigning kings. The suffragan bishops, no doubt, needed no serious supervision.

The Archbishops of Saragossa about this time, according to Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, were as follow :—

1460	...	John of Aragon.
1478	...	Alfonso of Aragon.
1520	...	John of Aragon.
1539	...	Ferdinand of Aragon.

[2] Hefele, cap. v.; Gomez, 939; Fléchier, lib. i., 34; Robles, c. xiii.

[3] Cardinal Mendoza died on 11th January; Ximenez was not consecrated till 11th October (1495).

[4] The Archbishop of Toledo, by virtue of his office, Primate of Spain and Grand Chancellor of Castile, was esteemed, after the Pope, the highest ecclesiastical dignitary in Christendom. His revenues at the close of the fifteenth century

Christendom, yielding a nominal obedience in spiritual affairs only to infallible Cæsar at Rome.

Isabella may not have been as imperious, but she was quite as determined as her confessor, and in a conflict of will the queen would probably have had her way. But it should not have been a task of extreme difficulty to persuade Ximenez to undertake the congenial task of ruling his fellows. No Churchman, surely, who ever received the tonsure was so pre-eminently fitted, both by his temper and by his intellect, for supreme command; and few men, lay or ecclesiastical, have displayed their power with more splendid arrogance. All the qualities and all the defects of his character were those of a man masterful, eager, impatient, zealous, headstrong, not so much a leader as a dominator of men. His first act on assuming the archiepiscopal functions was eminently characteristic of his temper. The younger brother of his predecessor, the living representative of the man to whom he owed everything that he enjoyed in this world, Don Pedro de Mendoza, had obtained the lucrative post of Adelantado, or local administrator of a district in the ecclesiastical province of Toledo. The new primate was asked by influential friends to confirm Don Pedro in his position. It was even suggested that the appointment would be agreeable to the queen. Ximenez promptly refused. A storm of indignation not unnaturally arose. Isabella was appealed to, but she prudently declined to interfere. The arrogance and the ingratitude of the new prelate were universally condemned. But when at length the indignation of the courtiers had spent itself without result, it was announced to the astonished *Adelantado* that Ximenez, of his own motion, and in spite of the intervention of impertinent strangers, had been pleased to confirm him in the office for which he was so admirably fitted.

Such a man is hardly likely to have preferred the submission of a Franciscan cloister to the throne of the Primate of Spain, with the incidental and tremendous authority of President of the Royal Council and Chancellor of Castile. Yet in one respect Ximenez maintained his monastic rule of life in his new and splendid position. A hair shirt, we are told, was ever worn under his magnificent robes. No linen was suffered to touch

exceeded 80,000 ducats, while the gross amount is said to have reached the enormous sum of 180,000. He could, moreover, muster a greater number of vassals than any other subject in the kingdom, and held jurisdiction over fifteen large and populous towns besides a great number of inferior places, etc. Navagiero, *Viaggio*, fol. 9.

his sacred person. A truckle bed was found by the side of the gorgeous couch on which the primate might have legitimately reposed. The food at his table was so plain as to call forth the remonstrance of so indulgent a censor of ecclesiastical manners as Pope Alexander VI.[1] And his biographers relate, with pardonable pride, that a needle and thread, with some pieces of coarse stuff, were, after his death, found hidden away in his cabinet, the materials with which the very hands of the proud yet humble cardinal had busied themselves in the patching of his monastic frock.

The first serious task of the new primate was the reform of the Monastic Orders; and the work was one which taxed the powers of Ximenez to the utmost, and which for a long time defied even his zeal, his vigour and his authority. Some twelve months before he had been prevailed upon to accept the pre-eminent position of Archbishop of Toledo, he had been called to the humbler yet important office of Provincial of the Franciscan Order in Spain, and he had addressed himself without delay to the work of improving the manners and morals of the regular clergy, an attempt in which he was warmly encouraged by Isabella. His new position enabled him to prosecute the ungrateful task with his usual vigour, and with greatly increased authority. Yet the work was not accomplished, nor, indeed, fairly undertaken, without the most powerful, the most obstinate, and the most wide-spread opposition. The general of his Order arrived from Rome, and denounced him in no measured language to Isabella (1495). His own brother, Bernardo, who had also assumed the habit of St. Francis, made an attempt upon his life at Alcalá de Henares;[2] and on his recovery from this murderous assault, he found that the Pope,

[1] The brief is dated 15th December, or perhaps 15th September, 1495. See Hefele, cap. vi., and authorities cited; and Baudier, *Vie de Ximenes*, ed. 1851, p. 197; Robles, i., 169-174.

[2] He was visited for this offence only with a short term of imprisonment; and he received on his release a considerable pension. It would have been unseemly that the brother of the Primate of Spain, and a friar to boot, should suffer either restraint or poverty. See Hefele, cap. vi. Ximenez had a third brother, Juan, who was more worthy of his position, if undistinguished in his personal career. He married a daughter of the Count of Barajas, and left a numerous family, whose descendants are still, it is said, recognised in Spain, and of whom one fortunate member, David (Sir David Ximenez), entered the British army in 1794, was present at the taking of Ischia in 1809, and commanded the 62nd Foot at Genoa in 1814. He also served with distinction in India, and was appointed full colonel of the 16th Foot and a major-general in 1837. After thirty-eight years of foreign service he died in England in August, 1848, a lieutenant-general and a knight of Hanover. Hefele, p. 57; *Army Lists*, 1794-1848.

unwilling directly to veto his projects of reform, had, during his illness, been prevailed upon to appoint a number of highly indulgent commissioners to *assist* him in the work of the purification of the monasteries.

Ximenez was not a man to brook such assistance, or to fail to perceive its true character; and the Papal commissioners were promptly sent back to Rome, whence Alexander retorted by a Bull on the 9th of November, 1496, peremptorily forbidding any one in Spain from proceeding any further in the matter of monastic reform. But Isabella cared nothing for Popes or Bulls, when they ran counter to her own designs. The *Great Captain* with a victorious army was within a few days' march of Rome; and the queen gave Alexander to understand that she intended to have her way. Thereupon, after a decent interval, the Pope, by a Bull of the 23rd of June, 1499, entrusted his faithful and well-beloved Ximenez with such ample powers as enabled him to deal promptly and fully with every friar in Castile.

The primate, it was justly judged, was not the man to leave the task half-performed; and the news of his dreadful intentions spread consternation throughout the religious houses of Spain. One last attempt, it was felt, must be made to maintain the old abuses; and Fray Alfonso de Albornoz, an envoy well skilled in the methods of Papal negotiation, was secretly despatched under the pretext of some private business to Rome, to protect the interests of the threatened friars, and especially of the chapter of Toledo, at the court of Alexander VI. But the secret was not well kept. Ximenez had time to employ the fleetest messenger in Spain to carry letters from Isabella to Garcilaso de la Vega, her minister resident at the Vatican; and Albornoz, as soon as he set foot on shore at the port of Ostia, was arrested, and sent back to Alcalá, as a prisoner of state. Nor was he released from his confinement, until Ximenez had reformed the friars to his heart's content, more than two years after his return as an unwilling traveller to Spain.

At the close of the fifteenth century the secular priests throughout the Peninsula were grossly ignorant; the regulars were grossly licentious. It is doubtful whether the Spanish ecclesiastics were more immoral, even if they were more ignorant, than those of France; and it is certain that in their lives and conversation they never even approached the scandalous and

unblushing depravity of the Italians.[1] Yet they most undoubtedly needed reform.

Direct testimony upon such matters is not likely to be found among contemporary records, but the side-lights upon the subject are abundantly sufficient for our illumination. Throughout the whole of the fourteenth century, for instance, we find that the Cortes of Castile promulgated repeated decrees against the insolence of the *barraganas de clerigos* or concubines of the priests, who were so numerous and so insolent that they called for special legislation for their class.[2] Noteworthy among such ordinances was that promulgated by the Cortes of Valladolid in the reign of Peter the Cruel in 1351. Yet even its severity can have had but little effect upon the manners of the clergy, for we find the ordinance re-enacted in yet more stringent terms in the Cortes of 1387 under John I. In 1405 the priests' ladies were compelled by an edict to wear a scarlet head dress, in order that they might be distinguished from other women. But neither their number nor their insolence appears to have been diminished by legislation; and they are constantly referred to by the various writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

As a scathing satire upon the vices of the contemporary clergy, the verses of Ruiz, the well-known arch-priest of Hita, are sufficiently noteworthy. Nor was the author, in those pre-Inquisition days, subjected to any prosecution or persecution on account of his plain speaking. It is true that he was himself a clerk. So also was Bartolomé Naharro, whose *Propaladia*, published as late as 1517, is not without a considerable freedom of speech upon the same subject. But long before the days of Naharro, old Ayala, a layman and a courtier, had sternly reproved the clerical disorders of his time in his *Rimado del Palacio*.[3] Nor is the covetousness and lewdness of the priests less severely handled by Juan de Padilla, himself a Carthusian friar, in his *Doce Triunfos de los doce Apostoles*, published in Seville even after the establishment of the Inquisition. The

[1] The Council of Aranda, in 1473, had been compelled to lay down that in future no man should be ordained a priest who did not understand Latin. This modest provision is far more eloquent than the most savage diatribes. Hefele, 116, 117.

[2] *Cortes de Valladolid*, art. 24. See P. Mérimée, *Pèdre I.*, p. 38-40 and note; and vol. i. of this history, Appendix on BARRAGANERIA, p. 404.

[3] Printed for the first time in the *Revista de Madrid*, for December, 1832. See also De Castro, *Protestantes Españoles*, cap. i.

facts of the case were so patent that no man ever sought to hide them.[1]

If the inferior clergy of the day, both secular and regular, were somewhat lax in their way of life, their ecclesiastical superiors were by no means more scrupulous. The better class of prelates, like Carrillo of Toledo, or the Fonsecas of Saragossa and of Seville, had, until the triumph of Isabella put an end to civil war in Spain, passed their time in the more or less honourable pursuit of arms. The bishops of the worser sort were distinguished at once by their violence, their licentiousness, and their disregard of the first principles of religion. A few noble and truly pious men, no doubt, were occasionally to be found among their number. But the conditions of life were not favourable to virtue. Fonseca, Archbishop of Santiago, had contrived by some bargain with Ferdinand to pass on his exalted office to one of his sons.[2] One of his immediate predecessors had been actually thrust out of his seat by the people at Compostella for having so far forgotten himself as to make an attempt upon the honour of a youthful worshipper[3] in the Cathedral of Santiago in 1458. The celebrated Archbishop of Toledo, Don Pedro Tenorio, at the end of the fourteenth century, was a professional agitator. The contemporary Bishop of Palencia was a military commander. So, in the fifteenth century (1432) were Zerezuela, Bishop of Osma, and Zuñiga, Bishop of Jaen (1456), Barrientos (1470), Bishop of Cuenca,

[1] And in our own time the orthodox Hefele (*Vie de Ximenes*, p. 185) maintains, partly as an excuse for the establishment of the Inquisition, and partly as a justification for the ecclesiastical reforms of Ximenez, that the Jews, who were unlike the Christians, "*très instruits en général*," had infected with their detestable errors a great part of the clergy and even the bishops. As for the general demoralisation of the religious orders in the fifteenth century see Johan de Trittenheim, *Liber Lugubris de Statu et Ruinâ Monast. Ord.*, c. i.-iii.

Trittenheim, himself an abbot, speaking of the state of the monasteries, as known to himself, says: "The monks when abroad were idle and vain, and when inside the walls were abandoned to carnal delights, with nothing of decorum to show but the habit; and even this was mostly neglected. No one thought of enforcing the forgotten discipline. The monasteries had become stables for clerks, or fortresses for fighting men, or markets for traders, or brothels for strumpets, in which the greatest of crimes was to live without sin." See Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition*, vol. iii., pp. 640-1; Peter Martyr, *Ep.*, 163; Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 7 and 166; Waddingius, *Min. Ord.*, p. 108; Hefele, *Vie de Ximenes*, pp. 187 *et seq.*; Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, 201; Lucio Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, 165; Zurita, *Rey Hernando*, iii., 15.

[2] Fléchier, *Vie de Ximenes*, c. li., p. 495.

[3] *Que acababa de velarse.* The sex of the young person is uncertain. The prelate was Roderigo de Luna. The Lunas were a hot-blooded race. See *Hefele*, 186; Lafuente, tom. ix., 42.

and the more celebrated Alfonso Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo.[1]

In the first battle of Olmedo in 1445, one archbishop and two bishops actually fought at the head of their knights. At the second battle of Olmedo in 1467 three other prelates played a similar part. As late as 1479 we hear of combatant bishops in the armies both of Spain and of Portugal. But Ximenez, with Oran before him, ought not to have been too hard upon the clerics who made no worse use of their time than in fighting.[2] From such coadjutors as these, and their legitimate successors, no help, nothing indeed but hindrance, was to be expected; but Ximenez went his own way, and it is admitted on all hands that his reforms were unsparing, impartial and tremendous. The Spanish clergy, both regular and secular, were reduced to order and to submission. They were made more respectable, more efficient, and as Churchmen vastly more powerful than before. And thus it came to pass that the Reformation found the Spanish Church already reformed, at least in morals and behaviour.

More than 1000 friars are said to have quitted their country, and passed over to Africa, preferring the liberty of self-indulgence under the protection of the Infidel, to submission to Ximenez in Spain. The figures may be, and probably are, exaggerated: but the story tells truly of the magnitude of the evil, and of the tremendous vigour of the cure.[3]

But the primate was not content with ecclesiastical reform. He persuaded the sovereigns to modify the incidence of the *Alcabala*, or tax on all bargains and sales of goods, which had been established to defray the expenses of the wars in Granada; and on the 7th of March, 1498, he laid the first stone of that great institution at Alcalá which is inseparably and gloriously associated with his memory. It is sometimes said that Ximenez procured the *abolition* of the Alcabala; but on the contrary, it was with the greatest difficulty, and by the support of the queen[4] against the whole council, that he was able to procure

[1] Lafuente, tom. ix., pp. 66-70.

[2] The fighting qualities of these Spanish bishops is treated by Señor Clemencin in the *Memoirs of the Royal Acad. of Hist. of Madrid*, vol. vi., pp. 388-391.

[3] *Mem. R. Acad. Hist.*, vi., 201; Zurita, *Hist. Rey Hernando*, iii., 15.

[4] The *complete abolition* of the impost was urged upon Ferdinand by Isabella in her will, long after this, in 1504. (Very far, however, from being abolished, the ten per cent. tax on all sales, or the equivalent in a lump sum in composition from certain privileged towns, continued to blight and ruin Spanish industry and trade until the eighteenth century. For an account of the havoc worked by this tax see the editor's *Spain: its Greatness and Decay*.—H.)

the adoption of certain modifications, conceived in the true spirit of enlightened finance, by which the amount of the contribution was reduced from 10 per cent. to 5 per cent.; the mode of collection was rendered less odious and less onerous; while the net amount recovered by the treasury was as great or greater than before. But in an evil hour, not long after this display of enlightenment and liberality, Ximenez turned his attention to Granada.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

COLUMBUS.

(1495—1501.)

That the 1500 adventurers who sailed with Columbus on his second voyage should have turned out indifferent colonists, was only what might have been fairly expected of them. But their turbulence, their idleness, their cruelty, and their lawlessness exceeded all that could have been thought possible, and defied at once the power and the wisdom of the great navigator.[1]

Columbus was perhaps one of the best and noblest men who has ever acquired fame on this earth; patient, generous, just, considerate, liberal; but he was by no means fitted to command a company of professional robbers, or to make himself respected by a gang of pirates. The determination of the viceroy that every colonist should work, rendered him above all things obnoxious to the adventurers. But no man in the little company showed himself more impatient of authority than Father Boil, who sent back by every ship the most tremendous accusations against his chief.[2] As the result of this ecclesiastical delation, a royal commissary, one Aguado, was despatched from Seville early in 1496; on whose coming Columbus set sail from Haiti for Spain, that he might lay his own justification before the sovereigns; and he arrived at Cadiz on the 11th of June, 1496. Isabella was still in the full vigour of womanhood, earnest, appreciative, sympathetic. The admiral was well received. But the new world had ceased to interest Ferdinand, or to excite any serious attention among the people in Spain. The king and queen, moreover, were both fully occupied with negotiations and intrigues in Europe. America, distant and disregarded, was

[1] *Gente aventurera, codiciosia, discola, viciosa, y turbulenta.* Lafuente, x., 134.

[2] Lafuente, x., 135, 136.

forced to wait. And thus it was, that in spite of the early success and the constant zeal of Columbus, and of the magnitude of the interests that he represented, it was two years before he was enabled once more to return to his languishing colony in the western seas.

The source of all the failures and troubles in the new world had undoubtedly lain in the unfitness of the colonists selected to accompany the expedition; in the turbulence of the soldiers and sailors in the fleet; in the undue proportion of men of bad character in the little band of adventurers. Bishop Foncesa[1] could think of no better mode of reforming the community, and introducing habits of order and industry into the discredited colony, than by despatching a cargo of convicts and criminals stowed away on board six ships, which sailed from San Lucar on the 30th of May, 1498.[2]

On the 30th of May, 1498, Columbus sailed from Spain for the third time, steering a more southerly course than before, and making the Island of Trinidad and the mainland of South America on the last day of July of the same year. But no sooner had the admiral started, than Ferdinand began to repent him of the favours that he had conferred upon the foreigner. Nor was the king's jealousy suffered to languish for want of encouragement at court. It is idle to seek to fathom the hearts of kings, or to account for every action of the men and women of 400 years ago; let it suffiice to record the fact that on the 21st of May, 1499, a Commander of Calatrava, Francisco Bobadilla, was invested with a commission to sail to the West to dismiss and supersede Columbus.[3]

Ignorant, insolent, cruel and vain, a true beggar on horseback, Bobadilla was not chosen so much to supersede as to disgrace the Queen's admiral. The Catholic kings were not such incapable judges of men as to suppose that the conceited Calatravan would prove a more capable administrator than Christopher Columbus. Landing at the port of St. Domingo, and finding the viceroy absent on some business in the country, the envoy proceeded to break into his house, to seize his papers

[1] Afterwards Bishop of Burgos. He must not be confounded with any of the Fonsecas who filled, in hereditary succession, the archiepiscopal see of Santiago de Compostella from 1460 to 1525. *Cf.* Gams, *Series Episcoporum.*

[2] As to the shipping of convicts, see the *Real Provision* of Medina del Campo, dated 22nd July, 1497, preserved in the archives of the Duke of Veragua.

[3] The commission to Bobadilla is dated March, 1499; the actual despatch of Bobadilla, July, 1500; the return of Columbus, December, 1500.

and valuables, and to load him on his return to the town with chains and fetters. Having thus asserted his authority, he stowed away the discoverer of the New World in the hold of a small caravel, and shipped him off to Spain.

That Columbus was possessed of one of the greatest and noblest natures that have ever been given to man, his conduct on this homeward voyage is alone sufficient to prove. Dignified and uncomplaining in the presence of Bobadilla, affable and considerate to the officers who commanded his prison-ship, confident of redress at the hands of the sovereigns whom he had served so well, he was cheered alike by his knowledge of the justice of his cause on earth, and his simple and unwavering trust in the Providence of God. And on the 17th of December, 1500, the grey-haired prisoner, accused of no crime but simple greatness, stood, without humiliation and without arrogance, before the sovereigns of Spain at Granada.

What we now understand by the words *Public Opinion* had no existence in Europe in the last year of the fifteenth century, yet every honest man who had ears to hear and a heart to feel, was consumed with indignation at the enormity of the royal ingratitude. The sovereigns, no doubt, felt that they had gone too far. Columbus was received not as a prisoner but as a friend, not with reproaches but with promises of future favours. No more. For a year he lived at Granada, while Ferdinand was despoiling his cousin of Naples, and Isabella was banishing her Moorish subjects from Andalusia—an example to all ages of dignified cheerfulness, of uncomplaining and unrepining resignation. For in an age when religion had reached its lowest depth as a moral force in the world, and among men whose Christian professions were commonly a reason for persecution, a cloak for rapacity, an excuse for every vice and every crime, Columbus was filled with a true religious spirit, deep, hearty, thorough; a spirit which led him unharmed through the paths of superstition, of cruelty and of intolerance, and dignified his daily life with acceptable counsels of perfection. Dispossessed, slighted, plundered, Columbus maintained his cheerfulness, and found comfort and consolation in religious meditation[1] and in the study of Holy Scripture, while Bobadilla was vexing the colonists and murdering the natives in his Western world.

At length, after fourteen months' delay, Ferdinand and

[1] He actually wrote a work on Biblical prophecy, existing in MS. in the Columbian Library at Seville. But his geographical studies were not neglected.

Isabella judged that the Calatravan had filled up the measure of his iniquities in St. Domingo, and they commissioned, not Columbus, but another Calatravan, Fray Nicolas de Ovando, to proceed to the Indies to succeed him. Columbus had sought further employment in vain. Honour and profit were not for him. He had done his work of discovery. An obscure member of a religious order would make a more fitting Governor-General of the New World.

The expedition that was fitted out under the command of Ovando was of a very different character from anything that had been entrusted to Columbus. A fleet of thirty-two fine ships, with 2500 chosen colonists, and an immense amount of live stock, tools, seeds, plants and supplies of every kind—all that Columbus had so long asked for, all that should have been sent so long before, was placed at the disposal of the Calatravan. Columbus protested against the appointment of Ovando, as a formal infringement of his legal rights and privileges. But laws ran as kings pleased in Spain in the year 1502. Ovando sailed on the 13th of February. Columbus remained at Granada.[1]

During the next year the admiral turned his attention to a strangely different enterprise, which, however, appeared to him to have been foretold in Biblical prophecy as the complement of his discoveries in the West. He searched the Scriptures with great ardour and enthusiasm, seeking for references to his own discovery of the Indies, and to the ensuing expulsion of the infidel from the holy places; and he was guided and assisted in these strange researches by his friend Gaspar Gorricio, a monk in the Carthusian Monastery of Santa Maria de las Cuevas at Seville.

The result of these studies was a work which he entitled *Manipulus de auctoritatibus dictis ac sententiis et prophetiis circa materiam recuperandæ sanctæ civitatis et montis Dei Sion.* This interesting manuscript volume, now known as the *Profecias,* is

[1] It should be mentioned that Columbus started on his fourth voyage from Cadiz only three months after Ovando had sailed. In a royal warrant dated 14th March, 1502 (Fernandez Navarette, vol. i., 277), the Catholic kings thus addressed Columbus: "Be assured that your imprisonment grieved us much, as you saw, and as is publicly known; for as soon as we knew of it we ordered it to be revoked. You know also the favour with which we have always treated you: and it is now more than ever our intention to honour you and treat you very well. The grants we formerly made to you shall be fully complied with, as stated in the privileges you hold; and you and your children shall duly enjoy them. If it be necessary to confirm the grants anew, we will do so." Columbus was then authorised to proceed on his fourth voyage, and sailed on 11th May, 1502; but as he wrote, "his heart was sore and filled with misgivings". For all grants, etc., at this time see *Columbus' Book of Privileges*, printed in facsimile by Messrs. Stevens, Harisse & Barwick.—H.

still preserved in the Columbian Library at Seville. It contains all the prophecies in the Bible which appear to have any bearing on the matters in hand, and is preceded by a letter addressed to the sovereigns, in which Columbus endeavoured to stir their hearts in favour of an enterprise which seemed to him to be at once for the glory of Spain, and for the good of Christendom.[1]

[1] Clements Markham, *Life of Christopher Columbus* (1892), pp. 214, 215. (In his famous letter, written when a prisoner on his homeward voyage (printed in facsimile by Mr. Stevens), Columbus already shows that he considered his discovery to have been divinely inspired. "Of the new heaven and earth which our Lord made when St. John was writing the Apocalypse, after what was spoken by the mouth of Isaiah, He made me the messenger and showed me where it lay."—H.)

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE MORISCOS.

(1499-1502.)

For seven years both Isabella and Ferdinand kept faith with their Moslem subjects, who lived and prospered under the mild and sympathetic administration of their Alcaide or Administrator-General, Mendoza, Count of Tendilla, and their Archbishop, Ferdinand of Talavera,[1] good men both, and honourable, Castilian Christians of the best school, humane, enlightened and generous.[2] And the Moors of Granada had little reason to regret their own contemptible Boabdil, or even the cruel and violent uncle whom he had betrayed.

The *Capitulacion para la entrega de Granada*, of the 25th of November, 1491, as well as the inevitable *Capitulacion Secreta* of the same date[3] which may both be seen to this day preserved in the archives at Simancas, are worthy not only of study but of admiration. The provisions for the perfect liberty of the Moors in the future, as regards their religion and their laws, are both numerous and precise; and forbid even the gentlest attempts at conversion.[4] Had the treaty been fairly carried out, the condition of the subject Moors would have been similar to that enjoyed by the Indian and Cypriote Moslems under modern English rule, at the present day, save in that whereas English judges are allowed

[1] The best authorities for the life of Talavera are, perhaps, P. Sigüenza, *Hist. de la orden de S. Gerónimo*, ii., 31; Jorge de Torres, *Vida de Talavera;* Gerónimo de Madrid, *Vida.* See also Lafuente, x., 85.

[2] Talavera, however, had showed but little enlightenment in the matter of Columbus. Tendilla and Talavera lived on such good terms in their respective governments that Peter Martyr speaks of them as having one soul in two bodies. P. Martyr, *Epist.*, 219.

[3] They are both printed in full as an Appendix to vol. ix. of Lafuente's *Historia de España.*

[4] See especially Art. 32. The Great Captain is said to have had a large share in the preparation of the convention. See *Documentos Ineditos*, etc., tom. viii.; and generally, tom. xi. and li.

to administer Mohammedan law in India, and to a limited extent in Cyprus, it was provided by the fifteenth clause of the Granada treaty that any questions arising between Moor and Moor, "sean juzgadas por *sus alcadis* segund costumbre de los Moros"; and a tribunal *de medietate religionis* was established by the forty-second clause, with jurisdiction in all cases of dispute between Moors and Christians. The whole treaty breathes a spirit of generous toleration, which was no doubt largely due to the influence of Gonsalvo de Cordova.

But Spain had undergone a great change between 1492 and 1499. The Inquisition had not laboured in vain. The Moors had been conquered, the Jews had been expelled, Torquemada was at Seville, Roderic Borgia was at Rome; the Crown was more absolute, the Church was more aggressive; Isabella had become less considerate, Ferdinand more greedy, the nobility less powerful, the commonalty more bigoted. And towards the end of the year 1499, Ximenez, interrupting, as Hefele has it, the good work of reforming the Christian clergy, that he might devote himself to the conversion of the Moors, made his appearance at Granada in the train of the Catholic sovereigns. Dissatisfied at once with the methods and with the progress of Talavera, he soon caused himself to be associated with the local archbishop in the spiritual charge of his diocese. Thus, with the approbation of Isabella, and without opposition on the part of his gentle colleague, Ximenez assumed the entire direction of affairs in Granada, and the Moors were soon made to feel the effect of this change of masters.

In vigour, at least, the Archbishop of Toledo had no rival in Christendom. His religious feelings, his political aspirations, his personal pride, were all offended by the presence of a Moslem society in Spain; and that which offended Ximenez was usually swept away. At first he contented himself with persuasion. Rich presents, gifts of money, promises of future favour, were showered upon the leading citizens, and were not without their effect. Of the old Arab race not many were left in Granada. Few had been found even under the later Moorish kings; still fewer remained after the disgraceful surrender of Boabdil. Upon the mixed multitude whose conversion was taken in hand by Ximenez, a judicious mixture of threats and largesses had a very powerful influence. The citizens were baptised in droves, and the sacred rite was publicly administered by the undignified method of aspersion.[1]

[1] "By means of a mop." Prescott. *Cf.* Baudier, 204, and Marsollier, i., 319.

Yet fire as well as water was employed in the conversion of the city. For the burning of the Moslems themselves the time had not yet arrived; but their books at least might pay the penalty of heterodoxy, and feed the ready flames of persecution. An immense pile of MSS. of every description, works on theology and philosophy, copies of the Koran, commentaries on Aristotle, books of science, of poetry, of history, of medicine, of mathematics, were collected by pious hands, and burned by Ximenez in the great square of Granada. Many of these MSS., we are told, were triumphs of caligraphy, and of the now almost forgotten art of the illuminator; many were in gorgeous bindings;[1] but nothing was sacred for the spoiler. Copies of the Koran worth more than their weight in gold, records and treatises beyond price, all were involved in the barbarous holocaust.

Of the character of the destruction there is no doubt nor controversy. Of the number[2] of the destroyed there is no certain record. The Spanish apologists, while maintaining that the nature of the works, at once odious and contemptible, rendered their destruction a most estimable and praiseworthy performance, are most illogically anxious to minimise the number of the destroyed. Five thousand is the lowest figure that has been suggested, while 2,000,000 has been reached by the extravagant imagination of an Andalusian reviewer. The number, in any case, was very great. The loss was irreparable. Nor is the example of an ignorant and narrow intolerance, of reckless and irresponsible zeal, any the less shocking, when we reflect that it was the work of the learned editor of translations of the Bible, the munificent founder of a renowned university.

Nor was the sacred literature of the Moslem replaced by anything more appropriate for the New Christians. Talavera, indeed, had caused a portion of the Old and New Testament, of the Missal, and of various devotional works to be translated from Latin into Arabic, for the use of his Moorish catechumens. But before the MS. had passed into the hands of the printer, the primate interfered and forbade the dangerous publication.[3]

[1] Baudier, 205, has it—5000 volumes of Alcorans, *artistement bien reliez et ornez de fermoirs et cornières d'argent.*

[2] Condé is our authority for putting the number as high as 80,000, and his record or estimate has been accepted as reasonable by the most trustworthy writers who have given any attention to the subject. But it is obvious that any figure must merely be taken as meaning—like the modern Greek μυριάδες—a great many.

[3] His arguments *ad hoc* are pretty fully and somewhat naïvely given by Marsollier, vol. i., lib. iii., pp. 350-55. A dozen years later, on 20th June, 1511,

The people, said he, had always been kept in ignorance by their ecclesiastical chiefs, and it was best that they should so remain.

The way in which a modern orthodox Spaniard can bring himself to regard this melancholy *Auto de Fé* is surely worthy of record. "The books of chivalry," says Señor Simonet, "were far less pernicious than those of the Moslems; and yet the greatest intellect of Spain proposed in the famous examination in *Don Quixote*, that they should be all burnt without appeal."[1] To call Cervantes as a witness in favour of ignorance, and to cite one of the most apposite satires in the whole of Spanish literature as an argument *in favour* of book-burning, is a truly remarkable and astounding fact in the history of national intelligence.[2]

The primate's next step was the publication of an ordinance forbidding the inhabitants, under pain of imprisonment and corporal chastisement, to speak evil of the Christian religion, or of those who professed it; and the proclamation was so liberally interpreted by the royal officers, that in a few days the prisons were filled with accused persons, who were treated with the utmost severity. Nor was any one released until he had abjured the faith of Islam, and consented to embrace Christianity.[3] As time went on, the "diligent rigour," as an admiring chronicler has it, of the great Franciscan became still more exacting. A Moor of royal lineage, Al Zegri by name, having been invited to

Ferdinand, in the name of Joanna, issued at Seville an edict that all converted Moriscos who possessed Arabic books of any description, were to hand them over within fifty days *á nuestras justicias*, to be burned, under pain of forfeiture of all their movable or immovable property. Books on medicine, philosophy and chronicles *might* be handed back to the owners, if the justices thought fit. *Documentos Ineditos*, tom. xxxix., pp. 447-451.

[1] Simonet, *Ximenez de Cisneros* (Granada, 1885).

[2] The contemporary Alvar Gomez de Castro, *De Rebus gestis a F. Ximenez*, gives the number of MSS. burned as 5000; and this number is adopted by Rohrbacher (*Hist. Univers. de l'Eglise Catholique*, lib. lxxxiii.).

Señor Simonet (*ubi supra*) condemns in no measured language Robles (*Vida de Ximenez de Cisneros*, 1604); and others who have suggested a higher figure, and he derides, not without reason, a contemporary Spanish writer, who, without citing any fresh authority, speaks of 2,000,000 MSS. as having been burnt. Señor Simonet, however, applauds the cardinal for the holocaust, whatever may have been the number, inasmuch as he is sure that all the books burnt must have related to the *dañada ley y secta* of Mohammed (p. 9), and inasmuch as it is said that Ximenez reserved *three hundred* MSS. from the mass, for the university or *Colegio Mayor* at Alcalá de Henares, it must be supposed that all the rest were worthless as well as damnable. Señor Simonet's little book is interesting if only to show how little some Spaniards have learnt or forgotten since the days of Torquemada and Lucero.

[3] Marsollier, 321.

a religious conference for the purpose of conversion, had withstood the arguments, and rejected the gifts of the primate; and Ximenez had retorted by the arrest and imprisonment of so independent a Nonconformist. The arguments of the jailors proved more potent than those of Ximenez himself, and after a few days' experience of the methods of an ecclesiastical prison,[1] Al Zegri was restored to freedom as a professing Christian. The Almighty, it was said, had deigned to pay him a special visit in his retirement, and had enjoined him not only to abjure the faith of his fathers, but to compel all his brethren to follow his example. He was baptised under the Christian names, not of Alfonso or Francisco, as might have been expected, in honour of Ximenez, but of Gonsalvo Hernandez, in memory of the *Great Captain* with whom he had contended in more loyal warfare, in the course of the last siege of Granada.

The endurance of the population, however, had by this time been strained to the utmost. An insult offered by one of the primate's servants to a Moorish girl in the Albaycin was the signal for the expected rising. And Ximenez found himself besieged in his palace by the citizens in arms. The tumult thus excited by his violent and intemperate zeal was like to have developed into a revolution in peaceful Granada. But the noble generosity of Al Zegri himself saved Ximenez from the first shock of the fury of the populace;[2] and when the personal influence and chivalrous devotion of the Moorish prince had checked the onslaught of an indignant people, the gentleness of Talavera and the discretion of Mendoza hushed the storm that had been so rashly raised. The venerable archbishop made his way, without guards or attendants, into the very midst of the turmoil. The Count of Tendilla, bareheaded in the Albaycin, disclaimed any intention of armed interference, and offered his own children as hostages, if only the citizens would return to their homes and to their duty. The Moors, touched by such courage and such generosity, forgot the encroachments of Ximenez, and promptly laid down their arms; and within a few hours Granada was as tranquil and as industrious as before.

Ximenez, however, after various letters to Ferdinand and Isabella, thought it best to make his way to Seville, partly that he might excuse himself to the sovereigns for the recent outbreak at Granada, which he was able to attribute to the

[1] Baudier, 204 and note.

[2] Marsollier, i., lib. iii., p. 332-3.

wickedness of the Moslems, rather than to the intemperance of his own zeal, and partly that he might concert measures for the complete reversal of the policy of Talavera and Mendoza at Granada. After some consultation with the king and queen, the views of Ximenez prevailed, and commissioners were immediately despatched to Granada with instructions to continue the good work that had been temporarily suspended by the departure of the primate. The Moors for the moment offered no further resistance. Conformity and emigration thinned the ranks of Islam. And when the inevitable rebellion broke out early in the ensuing year, it was confined to the inhabitants of a few outlying towns, and to the hardy mountaineers of that "land of warriors," the wild region of Alpujarras.[1]

Yet, insignificant as the rising might have at first sight appeared, the sovereigns at once realised the importance of promptly checking a rebellion in the country which it had taken so many years to conquer. Far from despising an apparently insignificant enemy, they ordered Gonsalvo de Cordova, the hero of Granada and the most accomplished general in Europe, to take immediate steps for the suppression of the local insurrection. The *Great Captain* was not a man to dally, and within a few days he entered the hostile province at the head of a small army. Several fortified cities had already been occupied by the insurgents, and of these the first to be attacked by the Catholic troops was Huejar, some miles to the south of Granada. The whole neighbourhood having been flooded by the inhabitants as a means of defence, the heavily-armed Spanish horsemen, including Gonsalvo himself, were well-nigh drowned before they could advance to the assault. But as soon as he had reached the walls the *Great Captain*, who in all his experience in command had not forgotten how to fight, planted the first scaling-ladder, cut down with his own hand the foremost Moslem who opposed him, leaped into the city, followed by his troops, and speedily reduced it to subjection. By order of Ferdinand the whole of the garrison were put to the sword, the women and children sold as slaves, and the town given up to indiscriminate pillage. The next place to fall into the hands of the Christians was Lanjaron, *el paraiso de las Alpujarras*, whose inhabitants experienced the same amount of mercy as those of Huejar. The Count of Lerin, moreover, gave proof of his

[1] Arabic, *Albuxarat*, said to be derived from *Alba Serra*, Ford (1878), pp. 418, 419, or from *al bushera*, grass, Ford (1845), i., 397.

Christian zeal at Lanjaron, between Granada and Almeria, by blowing up a mosque filled with women and children; and the effects of the establishment of the Inquisition, and the personal influence of Ferdinand, were abundantly felt in the different manners in which the war was carried on from that of only ten years before. The Moors, however, soon sued for peace, craving only that the terms should be settled by Gonsalvo de Cordova; and the conditions of the treaty that was at length granted by Ferdinand were, on the whole, more favourable than could have been expected under the circumstances.

As soon as tranquillity was restored, and Gonsalvo had retired once more to Cordova, it became apparent that a new policy, political and ecclesiastical, was to prevail in Granada; no longer the policy of Mendoza and Talavera; not even that of the *Great Captain*, but the "Thorough" policy of Ximenez. The very name of Moor was erased from the vocabulary of Christian Spain, and the remnant of the once dominant race were to be known in future as the *Moriscos*.

The Christian soldier had now taken his departure. But the Christian priest appeared; and behind him lay the entire power of Spain—the court, the army, the Church and the Holy Office. The black battalions descended upon Granada, promising innumerable advantages, both temporal and eternal, to those who should embrace the Cross; and threatening with the most terrible penalties, in the present and future world, all who should neglect the opportunity which was then finally offered to them, of conversion to the True Faith. The results were exactly what might have been expected. The weaker, the more fraudulent, the more timid recanted. The more sturdy, the more bigoted, the more independent once more rebelled. But this time it was not in the wild Alpujarras but on the western frontier of Granada that the standard of revolt was raised. Nor was Gonsalvo de Cordova any longer at liberty to take command of the royal forces. For Ferdinand of Aragon had at length resolved to possess himself of the kingdom of Naples; and the *Great Captain* was once more on his way to Italy. His elder brother, Don Alfonso de Aguilar, was entrusted with the task of putting down the Moorish rebellion.

Don Alfonso was a brave soldier, but he had no pretensions to be a general, and he lacked not only the skill but the good fortune of his more distinguished brother. His dispositions were unskilfully made, and rashly carried out; the commander was slain in single combat by a Moorish knight in the very first

engagement, while his army, dispersed and disorganised, was well nigh cut to pieces in the mountainous country of the Sierra Bermeja [1] (18th March, 1501). Ferdinand at once assumed the command of such troops as he could hastily collect. The rebels had no leader; and alarmed rather than encouraged by the success of their operations, they disbanded their forces, and sought pardon and peace at the hands of the Catholic king. Ferdinand, whose attention was fully taken up with his intrigues in Italy, was content with the submission of the rebels. The uselessness of armed resistance had been made apparent to the Moors, both in town and country. The Christian sovereigns were free to deal with their unhappy subjects in Granada without fear of resistance or opposition.

Torquemada, the Grand Inquisitor of Spain, had died in 1498; and his successor, Deza, was encouraged by Ximenez to demand at the hands of the Catholic kings, the establishment of the Inquisition in Granada.[2] So flagrant a violation of the royal engagements to the subject Moors was at first sight discountenanced by Isabella, who actually refused her sanction to the scheme. But her approbation was easily obtained to an *extension* of the jurisdiction of the Inquisition of Cordova, over the entire province of Granada—a happy solution of an embarrassing question of good faith.

Thus was Granada finally abandoned to the tender mercies of the dreadful Lucero; [3] and soon afterwards all show of toleration was utterly cast away. The policy of *Thorough* had finally prevailed. On the 20th of July, 1501, the sovereigns issued an edict abolishing the faith or practice of Islam throughout Granada, condemning all Nonconformists to death—with the usual addition of confiscation of goods.[4] But even this was not judged suffi-

[1] "The Red Hills" near Ronda.

[2] Llorente, i., cap. x. (2).

[3] The chief inquisitor at Cordova was a Dominican of the name of Lucero, called by Peter Martyr, *El Tenebroso*, a man distinguished, even among the inquisitors, for his excessive harshness and cruelty. Llorente, i., cap. x. (2), (4) and (5). Peter Martyr, *Ep.*, 333; and other letters printed by Llorente, not included in the published collections. The Inquisition was not formally introduced into Granada until 1524.

[4] *Pragmaticas del Reyno* (1501), fol. 6. The mission of Peter Martyr to the Sultan of Egypt, which was despatched from Spain within one month from the promulgation of this celebrated edict, is an interesting example of the completeness with which the Spanish sovereigns did their work. Fearing lest their unjust and savage treatment of their Moslem subjects might provoke reprisals in Egypt, they sent an envoy of position to look after their interests in that country. That they themselves should cease from persecution in Spain was of course not to be

cient. Less than seven months afterwards, on the 12th of February of the year 1502, it was further ordered that the entire Moslem population, men, women and children of twelve years old and upwards, should quit the kingdom within two months ;[1] and by a savage refinement of cruelty, the exiles were forbidden on pain of death to emigrate to neighbouring Africa, or even to the distant empire of the Ottoman, where a Moslem population would have received them at least with brotherly pity. As this sanguinary provision was found to have been evaded, a further ordinance was issued on the 17th of September, 1502, decreeing that no one, of any race or religion, should quit the Peninsula for the space of two years, without the express permission of the sovereigns. Shut out thus from every possible refuge, with no alternative but death or baptism, the Moslem submitted, and while he fervently whispered that there was no God but the God of Mohammed ; he bowed his head before the uplifted cross of the inquisitor.[2]

thought of, any more than that the Egyptians should be permitted to persecute in Egypt. But as Spain had no army to despatch to Babylon—as Cairo was then called—their diplomacy was as bold as it seems to have been successful. Peter Martyr, *Epist.*, 224.

[1] Llorente, i., v., 3. Bad deeds, like curses, it is said, sometimes "come home to roost". From this settlement of the Spanish Moors on the coasts of north Africa we may date the rise of the piratical states of Barbary. For partly from necessity, and partly from a not unnatural desire to be revenged upon the Christian Spaniards, the Moors fitted out small squadrons of pirate cruisers. At first they seized only such Spanish ships as they could meet with, landing from time to time on the Spanish coasts, and carrying off both slaves and treasure to their new homes in Africa. But the expedition of Charles V. against Tunis, unsuccessful as it was, led the Moors of Barbary to call in to their aid the famous Turkish pirate Barbarossa, who was moved by his successes against Spain to make himself master of the Government of Algiers, while his brother Haradin possessed himself of Tunis, and another Levantine Turk made himself master of Tripoli. Thus strengthened along the entire Mediterranean coast of Africa, the Moorish or Barbary rovers were able to attack without fear or scruple the ships of all the Christian nations that sailed in the Mediterranean. Anderson, *History of Commerce*, i., 703-4, and ii., 44-5.

[2] Upon these and many other points connected with the history and position of the Moors under Christian rule, known in *Arabic* as MUDEJARES, in *Spanish* as MORISCOS, see Albert de Circourt, *Histoire des Mores Mudejares et des Morisques sous la domination des Chrétiens d'Espagne dans les xvi.-xvii. siècles.* Paris, 3 tom., 1846, and *Documentos Ineditos*, etc., tom. viii., xi. and li.

CHAPTER L.

THE GREAT CAPTAIN.

(1500—1504.)

While their most Catholic Majesties were justifying their bad faith in their treatment of the Moors by their zeal in the cause of Christianity, they were engaged in negotiations even more treacherous with regard to the dominions of their most Christian friend and ally, Frederic of Naples. Charles VIII., King of France, had died in April, 1498, and had been succeeded by his cousin, Louis XII.; and this prince was no sooner established upon the throne, than he entered into a league with the Republic of Venice to drive Ludovico Sforza out of Milan. This laudable project was speedily put into execution; and thus the man who had first invited the French into Italy in 1495, was, by a species of retributive justice, the first to lose his own dominions in 1500; a fate which, if rights of sovereignty were measurable by merit, he, for many reasons, most justly deserved.

In course of time, Louis turned his attention towards Naples, whence the French had been so lately expelled. The only obstacle to his success in that direction lying in the hostility of Spain, the king immediately entered into negotiations with Ferdinand;[1] and on the 11th of November, 1500, a treaty was signed at Granada, which can only be characterised as one of the most unblushing acts of national robbery ever perpetrated by two exalted brigands. By the terms of this treaty Naples was to be taken from Frederic, the reigning sovereign, with whom both parties were at peace, and of whom one was his near relation and close ally; and his entire territory was to be divided between Louis of France and Ferdinand of Spain. It need hardly be added that a religious basis was considered essential to this

[1] These negotiations had already been tentatively opened by Ferdinand before the death of Charles VIII.—H.

unholy alliance; and that the condition of the Ottoman empire was made the pretext for the occupation of Naples, whence alone, it was said, the combined operations of the eminently Christian powers could be effectively undertaken against the Turk.

Partly with a view to giving colour to what may be called the crusading element in this treaty, and partly in order to have an army on the spot, to act either for or against the French, according to the turn the negotiations might take, and so strengthen his hands in the conduct of future negotiations, Ferdinand fitted out a fleet of about sixty sail, and embarked an army of nearly five thousand picked men under the command of Gonsalvo de Cordova. The expedition sailed from Malaga in the month of June, 1500, and, after a short stay at Messina, proceeded to Corfu, where Gonsalvo united his forces with those of the Venetians, and at once laid siege to the strongly-fortified place of St. George in Cephalonia, which had been lately taken from Venice by the Ottomans. The Turkish defenders did not number over 700 men, but they were commanded by the brave Gisdar, who, when Gonsalvo summoned him to surrender, assured the envoy that the whole garrison were ready to sacrifice their lives rather than to fail in their duty to their sovereign Bajazet. Such men as these were not to be easily conquered, and the siege was protracted over two months. A general attack was at length decided upon, and numerous breaches having been made in the fortifications by the artillery, the place was carried by assault. Gonsalvo and the Venetian Admiral Pesaro led the columns of attack in person. The Turks fought with the greatest bravery and determination, and the garrison was killed almost to a man before the banners of Santiago and St. Mark at length floated over the battlements.

Of the estimation in which the Ottomans of the fifteenth century were held by the other powers of Europe, we are apt at the present day to be forgetful. The conquest of Constantinople in 1453 had filled all the Christian sovereigns with dismay; and the name of Bajazet was almost as terrible to the powers whose territories were washed by the Mediterranean, as was that of Napoleon 300 years later in Europe. The taking of Cephalonia was one of the first successes of the Christian arms against the Turks; and the victory was of great importance,[1] not only on account of the value of the island from a

[1] Commanding as it did the mouth of the Adriatic, and forming a base of operations for expeditions against the neighbouring coasts of Italy.

military point of view, but also in that it checked the advance of the Infidel, and gladdened the heart of the Christian. When Gonsalvo arrived at Syracuse he was met by an ambassador from the Venetian republic, bearing a congratulatory address, and the diploma or patent of a Venetian citizen for the conqueror of the Ottoman, together with a magnificent present of plate, silk stuffs, furs, rich brocades, and horses, as a testimony of the gratitude of the republic for the services he had rendered to their state and to all Christendom. Gonsalvo, with his accustomed magnificence, refused to keep more than four silver vases and the patent of citizenship for himself, and distributed the remainder of the presents, including a sum of 10,000 golden ducats, among his soldiers and companions in arms, among whom were some of the most distinguished of the Spanish nobility, including Diego de Mendoza, son of the Cardinal of Spain; Villalba, Diego Garcia de Paredes, Zamudio and Pizarro, the father of the conqueror of Peru.

Up to this time the unfortunate Frederic had imagined that this formidable Spanish contingent, under his old friend Gonsalvo de Cordova, was destined, as before, to assist him against the French. Great then was his surprise when Alexander VI.[1] notified, in full consistory, his ratification of the Treaty of Granada, which had up to that time been kept a profound secret, and called upon Frederic to renounce his kingdom in favour of the sovereigns of France and of Spain. The war, having been thus declared, Gonsalvo, who had chivalrously surrendered to the King of Naples the Duchy of Santangelo, with which he had been invested for his former services, passed over from Syracuse to Reggio, and was soon as actively engaged in taking Calabria from the Neapolitans for the French, as he had been three years before engaged in taking Calabria from the French for the Neapolitans. Meanwhile the French troops, under d'Aubigny, overran the northern part of the Neapolitan territory. Capua was taken by assault, while the garrison was deluded by a treacherous truce. The city was given up to pillage, and more than 7000 of its defenders put to the sword by the troops of d'Aubigny and

[1] The Pope was particularly hostile to Frederic of Naples, inasmuch as that king had had the effrontery to refuse his daughter in marriage to Cæsar Borgia, who was not only a bastard and a Borgia, and, if possible, a greater scoundrel than his father, but who was actually a cardinal! The other Italian States, some from jealousy of Naples, some from fear of Rome, were equally unwilling to assist Frederic, who had been reduced, it was said, to seek assistance at the hand of Bajazet.

Cæsar Borgia. Frederic, completely demoralised by the treachery of the Spanish monarch and the defection of his old friend and ally Gonsalvo de Cordova, gave up Gaeta and Naples to the invaders, and retired to the island of Ischia. Louis XII., touched by his misfortunes, granted to him the Duchy of Anjou and an allowance of 30,000 ducats a year, and give him a safe conduct to France, where he passed the remainder of his life in a sort of honourable confinement, and died of a broken heart in the month of September, 1504.

While these events were taking place in the north of Naples, Gonsalvo had overrun Calabria, with which he was already so familiar, and had reduced every town to subjection, with the exception of Taranto, a place famous in history for its heroic defence against Hannibal, and now garrisoned by a strong body of troops under the Duke of Calabria, the eldest son of the unhappy Frederic. The place was one of great natural strength, both on the side of the land and of the sea, and was further fortified by extensive works, which were capable of resisting all the attacks of the artillery of the day. But a weapon, more ancient and more powerful than the heaviest battering-ram, was brought into action. The *Great Captain* was one of the most honourable and most chivalrous gentlemen in Europe. But he was the servant of Ferdinand the Catholic; and he did not shrink from tarnishing his fair fame in the eyes of posterity by treachery in the service of his sovereign. Taranto, it was plain, could not be taken by the force at his disposal. The city must be recovered by fraud. Gonsalvo accordingly entered into a truce with the young Duke of Calabria, by which, if the city were given up to the Spaniards at the expiration of a certain time, the Italian prince was to be at liberty to join his father, or to retire unmolested, with all his followers, whithersoever he should please. The conditions were ratified by the oath of Gonsalvo de Cordova, solemnly sworn upon the consecrated wafer in the presence of the whole camp, on the 1st of March, 1502. Taranto was given up; and the Duke of Calabria was immediately placed on board a Spanish man-of-war, and sent as a prisoner to Valencia.

It is sufficiently remarkable that more than one contemporary writer, including Paolo Giovio, the very reverend bishop of Nocera, entirely exonerates Gonsalvo from blame in this matter, alleging that he himself did not possess sufficient authority to grant his liberty to so important a personage as

the Duke of Calabria, and that Ferdinand, for whom Gonsalvo merely acted as an unauthorised agent, had a perfect right to annul the convention. It may perhaps seem harsh to censure a soldier for conduct which is thus formally approved by the highest ecclesiastical authorities of the time, or to condemn a subject for obeying the order of his sovereign; but the deceit practised upon Frederic of Naples, and the shameful breach of faith to his son the Duke of Calabria, are dark stains on the fair fame and otherwise unsullied honour of Gonsalvo, which degrade his character, so far as they go, to that of the Borgias and the Sforzas by whom he was surrounded, or to that of the treacherous and shameless master whom he served.

In the meantime, and while France and Spain were still fast friends, the Archduke Philip and his wife, Joanna of Spain, paid a visit (November, 1501) to Louis XII. at Blois, on their way from Brussels to Toledo. After a succession of splendid festivities that were given in their honour at the French court, they continued their journey, and entered Spain by way of Fontarabia, on the 29th of January, 1502. Ferdinand and Isabella were at that time at Seville, but they hastened to receive their distinguished visitors; and the meeting took place at Toledo, where on the 22nd of May, the archduke and Joanna received the usual oaths of fealty from the Cortes as the heirs to the crown of Castile. Some months later, on the 27th of October, 1502, Joanna and Philip, after taking the usual oaths before the Justiciary, were solemnly recognised by the four *arms* of the kingdom of Aragon, as the lawful successors to the crown of Ferdinand, on his death without male issue. His rights having been thus fully recognised, Philip, who despised his wife, and hated his father-in-law, and who was never at his ease in Spain, prepared to return with the least possible delay to Flanders.

From Saragossa to Brussels the easiest way lay through France. But in the course of the archduke's visit to his future dominions, the friendly relations between Louis XII. and Ferdinand the Catholic had been completely changed by the progress of events in Italy. No sooner had the whole of the Neapolitan territory passed, by the treacherous occupation of Taranto, into the hands of the allied robbers, than, as is usual in such cases, disputes had arisen with regard to the division of the spoil. The partition treaty had been somewhat loosely worded; and a considerable portion of the Neapolitan dominions, including the territories known as the Capitanate, the Basilicate,

and the Principality, became a debateable ground between the parties. A conference between d'Aubigny and Gonsalvo in person on the 1st of April, 1502, led to no results, inasmuch as both commanders had received secret instructions from their sovereigns to give up nothing, to take advantage of every opportunity to acquire fresh territory, and to conclude any treaty which might seem at the moment most advantageous, and which might afterwards be disclaimed, or ratified, by the respective sovereigns, as it might turn out to the advantage of either monarch.

The Pope and his son Cæsar Borgia espoused the cause of the French, and the remaining states of Italy, moved by fear or policy, took the same side. The French army, commanded by the young Duc de Nemours, consisted of about 8000 men, and numbered among its generals the veteran d'Aubigny, the Sire de Palice, and the heroic Bayard, the *Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche.* To these forces must be added the Neapolitan levies, commanded by the Angevin lords, and the troops which followed the standard of Cæsar Borgia. Gonsalvo's army consisted of less than 5000 men, ill paid, without supplies, and destitute even of proper clothing and equipments. Unable, therefore, to cope with the numerous forces of the enemy in the field, he retired to the fortified city of Barletta, after posting small garrisons in Bari, Andria and Canossa, and awaited the course of events

That the Archduke Philip and his Spanish wife should, under such circumstances, undertake a journey through France, appeared to both Ferdinand and Isabella in the highest degree rash and impolitic. But Philip was tired of Spain. He cared nothing for the remonstrances of the Catholic kings, nor for the entreaties of their daughter, his wife; and Ferdinand, seeing that the journey could not be prevented, set to work, like a prudent man, to turn it to the best possible account. The archduke was accordingly entrusted with a secret mission to Louis XII. to negotiate a treaty of peace, which should be advantageous to Spain; and an ecclesiastical colleague or spy was sent after him, as soon as he had fairly started. In due time this strangely-constituted mission came up with Louis, who was then holding his court at Lyons; and Philip was admitted to audience.

The French king was flattered by the confidence displayed by the archduke. The archduke was flattered by the reception accorded to him by the king. The abbot watched the case, as

it were, on behalf of the absent Ferdinand. At length a treaty was signed at Lyons, on the 5th of April, 1503, between Louis XII. and the archduke on behalf of Ferdinand of Aragon, by which the respective rights of the French and Spanish sovereigns in Naples were settled and declared, and a marriage was arranged between Philip's eldest son Charles, afterwards the Emperor Charles V., and a daughter of the King of France. The whole of the kingdom of Naples was settled upon the issue of this marriage, and until its consummation, the Neapolitan territory was to be occupied partly by the French and partly by the Spanish forces, within certain lines of demarcation, which were accurately laid down in the treaty. Louis at once sent orders to his generals in Italy to suspend all further warlike operations, and a similar order was conveyed to Gonsalvo de Cordova by the Archduke Philip.

Isabella took little interest in the Italian wars,[1] more especially after the death of Charles VIII., when the attitude of Spain had become rather predatory than defensive; and after the year 1500, the queen had become somewhat broken in health, and had turned her attention more to the affairs of Flanders and of England, than to those of Italy or even of France. From June, 1502, to April, 1503, the Spanish forces under Gonsalvo de Cordova remained shut up in Barletta. The French, with a vastly superior force, could neither drive him out nor tempt him out of his position. Ferdinand left him, as usual, without money, without reinforcements, without supplies.[2] Isabella was too ill to attend to the business of the war. Ferdinand had no heart and no head for any business but that of intrigue; and the united French and Italian armies, under the Duc de Nemours and Stuart d'Aubigny, had been permitted to overrun the entire kingdom of Naples. But Gonsalvo stood firm. He amused himself and his enemies, and encouraged his subordinate officers, by permitting them to

[1] It may be remarked that the traditional, and even necessary, policy of Aragon tended eastward; whilst the views of Castile were directed towards the west and south. As we have seen, the Aragonese kings had for centuries intervened in Italy, and had claims upon the sovereignty of the east, for which Sicily and Naples were regarded as a half-way house. These pretensions, and the possession of Trans-Pyrenean dominions in France, had brought them into continued rivalry with the latter power. Castile on the other hand had no question with France, her ambitions being in an entirely different direction. Hence the indifference of Isabella to the foreign policy of Ferdinand.—H.

[2] The letters of Peter Martyr at this time are full of entreaties addressed to the Spanish sovereigns, that they should pay some attention to the wants of their troops in Italy. Their pay was so greatly in arrear that it needed all the personal influence of Gonsalvo to maintain them in their allegiance.

display their personal valour in single combats under the walls of the city, after the fashion of the Moors of Granada. Eleven knights on one occasion defied as many of their French adversaries to mortal combat; and Bayard was among those who accepted the challenge. The honours of the encounter were pronounced to be equally divided, but a second challenge of Bayard led to the complete discomfiture of his Spanish antagonist. There was no lack of skill or of valour on either side.

At length Gonsalvo judged that the time had come to take the offensive; and sallying out of Barletta on the morning of the 20th of April, 1503, he boldly marched northwards and westwards towards Naples. His road lay across the fateful field of Cannae. He had scarce quitted the fortress that he had kept so well, when a courier arrived from the Archduke Philip with the news of the Treaty of Lyons. But Gonsalvo was not to be balked of the victory that he knew to be within his grasp. He recognised no authority but that of his own sovereign; and he judged it to be at once good policy and good generalship to press forward with all speed towards Naples. Every horseman was ordered to take up a foot soldier on his crupper; and before the enemy was well aware of his march, he had occupied a position some five-and-twenty miles to the west of Barletta, between the old battlefield of Cannae and the modern town of Cerignola. At the foot of the declivity on which the army was drawn up, ran a small stream or ditch, and Gonsalvo devoted the short time which remained to him before the arrival of the French army, to widening and deepening this natural defence, and to constructing a slight earthwork of the soil that was thrown up, which he further strengthened by driving in sharp-pointed stakes, so as to form a rough stockade. On this rampart he mounted his little train of artillery, which consisted of only thirteen field pieces, and awaited the advance of the enemy.

The *Great Captain* never failed to make the most of any accidental advantage, whether in war or in diplomacy; and he well knew that on so comparatively trifling a detail as the width of a ditch might depend the fate of a battle. The narrow stream which flowed at the foot of his position gained the day at Cerignola. The French troops hurrying up from Naples found the Spaniards already drawn up to receive them. The sun was sinking in the west. But there was yet time to fight a battle; and the gallant army of Nemours dashed forward against the Spanish position. The French cavalry was the finest in Italy, if not in Europe, and they amounted to a third of his entire force.

Nothing, it was said, could withstand the force of their onslaught. But they charged that day in vain. The Spanish infantry stood firm and struck hard. In a single hour of a summer's evening, the French lost nearly four thousand men, including their commander, the Duc de Nemours, and the whole of their artillery, and baggage, and colours. The Spanish loss did not exceed a hundred soldiers. Such was the battle of Cerignola, the first meeting of the French and Spanish allies after the signature of the Treaty of Lyons.[1]

Gonsalvo was not the man to fail to take the fullest advantage of his success, and the victory at Cerignola was immediately followed by the occupation of well-nigh the whole of that Neapolitan kingdom which had been so carefully divided by the negotiators at Lyons between the French and Spanish allies just fifteen days before.

If the victory itself was a triumph for Gonsalva de Cordova, the results of victory were still greater for Ferdinand. Marching across Italy, received everywhere with joyful acclamations, the Great Captain reached Naples without firing a shot, and entered the city at the head of his army on the 14th of May, 1503. He was received with almost royal pomp and magnificence. The streets were strewn with flowers, and a canopy of gold brocade was borne by six of the principal nobles of the city over the head of the victorious general. The Castel Nuovo and the Castel d'Uovo were taken by storm. Gaeta was the only fortress remaining in the hands of the French.

At the time of the signature of the Treaty of Lyons in April, 1503, the fortunes of Ferdinand in Italy seemed to be at their lowest ebb, and the partition of Naples was the utmost advantage that he could hope for. On receiving the news of the victory of Cerignola, nothing less than the entire kingdom would satisfy his cupidity; and the war broke out with renewed bitterness between the allies early in July, 1503. Louis sent an army of 30,000 men under La Tremouille into Italy, and prepared to invade Spain. Gonsalvo, after some fruitless negotiations with Cæsar Borgia, proceeded alone to besiege Gaeta. But no artillery could make any impression upon that formidable fortress, and the Spaniards took up their position on the banks of the Gariglano, some sixteen miles to the south of the city. Here

[1] D'Aubigny had been beaten by the Spanish General Andrada, near the well-known field of Seminara, just a week before the 20th of April. But the good news was, it seems, unknown to Gonsalvo until the day after the greater victory of Cerignola.

in the month of October, 1503, a battle was fought between the rival forces. But the French, though defeated, were not dispersed. Gaeta remained untaken.

On the Spanish frontier the enemy had already assumed the offensive. Louis XII., indignant at the successful treachery of which he had been the victim, was straining every nerve to avenge himself on Ferdinand. A French contingent under Jean d'Albret marched on Fontarabia. A more powerful army under Marshal des Rieux entered Roussillon. A French fleet was despatched from Marseilles with orders to destroy Barcelona. But Ferdinand was not unequal to the occasion. He prevailed upon Jean d'Albret to detain his forces to the north of the Pyrenees. Provided, as usual, by the exertions of Isabella, with a well-equipped army in Spain, he drove Marshal des Rieux out of Roussillon, and made his triumphant entry into Perpignan. The brave fleet that had sailed from Marseilles was destroyed by a tempest ere ever it had reached the coasts of Spain.

But the Spanish interests in Italy had, in the meanwhile been grievously neglected by the Catholic sovereigns. Alexander VI. had been succeeded on the 31st of October (1503) by Julius II.[1] The French were making good their position in camp and at court. The condition of Gonsalvo's little army, left as usual by Ferdinand without reinforcements, without pay, without supplies, became daily more critical. As the winter approached and the river overflowed its bank, a Council of War entreated the commander to retire into winter quarters at Capua. Gonsalvo, on the contrary, having made a most skilful distribution of his small force, advanced upon Gaeta, 28th December, 1504; and on the next day was fought the the third and last of his great battles in Italy, a battle hotly contested and fairly won, a battle fought almost under the walls of Gaeta, but known to fame as the rout of the Gariglano, when the French lost over 4000 men, with all their standards and baggage, tents, provisions, stores and the whole of their splendid train of artillery. More decisive, though not more splendid, than the victory of Cerignola, it was immediately followed by the surrender of Gaeta, and the complete expulsion of the French from the Neapolitan dominions. Gaeta, indeed, might have stood a long siege; but its defenders were demoralised, and the day after the arrival of the Spaniards at

[1] Pius III. had reigned, for three weeks, between them.

Castellone, Gonsalvo, who was already making preparations to cannonade the city, received the welcome intelligence that the commander had sent a flag of truce. The capitulation was signed on the following day. Gaeta, with all its cannon, ammunition and materials of war, together with its great magazine of stores and supplies, became the spoil of the victorious Spaniards.

On New Year's Day, 1504, the *Great Captain* marched into the fortress, and a few weeks later he made his third triumphal entry into Naples, more in the guise of a sovereign prince and a national idol than as the general of a foreign king. But Gonsalvo, whatever may have been his temptations, was always loyal to Isabella and to Ferdinand. His first act on re-entering the capital was to call together the different Orders of the State to swear allegiance to Ferdinand the Catholic as King of Aragon and Naples. His next step was to attempt to reorganise the government, to correct abuses of various kinds, and to provide for the regular collection of the revenue, and the due administration of justice. He made grants to his allies and generals, both Spanish and Italian. He restored to the Colonnas the estates of which they had been despoiled by the French; to Alviano he gave the town of San Marco, to Mendoza the county of Melito, to Navarro that of Oliveto, and to Paredes that of Coloneta; while Andrada, Leyva and many others received similar tokens of his gratitude and princely liberality. It is said that many years afterwards, when the meanness and ingratitude of Ferdinand were breaking the heart of the old hero, Gonsalvo felt regret at not having on this occasion assumed for himself, instead of his master, the expectant crown of Naples.

A bolder and less prudent man than Ferdinand would not have contented himself with this great success. Masters of Naples, with a victorious army commanded by the Great Captain, it was expected on all sides that the Spaniards would not rest satisfied until they had driven the French not only out of Naples, but out of Milan, and possibly not until they had added the whole of Italy to the dominions of Spain. The French were dispirited. The Italians were demoralised. Gonsalvo de Cordova might have marched to Milan as easily as Charles VIII. had marched to Naples, and he would have found no great captain to break up his army when he reached the goal. The road lay open; and both French and Italians were in daily expectation of the news that the Spaniards had set out on the march northwards. But Ferdinand was jealous of the success and popularity of Gonsalvo

de Cordova; and it was, moreover, with him a rule of policy to use his victories rather as a means of obtaining favourable treaties of peace than as opportunities for prolonging a campaign. The results of war are ever doubtful. The results of treaties were, with Ferdinand the Catholic, pretty much what he chose to make them.[1] Spreading rumours, therefore, of his intended invasion of northern Italy, Ferdinand imposed his own terms upon the French king; and on the 11th of February a treaty was signed at Lyons by which Louis abandoned all his claims to Naples; and the kingdom of the two Sicilies became once more an appanage of Aragon. Gonsalvo de Cordova, the hero of the war, remained on the scene of his triumphs.[2]

[1] *Calendar*, etc., i., p. 41.

[2] The principal authorities for the events recorded in the preceding chapter, in addition to the *Calendars* (Spain) and the *Documentos Ineditos*, are the following:—

Paolo Giouio, Vescovo di Nocera, *Vita di Consalvo Ferrando di Cordova detto il Gran Capitano* (Fiorenza, 1552).

Coronica llamada las dos conquistas del Regno de Napollos (Zaragoza, 1559). Black letter. This was reprinted at Seville in 1580, and at Alcalá de Henares in 1584, under the title of *Cronica del Gran Capitan Gonçalo Hernandez de Cordova y Aguilar*, by Perez del Pulgar.

Guicciardini, *L'Historia d'Italia* (Firenze, 1561).

Antonio de Herrera, *Comentarios de los hechos de los Españoles, Franceses, y Venecianos en Italia* (Madrid, 1624).

CHAPTER LI.

THE REVIVAL OF LETTERS IN SPAIN.

(1480—1510.)

The literary history of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella is short and easily written.[1] Before the year 1492, Spain was too busy with the Moslem to have any time for polite letters. After the year 1492, the Inquisition was too busy with Spain. The single work of the period which still survives, a monument of learning, of industry and of scholarship, rather than of letters in the ordinary acceptation of the word, is the great Polyglot edition of the Bible that was prepared by Cardinal Ximenez, and which will be spoken of in connection with the other glories of his university at Alcalá.

The only purely literary work of interest or importance that was written or published during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella is the celebrated tragi-comedy of Calisto and Melibœa, known as *La Celestina*.[2] It is a dramatic story rather than a true drama, divided into twenty-one parts or acts, without divisions into scenes, or formal indications of entrances or exits; and although there is far more action than in many regular dramas, it was assuredly never intended for representation on the stage.

[1] The following catalogue of the works published under the protection of the Catholic kings, or either of them, whether dedicated to them or not, is neither very long nor very important, considering the period of over forty years of Renaissance which is covered by their reigns. See also *Documentos Ineditos*, etc., vol. xviii., p. 422 :—

Fernan Arias Mexia—*El Nobiliario Vero.*
Diego de Valera—*Cronica general abreviada.*
Fr. Ambrosio Montesinos—*Vida de Cristo* (translation).
Bishop Pedro Ximenez de Prexamo—*El Lucero de la Vida Cristiana.*
Antonio de Nebrija—1. *Arte de Gramatica.* 2. *Cronica latina* (translation).
Doctor Montalvo—*An Edition of the Partidas and Ordenanzas Reales.*
Peter Martyr—*Letters* and *Decades.*

[2] The anonymous couplets of Mingo Revulgo, a satire in dialogue form on the corruption of society in the time of Henry IV., were probably written in 1472.

Such as it is, the *Celestina* is one of the earliest dramas in the Spanish or in any of the other modern languages of Europe; nigh upon a century before Gammer Gurton's Needle (1575), and two generations older than *Ferrex and Porrex* (1561).

The greatest blemish that may be found in the book is its licentiousness both of speech and of spirit; a fault that can rarely be found with the works of Castilian writers from the earliest times to the present day. The authorship of the *Celestina* is uncertain. One Roderigo Cota of Toledo is said to have written the first and the longest of the acts or parts. Fernando de Rojas of Salamanca is undoubtedly responsible for the rest; and he is even supposed by some critics to have himself composed the whole. The date of the composition or of the publication are alike uncertain; but the *Celestina,* whenever published, was inspired by Henry IV., and not by either Isabella or Ferdinand.

From the appearance of this celebrated work, probably about the year 1480, before the active reign of the Catholic sovereigns had fairly commenced, to the time of Garcilaso de la Vega, ten or a dozen years after Charles V. had brought his rapacious Flemings to Madrid, no single work of imagination, whether in prose or in poetry, with the exception of what are called the Moorish Ballads of Granada, was written or published by a Spanish author in Spain.[1] The most characteristic work of the age and of the country, indeed, the one book of renown that was widely read and promptly printed in Spain before the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, was no original composition, but a translation by a Spanish writer of a Portuguese romance, famous in all literature, not so much for its own merits or popularity, or even for the enormous influence that it exercised upon Spanish literature and Spanish sentiment for nearly a century, as for the incomparable satire that has condemned it, with all its monstrous progeny, to universal and imperishable ridicule.

Until the beginning of the twelfth century, the people of

[1] The poetry of Boscan, very inferior to that of Garcilaso de la Vega, was, perhaps, a few years earlier in date. Olivas' vigorous Castilian was not written until many years later. He only returned from Rome to Salamanca in 1528, having spent a great part of his life in Italy. Naharro, who is sometimes cited as one of the earliest dramatic authors of Spain, was indeed born at Badajoz, but he spent the greater part of his life in Italy, and his *Propaladia* was written at the court of Leo X. (1517). For a national drama, says Ticknor, i., cap. xv., we must look to the next period; since as late as the end of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella there is no trace of such a theatre in Spain. (It would be unjust to omit mention of two historians of mark who illustrated the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella. Andrés Bernaldez, who wrote *Historia de los Reyes Catolicos,* and Hernando de Pulgar the elder, whose *Claros Varones de Castilla* is famous.—H.)

Spain were contented not only with their own national ballads but with their own national heroes. Of Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, and of all the courtly heroes of the general literature of mediæval Europe, they knew and cared to know nothing. Of Charlemagne and his peers, the glory and delight of Western Christendom, they knew only that they had been defeated on the Spanish frontiers after a somewhat inglorious campaign. In these matters, as in most others, the country was complete in itself. Pelayo and Fernan Gonzalez, the Cid and Bernardo del Carpio, Saint James on his milk white charger, with his sword "red with the blood of the infidel"—were not these heroes sufficient for a nation's romance, without bringing fanciful foreigners into Spain? But under the Catholic kings, these national heroes were somewhat discredited. Saint James was all very well, but Torquemada was more immediately admirable. Pelayo and Bernardo, moreover, were rude personages, while Fernan Gonzalez and the Cid were rank rebels, the mere record of whose turbulent independence must have provoked the wrath of Isabella.

After the conquest of Granada, the Spanish sovereigns themselves acquired a halo of national glory and renown, although their greatest achievement was not so much that of subduing the Moslem, in which they hardly surpassed Saint Ferdinand or King James the Conqueror, but that of subduing the unconquered people of Aragon and of Castile. Peter the Cruel had made the attempt, and he had failed miserably; and his name had ever been execrated in Spain. But it was not agreeable to Isabella that any sovereign of Castile should be lightly or rudely spoken of, and it was decreed that Peter was no longer to be known as the Cruel but as the Just.

The romances of chivalry, so well known to every reader of *Don Quixote*, and during the whole of the sixteenth century the most popular and highly-appreciated books in Spain, were unknown in Castile until the end of the fifteenth century, when their sudden rise into favour and popularity may be ascribed to a curious combination of causes.[1] The marvellous and fantastic

[1] It is true that they were not popular or generally read, but Lopez de Ayala in the fourteenth century mentions Amadis in the *Rimado de Palacio* (stanza 162) as does Pero Ferrús another poet of the time. Mr. Fitzmaurice Kelly, a great authority, believes that knight-errantry already had fastened its hold upon Spain in the middle of the fifteenth century, and that probably an early Spanish version of Amadis, which has been lost, existed long before the first known edition in 1508. Mr. Fitzmaurice Kelly cogently points out that early in the fifteenth century such books as Rodriguez de Lena's *Paso Honroso*, *The Cronica of Pero Niño*, and others, were to a large extent books of chivalry under the guise of personal adventures.—H.

adventures of Amadis and of Palmerin, the loyalty of the knights, the beauty of their mistresses, the wickedness of the magicians and enchanters—these things might be read and repeated without danger to Church or State; and the greedy imaginations of the men whose fathers had driven out the Moors, and whose brothers were pillaging the Indians, were satisfied with nothing less than the extravagance of the new romances of chivalry. *Amadis de Gaul*, the first parent of the monstrous brood, was not even the work of a Spaniard, but of a Portuguese of the name of Lobeyra, and may possibly have been written as early as the year 1400.[1] But it was not translated into Spanish nor apparently known in Spain until 1492, at the very earliest. Nor have we any assurance that it was printed until 1519.[2]

If the ancient ballads of Spain belonged to the entire nation, the romances of chivalry sprang in later times from the class whose knightly imagination they excited and whose aristocratic vanity they gratified. They are the joint product of the wars of Granada and the Inquisition in Spain. Terrific combats and impossible achievements suggested or were suggested by legends of Christian prowess against the Moor. Tales of giants and goblins, enchanted swords, and supernatural machinery, far from containing anything distasteful to the most rigid orthodoxy, were not without a certain family resemblance to many of the lives of the saints, and were in any case calculated to stimulate the imagination in a direction entirely unobjectionable to the Holy Office. *Amadis de Gaul*, with all its indecencies and its extravagances,

[1] The attribution to Lobeyra is at least very doubtful. There has arisen much confusion between two men of that name, to both of whom the authorship has been credited. One of them, Vasco de Lobeyra, who died in 1403, could not have been the original author, as he was not born at a time when the book was known in Castile; the other Joãs de Lobeyra, who died about 1325, was possibly the original writer; although this is rendered difficult by a remark of the Portuguese historian Gomez Eannes de Azurara in 1450, to the effect that Lobeyra imagined the romance "in the reign of King Fernan (*i.e.*, 1367-1383). The explanation suggested by a competent critic is that Amadis was originally written—the first three books—either in Castilian or Limousi; and that Vasco de Lobeyra translated it at the end of the fourteenth century into Portuguese, which Garci-Rodriguez de Montalvo retranslated into Castilian in 1490-1494, adding the fourth book himself. It is suggested that Montalvo may have had before him both Lobeyra's version and the now lost ancient Castilian codex.—H.

[2] *Cf.* Ticknor, cap. xi. (This is an error. I have seen a beautiful edition printed at Zaragoza in 1508.—H.) A full and complete list of all the romances of chivalry of the sixteenth century, and the list is a very long and a very curious one, will be found in Duffield's edition of *Don Quixote*, vol. i., Introduction. The Cid's own mother, it may be remembered, was dishonoured by the ballad-makers, that their hero might be in the fashion. See *ante*, vol. i., chap. xviii., and Appendix on BARRAGANERIA.

might be safely, and indeed advantageously, placed in the hands of the most devout Catholic, as a gaudy toy is given to a mischievous child, to divert his dangerous attention from articles of solid worth. And thus launched upon a new united Spain, full of national life and prosperity, proud, ignorant, eager, chivalrous, successful, superstitious, *Amadis de Gaul* was succeeded by *Palmerin of England*, and *Palmerin of England* by that endless series of romances, each one more extravagant than its predecessor, whose names are preserved only in the notes to learned editions of *Don Quixote*.

Amadis was the love child of Eliseña an English princess—a Spanish hero must, if possible, be illegitimate—who having been abandoned on the sea coast, finds his way to Scotland, where he falls in love with the beautiful Oriana, the daughter of the King of England. Meanwhile, Eliseña has married Perion, King of Gaul or Wales, and has given birth to a lawful son, Galaor, who in company with his half-brother, Amadis, travels through England, France, Germany and the Levant. These knights-errant are the victims of a hundred enchantments, the heroes of a thousand adventures, until at length their wanderings are brought to a conclusion by the marriage of Amadis and Oriana. *Amadis de Gaul* is generally admitted to be on the whole the best of all the romances of chivalry. Its immediate successors, *Palmerin de Oliva* and *Palmerin de Inglaterra* rank next in relative excellence; and every successive composition exceeded its predecessor in extravagance and absurdity, until at length the entire library was consumed by the fire of ridicule.

But if literature did not flourish under the Inquisition, scholarship was encouraged and protected by Isabella; and the courtly stamp was impressed upon learning in Spain. If the inquisitors burned both men and MSS., if Jewish and Moslem culture were alike despised, it must not be supposed that the reign of the Catholic kings was a reign of ignorance.[1] Yet a great change had taken place in the world of letters since the death of John II. of Castile.

Poetry and historical composition had been chiefly encouraged by the royal servant of Alvaro de Luna. Classical studies, invested with new interest by the great revival in Italy, were the favourite intellectual pursuit of the courtiers of Ferdinand and Isabella. The laudable and politic desire of the queen, moreover, after the conclusion of the wars of Granada, that

[1] *Cf.* Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos*, vol. ii., p. 700.

her nobles should devote themselves to learning and polite letters, rather than to the exclusive pursuit of arms, fell in with the great current of European thought towards the end of the fifteenth century.

The Catholic kings, moreover, though they were uniformly successful in every warlike operation that they undertook, were quite indifferent to glory for its own sake; and if Isabella possessed to an extraordinary degree the power of organising victory, the moving spirit in the foreign policy of Spain was her less gifted consort. For Ferdinand was no soldier, but a keen and consummate diplomatist, a king who set more store upon brains than upon gunpowder, and an opponent ever more dangerous with the pen than with the sword.[1]

Impelled, therefore, by her own good judgment and that of Cardinal Mendoza, and further encouraged by her magnificent confessor Ximenez, Isabella[2] made herself the patroness of letters and of science in Castile; and the connection between the universities and the court became more intimate and more fruitful than it had been under any preceding sovereign. Salamanca was reformed and re-endowed by Ferdinand. Alcalá was established on a scale of unheard of magnificence by Ximenez.

In scholarship, at least, there was no jealousy of the foreigner, and from every part of Europe men distinguished in their several departments of learning and letters were summoned by Isabella to the court and to the universities of Spain. From Sicily came Lucio Marineo, in the first instance as a professor at Salamanca;

[1] The moving spirit in the foreign policy of Spain at this and indeed at all times, was Ferdinand, who was no soldier, but who shone among statesman as a man absolutely without any moral sense or feeling of shame, the most consummate diplomatist of his day; and Ferdinand not only refrained at all times from war until it was absolutely necessary to the success of his designs, but he was ever ready to make peace on terms, not even the most favourable that could be extracted from a vanquished foe, but the most favourable that were likely to be observed by him. There is a curious document, preserved at Simancas (see *Calendar*, etc., i., Introduction, p. 41; *Simancas*, E. T. I., No. 806, f. 25), which gives an insight into Ferdinand's prudent if somewhat crafty policy in this respect. He always made peace with France on easy terms, when he had been prosperous in the field, but he made use of the peace which he had negotiated only to prepare himself anew for war. Thus, says the writer, he obtained two-fold advantages; first, as countries may be conquered by arms, but cannot be held by force, he gained time to consolidate his new acquisitions; and, secondly, by this moderate and so to speak progressive aggrandisement, while he might in the end gain the whole, he never exposed himself to the danger of a great loss.

[2] She had inherited not only some of her father's books, but some of his taste for them. For a catalogue of her libraries, see Clemencin in *Mem. de la Real Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi.

and afterwards as a kind of court scholar or royal tutor, under the immediate protection of the queen. From Tuscany, Antonio and Alexandro Geraldino were equally welcomed in Castile. From Arona, on the Lago Maggiore, came the more celebrated Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, whose letters are one of the classics of contemporary history. Under his accomplished superintendence, moreover, the youthful members of the Castilian nobility were trained in polite letters at court or palatine schools, under the very eye of the sovereign, while the nobles of maturer years were encouraged not only to learn, but to teach in the great national universities of the kingdom.[1]

Don Gutierrez de Toledo, a son of the Duke of Alva, and a cousin of the king, became a professor in the University of Salamanca, where Don Pedro de Velasco, a son of the good Count of Haro, so famous as Grand Constable of Castile, read lectures on the Latin classics. Don Alfonso de Manrique, a son of the Count of Paredes, taught Greek in the University of Alcalá. "No Spaniard," says Paolo Giovio, "was accounted noble who was indifferent to learning." Nor was scholarship confined to the titled aristocracy. Antonio de Lebrija, an Andalusian of humble birth, and a graduate of the University of Salamanca, after a brilliant career at Bologna, returned to his native country in 1473, at the invitation of Isabella, and filled the chairs of classical Latinity at Seville, at Salamanca, and at Alcalá. Lebrija was a renowned lecturer. But he was something more; he was the author of numerous works on linguistic criticism, both as regards Latin and Castilian; and he was celebrated not only in Spain but throughout Europe as one of the lights and leaders of the great revival. Barbosa, a Portuguese by birth, was distinguished for nearly forty years as a professor of Greek at Salamanca. According to so high and so impartial an authority as Erasmus,[2] liberal studies were brought, in the course of a few years, to so flourishing a condition in Spain, as not only to excite the admiration of scholars, but to serve as a model to the most cultivated nations of Europe.

Nor were these studies by any means restricted to members of the sterner sex. Doña Beatriz de Galindo was chosen to give instruction in the Latin language to the queen herself,

[1] As to Peter Martyr's school for the nobility, and the peculiar care devoted to the education of the Prince of Asturias, with his little band of scholar companions, see *Memorias de la Real Acad. de Historia*, vol. vi., Illustracion, xiv., p. 383, where the names of the noble youths are also given.

[2] Peter Martyr, *Op. Epist.*, 977.

and was rewarded with the title of *La Latina*. The even more remarkable Doña Francisca de Lebrija, a daughter of the great humanist, gave lectures in rhetoric at the University of Alcalá; while Doña Lucia de Medrano instructed the students at Salamanca in classical Latinity. The men are not more liberal, and the ladies are scarcely more learned in the halls of modern Cambridge.

The first printing press in Spain appears to have been established at Valencia in 1474, and the first book printed in the Peninsula was a volume of songs or poems in honour of the Blessed Virgin mostly in the Limousin or Valencian dialect, and a few in Castilian, which was said to be "produced from *letras de molde*" or movable type, as distinguished from the *letra de mano* or *manuscript*. An ecclesiastical work in prose—the *Comprehensorium*, by an unknown Juan, bears the date 1475; and the printing of other books rapidly followed, not only at Valencia but elsewhere. A work on medicine by Velasco de Taranto was published at Barcelona in 1474 or 1475; a work on theology,[1] *Manipulus Curatorum*, at Saragossa in 1475; and within a year or two of the date of these earliest publications, printing presses were set up at Seville, Lerida, Zamora, Burgos, Toledo, Murcia, Tolosa, Alcalá, Montserrat, Tarragona, and other towns throughout Aragon and Castile.

The first book printed at Salamanca was very appropriately the *Introductiones Latinæ* of Lebrija, or as he is often called Nebrixas, in folio, 1481; and whatsoever may have been the restraints imposed by the Inquisition, it would seem that the number and importance of the works of various kinds that issued from the Spanish printing presses were for some time not inferior to those of any other country in Europe.[2]

[1] Mendez, *Tipografia Española*, p. 47.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 30; Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos Españoles*, tom. ii., *Préambulo.*

CHAPTER LII.

ALCALÁ.

(1293—1508.)

I.—*The University.*

The development of the Spanish universities in the time of the Catholic sovereigns was due not so much to the patronage of Isabella, nor even to the zeal of Ximenez, as to the spirit of progress and new birth that was animating the whole of western Europe.

The universities both in Castile and in Aragon had, down to the close of the fifteenth century, been exclusively royal foundations. No private individual save Raymond Lull, a doubtful saint at Majorca, had founded a college; no sovereign Pontiff save Benedict XIII., a doubtful Pope at Avignon, had endowed a university. The more legitimate Popes indeed had been ready with their Bulls and their charters, when the colleges were established, and provided with funds; but it is rather to the kings of Castile and of Aragon, than to any ecclesiastical benefactor, that Spain owes her great educational foundations from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. It must never be forgotten, moreover, that the Spanish kings, condemned as they were, by their position, to a life of constant warfare, were not only ever ready to patronise learning and letters, but that they have themselves furnished many illustrious names to the list of the royal authors of the world. We may look in vain through all the countries of mediæval Europe for such intelligent patrons of scholars and of scholarship as Saint Ferdinand and Alfonso X. of Castile; as James I., and Peter IV., and Ferdinand I. of Aragon, as Alfonso V. who reigned at Naples, or even John II. who reigned at Valladolid.[1]

[1] See vol. i., chap. xxvi. Among the benefits conferred by Ferdinand the Catholic upon his Neapolitan subjects on the occasion of his visit in 1507 was the

But Isabella the Catholic, like other heaven born rulers of men and of nations, possessed in the highest degree the noble faculty of exciting others to the performance of great and worthy actions; and the extension of the Spanish universities after her accession to the throne, is due rather to private enterprise than to direct royal effort. Avila, indeed, was founded by the king and queen in 1482; and Ferdinand, in the following year, invested the great school of Raymond Lull at Palma with the formal dignity of a university (1483); yet the University of Seville owes its foundation to Roderigo Santaella (1472-1509); and that of Santiago to Diego Muro, Bishop of the Canary Islands (1501-1509); while the more ancient foundation at Valencia was reformed and developed between 1483 and 1522 by numerous private patrons and donors, including the Duchess of Calabria and the Municipal Council of the city.

At Salamanca three new colleges, affiliated to the ancient foundation, were founded by private generosity between 1500 and 1521; and the accession of students was so great that the number is said to have amounted in a single year to something over 7000. The most ancient and the most famous of the colleges of the University of Salamanca was the College of St. Bartholomew, usually known as the *Colegio viejo*, founded in 1401; and said to be the first University *College* in Spain. A second college of the University of Salamanca, the *Colegio de Cuenca*, was founded in 1500. A third, which was known as that of *San Salvador de Oviedo*, followed in 1517; and a fourth, that of *Fonseca*, in 1521, all of them the foundations of private benefactors. But long before these colleges were added to the ancient establishment at Salamanca, the University of Sigüenza was founded, in the year 1476, on a magnificent scale by Juan Lopez de Almazan, a rich and enlightened connection of the great house of Medina Celi; and, greater even than Sigüenza, the noble University of Alcalá, the spoilt child of Ximenez de Cisneros.

Twenty miles to the north of Madrid, near the meeting of the waters of the Jarama and the Henares, the Arabs built a fort, *Al calah al Henares*—"the Castle on the River"—the modern Alcalá de Henares. Captured by Alfonso VI., and granted in perpetuity to the archbishops of Toledo, Alcalá

re-establishment of their ancient university. See Bernaldez, 210; and Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, xxx., cap. i., 15.

became the summer residence of the primates of Spain; and it was there that Gonsalvo Garcia Gudiel obtained from Sancho the Bravo his royal permission to found a *Maestrescuela* or university after the pattern of Valladolid, as early as the year 1293. But the times were disturbed, and the privilege was not acted upon until 1459, when the fighting Archbishop of Toledo, Alfonso Carrillo, obtained a Bull from Pius II. in virtue of which an *Estudio general* was opened in the convent of San Francisco. It was at this school that young Alfonso Ximenes de Cisneros received the first elements of instruction, and it was within a stone's throw of the ancient monastery that in 1499, after two years' consideration and consultation with the celebrated architect Pedro Gumiel, the first stone of the new university was laid by Archbishop Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros, Primate of all Spain.[1] Every day that could be snatched by the archbishop from his political duties was devoted to superintending the work of construction; and at length in October, 1508, the great institution was finally open for the reception of students.

The university at Alcalá differed in at least one important particular from any other earlier institution in the Peninsula; and may be compared in that respect rather with our own English universities of Oxford and Cambridge. For the university, like those of England, was composed of a number of colleges or houses, in which the students might reside during the whole of their scholastic career.

Of these the most important was that of San Ildefonso, whose fellows were entrusted with a large share of the general administration, and whose master or rector was also *ex officio* rector of the university. Next in importance, and destined more especially for the advancement of the study of the Greek and Latin classics, were the colleges most appropriately named after Saint Isidore and Saint Eugenius. The halls of *San Balbino* and *Santa Catalina* received students of philosophy. A sixth house dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul was in the nature of a normal school in connection with the Franciscan Order,

[1] According to the *Anuario historico estadistico de la Instruccion Publica en España*, sub-tit. "Alcalá," the first stone is said to have been laid in 1498. The preparations for the building were no doubt commenced in that year. Al Zegri, the devoted convert of Granada, took a leading part in the ceremony of consecration. The ceremonial opening appears not to have taken place until the Eve of St. Luke's Day, 1513, when "*las constituciones se publicáron con gran pompa en la capilla del colegio*".

and a seventh, *La Madre de Dios*, received a limited number of poor students of theology and medicine.[1]

An infirmary or university hospital, an institution hitherto unknown in Spain, if not in Europe, was added to the collegiate buildings, and inasmuch as the rooms constructed in the first instance for that purpose did not appear to Ximenez to be sufficiently lofty and well ventilated, he caused a second and a more appropriate hospital to be specially designed and prepared for the reception of sick students. In this respect, at least, was the great ecclesiastic in advance of his age and country.[2] An eighth college, dedicated to Saint Jerome, was reserved more particularly for students of Hebrew as well as for a limited number of aspirants to distinction in the study of Greek and Latin.

The fellows and professors at the new university were selected from among the most learned men at Salamanca and the other homes of learning in Spain, and many more were induced by munificent salaries to come from Paris, from Bologna, and from other universities in Europe to the new home of learning on the banks of Henares. The first rector of the university was Pedro Campo, of Salamanca, the first chancellor was Pierre Lerma, of Paris. The rector and the chancellor enjoyed a species of co-ordinate jurisdiction; the former superintended the examinations and granted degrees; the latter directed the studies, administered the property, and superintended the daily life and discipline of the university. A revenue of 14,000 ducats was assigned by Ximenez to this splendid establishment; and neither to the buildings nor to the endowment did queen or king contribute a single maravedi.

Students, as may be supposed, at once flocked to this *Complutensian*[3] university, where no less than 3000 are said to have been received in the first twelve months of its corporate existence;[4] and ere long the original buildings of Ximenez were surrounded by new, if less interesting houses, affiliated to the various monastic orders of Christendom.[5]

[1] Only six in medicine. This *Madre de Dios* had been originally intended for an infirmary, but was converted into a college on the building of a new and larger hospital.

[2] Baudier, *Vie de Ximenes*, 233.

[3] *I.e.*, *Confluencia*, the *confluence* of the rivers Jarama and Henares.

[4] It does not appear that Ferdinand even visited the university till 1514. It was not of course completed until long after Isabella's death.

[5] As to the jealousy existing between Salamanca and Alcalá, more especially as it was manifested with regard to the election of Lebrija to a vacant chair at the older university, see Muñoz, *Memorias*, p. 22.

The new and liberal provisions with regard to the salaries and old age pensions of the fellows and professors, the studies and discipline of the students, and many other matters of detail, are well worthy of consideration by those who would appreciate the character of Ximenez. Grand in his conceptions, minute in his execution, he stamped every detail of every work that he took in hand with the impress of his own originality. Among other academic novelties at Alcalá, we are told that he built three *casas de campo* or country houses for the use of his professors on holydays.

II.—*The Complutensian Polyglot.*

The crowning glory of the University of Alcalá, and one of the greatest achievements of its illustrious founder, is that magnificent edition of the Holy Scripture in four languages, which is usually known, from the place of its publication, as the *Complutensian Polyglot.*

The text of the copies of the Vulgate in ordinary use before the invention of printing, had become, as was only natural, exceedingly corrupt. The Bible, or a portion of the Bible, had been translated into Limousin under James I. of Aragon, and into Castilian by order of Alfonso X. of Castile; but the circulation and reproduction of these popular books were in course of time prohibited by the Church. The first printed edition of the Old Testament in the original Hebrew was published at Soncino near Milan in 1488. Of the New Testament, no edition had been printed in the original Greek when the *Editio princeps* was struck off at Alcalá in 1514.

It was probably during his residence at Toledo, in or about 1502, that Ximenez conceived the idea of an edition of the Holy Scriptures in many languages, which should be prepared from many MSS., to be collated by competent scholars, and printed with the utmost perfection; and the design was promptly put into execution. Three Spaniards, Antonio Lebrija,[1] Lopez de Zuñiga or Stunica, and Nuñez de Guzman were found worthy of a place among the scholars who were entrusted with the actual

[1] Gomez (*Life of Ximenes*) says that it was solely owing to Lebrija's advice that Ximenez undertook the great work; and this is confirmed in Lebrija's own *Apologia*, where he complains bitterly to his patron that he is in dire danger of the chains of the Inquisition for the work he has done on the Polyglot. His indignant appeal to Ximenez for protection is surprisingly told. See preface of *Apologia.*—H.

execution of the work, and with them were associated the Cretan Demetrius Ducas, and three converted Jews, Alfonso of Alcalá, Alfonso of Zamora, and Pablo or Paul of Segovia. Pedro Vergara, a student at Alcalá, was afterwards added to the company. From every part of Europe, and more especially from Rome, MSS. were procured in abundance.

By the early part of 1503, the work had been fairly commenced, and on the 10th of January, 1514, the impression of the volume containing the New Testament was actually completed. But Julius II. or his advisers had by this time become somewhat alarmed at the character of the work; and the authority for the publication was refused or withheld for over six years; nor was it until three years after the death of Ximenez that Leo X. by his Brief of 22nd March, 1520, at last accorded the necessary permission: and the volumes were at length given to the world. Thus only it came to pass that the Greek New Testament which at the date of the completion of the work at Alcalá in January, 1514, was actually the *Editio princeps*, was anticipated in publication by that of Erasmus, which appeared in 1516.

The *Complutensian Polyglot* is divided into six volumes, of which the *first four* contain the Old Testament in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, arranged in three distinct columns. In the case of the Pentateuch only, there is a Chaldee version, with a Latin translation below. The *sixth* volume is composed of a number of vocabularies and indices, lists of words and names, and a Hebrew grammar. The *fifth* volume, which was the first to be printed, contains the New Testament. The Greek type used in this volume (but not in the others) was the work of Arnoldo Brocario, and is singularly beautiful; very large, modelled after the fashion of thirteenth century MSS. but with no indicated breathings, and with a peculiar system of accents. The Latin of the Vulgate in parallel columns is a fine bold black letter. The apocryphal books are given only in two texts—the Vulgate and the Septuagint; the authorised Latin printed in a wide column between two columns of corresponding Septuagint, with a new Latin translation under each word of the Greek, as is found throughout the rest of the Old Testament.

The most laborious and ingenious part of the actual typographical arrangement, however, is that the Latin and Greek and Hebrew are printed parallel the one to the other actually line by line: and the spaces that naturally occur from the different length and number of the words in each language are filled up by florid scrolls in the printed Vulgate. Reference is

also made by letters above the text from every word in the Greek text to every word in the Vulgate: and in the Old Testament, from every word in the Vulgate to every word in the Hebrew; while under each Greek word of the Septuagint is printed the corresponding word of a new Latin translation. There is also a kind of concordance with references to parallel passages in the Old and New Testaments.

The question of the MSS. that were used in the preparation of the work is one of great difficulty. Ximenez certainly spent large sums of money in the purchase of codices, among others the *Codex Rhodiensis* ("Act 52" of critical catalogues) which is now lost; and Leo X.[1] is known to have lent some MSS. from the Vatican Library for the volumes containing the Old Testament.[2]

It was in 1784 that Dr. Moldenhawer, a Danish professor, visited Alcalá in order to examine and collect the MSS. But the librarian, not wishing, perhaps, to display his treasures to a stranger and a Protestant, declared that they had been sold to a maker of fireworks five-and-twenty years before;[3] and the

[1] As he only became Pope in 1513, he can hardly have lent anything for the preparation of the New Testament volume, which was completed in January, 1514. See José Gutierrez, *Catalogue of XXX. volumes of Biblical MSS. from the Library at Alcalá, now at Madrid*, 1846. The various MSS. lent by Leo were afterwards sent back to Rome. (In a letter from Ximenez to Leo X., prefixed to the Pentateuch in the first edition of the Polyglot, he says: "It was to your Holiness that we owed the Greek MSS.; for you very kindly sent us the most ancient MSS. of the Old and New Testament from the Apostolic Library". In the preface to the same edition Ximenez says: "For the Greek part of the Scripture we took no vulgar manuscript for our text, but the most ancient and most correct which Pope Leo X. sent me from the Vatican.—H.)

[2] The MSS. now remaining at Madrid are, with two unimportant exceptions, entirely Latin and Hebrew texts. Mr. Scrivener does not consider (*Plain Introduction*, etc., ed. 1883, p. 427) that either *Codex B.* or any MS. resembling it in character, or any other document of high antiquity or of first-rate importance, was employed by the editors of the Polyglot. All the MSS. described in the catalogue of 1745, comprising almost all the MSS. materials used in the preparation of the Polyglot, are now, of course, at Madrid; although in consequence of undue credence attached to a traveller's tale a hundred years ago, northern scholars were led to doubt the fact that any of the MSS. existed in Spain, if indeed they had ever had any real existence at all. Horne and Tregelles, *Introduction*, etc., 1856, p. 121. Madrid has inherited the library and to some extent the traditions of Alcalá. See *ante*, vol. i., ch. xxvi.

[3] See Sir John Bowring, *Religion and Literature in Spain* (1831); Michaelis, *Introduction*, etc., trans. by Bishop Marsh (1801), vol. ii., p. 440; Bishop Herbert Marsh, *History of Translations*, etc., *of the Scriptures* (1812); Bishop Westcott's *General Survey* (ed. 1881); *Monthly Repository* (1821), vol. xii., 203; and (1827), N.S. vol. i.; *Biblical Review*, March, 1847; Franz Delitzsch, *Complutensische Varianten zum alttestamentlichen Texte* (Leipzig, 1878); Johann Salomon Semler, *Vermuthungen über das Complutensische Neu Testament* (Halle, 1770), being a reply to Goetze, whose notes on the Complutensian version were published in the *Göttingischen Anzeigen*, 1766 and 1769.

legend was accepted and duly commented upon by superior persons for three generations.[1]

The text of the Polyglot differs little from that of most of the codices written after the end of the tenth century; and that it was corrupted from the parallel Latin version is a theory now completely abandoned. The fact is that from having been attacked by Erasmus almost immediately after its appearance, and depreciated by Biblical critics in Germany almost ever since, its many merits have been undeservedly disparaged, though now generally recognised by scholars;[2] and are attested by the fact that Erasmus, and after him Etienne or Stephen, used it largely in correcting their own editions. The chief weakness of the Complutensian version arises from the fact that the editors regarded the Latin of the Vulgate as a superior authority to either the original Greek or Hebrew—a display of orthodoxy at once characteristic and unfortunate—and the celebrated words in the introduction as to the printing of the sacred Romish version between the Greek and Hebrew originals, displayed, like the Saviour of the world, between two thieves, gave a somewhat profane expression to the feelings of reverence for the version that was authorised by the Church.

In the preface or prologue to the whole work, the authorship of which is uncertain, but which must, at least, have been approved and was probably written by Ximenez, occurs the oft-quoted sentence: *Mediam aūt inter has latinā beati Hieronymi translationē velut intēr synagogam & oriētalem ecclesiam posuimus tanq: duos hinc & inde latrones medium autē Jesum hoc est Romanam siue latinā Ecclesiam collocātes.*

That the Vulgate, itself a translation, and in places a by no means critical translation, should with such irreverent jocosity have been preferred to the original, was only in accordance with

[1] The *Codex Bessarionis* presented to Ximenez by the Republic of Venice would also appear to have been used. (Ximenez himself says in the preface: "To these we have added not a few, partly transcribed from that most correct manuscript of Bessarion sent me by the Senate of Venice".—H.)

[2] For more than one kind suggestion in the writing and printing of this chapter, I am indebted to my old master and friend, the Reverend Dr. Gwynn, Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin, where I have seen and handled a superb copy of this famous edition. Mr. Quaritch, in a recent *Catalogue*, thus describes a copy valued by him at £150: *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, Hebraice, Chaldaice et Græce*, cum tribus interpretationibus latinis; de mandato, ac sumtibus cardinalis D. F. Francisci Ximenis de Cisneros, impressa atque edita curis Demetrii Cretensis, Antonii Nebrissensis, Lopez Astuniga, Alphonsi Zamora et aliorum, six vols., folio; a complete copy, including the rare sheet of six leaves, containing a Greek preface to St. Paul's epistles, which is seldom found in the book, having been printed after the completion of the New Testament.

Catholic orthodoxy; and, far from shocking the feelings of any contemporary reader, the words of the introduction appeared, no doubt, a fine, if somewhat a bold figure, expressing an uncontrovertible dogma or position.[1]

But the literary enterprise of Ximenez was by no means confined to the editing of the Great Polyglot. The *Regulæ Vitæ* of Saint Vincent Ferrer, the works of the Bishop of Avila (El Tostado, *ob.* 1455) and a number of religious and theological works, both in Latin and in Castilian, including a life of St. Thomas of Canterbury, were published by him at Alcalá. An edition of Aristotle was undertaken under his supervision; but not having been finished at the time of his death, the work was disregarded and abandoned by his successor. Nor was his patronage confined to works of great learning and scholarship; and some popular books on agriculture, prepared by an experienced husbandman, saw the light under his Catholic patronage. Ximenez is said, moreover, to have printed the Office of the Mass,[2] with musical notes, for the use of the choirs throughout his diocese: and his rescue from oblivion of the old Gothic or Mozarabic Liturgy[3] will ever be associated with his name and his liberality.

[1] The Complutensian text has been followed in some later editions, notably by Plantin, in his *Antwerp Polyglot* (1562-72).

[2] It was in 1500 that Melchior Gorris, of Novara, undertook, by permission of Ximenez, but at his own expense, the printing—executed by the hand of Peter Hagenbach, a German—of the *Missale secundum regulam beati Isidori dictum Mozarabes.* Riaño, *Notes on Early Spanish Music*, 84, 85. Ximenez at the same time seems to have added a chapel, *ad Corpus Christi*, in the cathedral of Toledo; and founded and endowed a *college* or company of thirteen priests—*Mozarabes sodales*—charged with the constant daily performance of the ancient service in the chapel, which is still reserved for their successors. In later times the example of Ximenez was followed at Salamanca by Bishop Maldonat de Talavera, and at Valladolid by Bishop Gasca.

[3] This most rare work was reprinted, strange to say, in Mexico, having been prepared by the Cardinal Archbishop of Mexico, D. Francisco Lorenzana, during his stay at Toledo, about 1765. The printing was executed at Puebla, or Angelopolis, under the superintendence of D. Francisco Fabian y Tuero, bishop of the diocese, and actually published there in 1770. On page 79 is an explanation of the Mozarabic system of musical notation, of the very highest value and interest.

For a fuller account of this interesting liturgy, see Hefele, *Vie de Ximenes*, pp. 166-183.

CHAPTER LIII.

DEATH OF ISABELLA.

(1504.)

In June, 1504, the queen, who had for some time been ailing, and who seems to have suffered from some nervous disease, was struck down suddenly by fever. She had lived a hard life. She had never spared herself, or others. The unhappy marriages of her children had cast a dark shadow over her life. But hers was not the nature to repine. Diligent, abstemious, resolute, she had borne pain and suffering, and she was not afraid to face death. Unable at length to rise from her couch, as the autumn drew to a close, she continued to transact her accustomed business, gave audience to ambassadors, chatted with privileged visitors, and in the words of an astonished stranger, governed the world from her sick bed.[1] At length, on the 12th of October, she felt the end was near, and with keen and unclouded intellect, she dictated that celebrated testament, so long the subject of controversy among friends and foes in every country in Europe.

Upon the death of the little Prince Miguel at Granada, in the summer of the year 1500, the Catholic kings had been moved to take serious thought for the succession to the throne of Castile. Their schemes had come to nought. Their plans had miscarried. Their hopes were buried in the grave. Prince John was dead; his sister Isabella was dead; her son Miguel was dead. The heiress of Castile was their daughter Joanna married to a suspected stranger, herself indifferent to her native land, to her parents' wishes, and above all to the religion which was the mainspring of their lives.

On the death of the Prince of Asturias in 1498, the ever watchful sovereigns had actually despatched a secret mission to

[1] Sandoval, *Hist. de Carlos V.*, i., 8.

Flanders to inquire into the political and religious views of the archduchess; and Isabella had been shocked and scandalised to learn[1] that, enfranchised from the restraint of her mother and her ecclesiastical followers in Spain, Joanna had become a careless, if not a doubtful Catholic, that she "had little or no devotion," that she would not receive a spiritual director despatched by her mother from Spain, that she had infinitely distressed the pious sub-prior of Santa Cruz, by refusing to confess on the Feast of the Ascension;[2] and that she was "in the hands of worthless clerics from Paris".[3] Some months later, after the death of the Queen of Portugal, in August, 1498, had rendered her succession almost a certainty, with nothing but the feeble life of the little Miguel between her and the throne of Spain, the reports from the clerical envoys were even more disquieting. Joanna "had a hard and obdurate heart".[4] "She had no piety." Flanders moreover was already honeycombed with heresy. And one Muxica was said to exercise an unfortunate influence over the archduchess,[5] in spite of the urgent remonstrance of the Spanish clerics. Lastly, Joanna was reported to be quite indifferent to the criticism of her parents in Spain; and refused even to send an affectionate message to her mother by the mouth of the clerical envoys.

That so graceless a daughter and so very doubtful a Catholic should sit upon the throne of Castile, and command, with her German-Flemish consort, the obedience of Deza and of Ximenez —this, indeed, would be a national calamity, greater perhaps than the most Catholic sovereigns could suffer themselves to bring down upon Spain. It is difficult, no doubt, for us to see such things with the eyes of Isabella or of Ximenez, but we must at least recognise that the queen was not a woman to allow any mundane morality to interfere with what she believed to be the true interests of her Church and of her God.

That the sovereigns did not so greatly err as regards Philip

[1] In May and June, 1498.

[2] Sub-prior of Santa Cruz to Ferdinand and Isabella, 16th August, 1498. *Calendar*, etc., i., pp. 181-4.

[3] 1st September, 1498, Fray Andreas to Juana. *Calendar*, supplementary vol., pp. 50, 51.

[4] *Ibid.*, 15th January, 1499. It seems from this letter, however, that the archduchess gave some promise of amendment in such matters.

[5] Some of the Spaniards who are in Flanders speak badly of the Inquisition, telling horrible things of it, and pretending that it ruins the country. *Bishop of Badajoz to Ximenez*, 8th May, 1516. *Simancas*, printed in *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), vol. ii., p. 281.

may be judged from the fact that almost the only administrative act of his two months' reign in Castile was to send the very reverend inquisitors, Lucero and Deza, about their business, a piece of iniquity which, according to Zurita, called for the vengeance of heaven, and was justly followed by the prince's death. Lucero, indeed, had been guilty of nothing more serious than torturing witnesses to give false evidence as to the orthodoxy of a great number of the most respectable people in Cordova, who were haled before the Inquisition, and duly burned. But the birth of Charles V., in February, 1500, and the death of little Miguel in July of the same year, decided the fate of Joanna.

As early as the summer of 1502, while Joanna was residing *enceinte* at Alcalá de Henares, the Cortes was moved by her mother to provide for the government in the event, not only of her absence from the realm, but of her "being present in Castile, but unwilling or unable to reign;"[1] and a decree was registered that in such a case, Ferdinand should alone govern or administer the kingdom in her stead, until her son Charles should have attained the unusually delayed majority of twenty years. This extraordinary provision or prevision was made at the very time that Joanna was being welcomed by her father and mother in their dominions, and presented to the States, not only of Castile, but of Aragon, for public recognition and homage as their future queen.[2] It is evident that in 1502, whether Joanna was mad or sane, her parents were guilty of the most odious duplicity.[3] But Isbaella was already ailing. It seems to have been taken for granted that she would die before her husband; and it was only in accordance with the temper and the policy of the sovereigns that they should wish that Castile should be ruled, after her death, not by Philip the Fair and Joanna the fickle, but by Ferdinand the Catholic. And that which the sovereigns willed was commonly counted as law in Spain.

No reasons were given. The queen's wishes sufficed. An intimation, as we have seen, was conveyed to the faithful Cortes. But the future government of the country was provided for by royal letters patent. It is not necessary to suppose with Mr.

[1] . . . *ó estando en estos reynos, no los quisiere ó no podiere regir ó governar.* No mention whatever is made of Philip. See *Letters Patent of Isabella* as printed in the *Supplementary Volume* of the *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), pp. 64-67.

[2] A. Rodriguez, *Vida de Juana la loca* (1892), pp. 62-74.

[3] As a proof of her sanity, it may be noted that her behaviour at the Court of Louis XII., on her visit at the end of 1501, was in the highest degree prudent and dignified, and worthy of the approbation of Señor Rodriguez. See *Vida de Juana la loca*, p. 62.

Bergenroth, by way of accounting for this domestic preference, that Joanna was a heretic. There is, indeed, as Monsieur Gachard and other writers have justly pointed out, no good reason for such a supposition. But it is equally certain that the sovereigns detested both Philip and his Flemish connections; that they had very little confidence in Joanna; and that a council composed of the king and queen was not likely to have lost sight of the interests of *one* of the parties, while they may *both* have fairly considered that the government of Ferdinand was the best—according to their views—for Spain and for Christendom.[1] The constitution of Castile recognised large powers in a reigning sovereign to provide for the succession in doubtful cases; and without any great moral wickedness, Isabella may have desired, as she may have thought it good, that her experienced husband and not her hysterical daughter should succeed her on her throne.[2] The intermediate hypocrisy was merely a characteristic episode in the transaction. The scheme was, of course, unjust to Joanna and to Philip. But pure ethics was a study not very highly valued at the court of Ferdinand. Philip and Joanna, moreover, were both well provided for in Flanders, where they evidently wished to reside. The queen was thus justified, in her own eyes, in preferring the interests of her country and of her Church to those of a daughter of her house. Of the views of her consort we can have no doubt whatever. As he had quite made up his mind that he would survive Isabella, the postponement of his daughter's accession would prolong his tenure of supreme power, and make him practically King of Castile and Aragon for the term of his natural life. Between this dignified and magnificent destiny and that of relegation to the little kingdom of Aragon, whence he would see his son-in-law undoing the work of his life in Castile, the difference was so shocking, that Ferdinand the Catholic would have been more than human if he had not decided to secure for himself the richer share. But Ferdinand the Catholic was by no means more than human. He was, on the contrary, very human indeed.

[1] D. Vicente de Lafuente in his *Juana la loca vindicada de la nota de herejia* (1869), fiercely attacks Mr. Bergenroth, and asserts boldly (1) that Juana was mad, and (2) that she was a good Catholic. But, as M. Gachard remarks, "*il n'apporte aucum document nouveau dans la discussion*". See Gachard in *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de la Belgique*, 1869, vol. xxvii., p. 717.

[2] At least until a grandson with Spanish blood in his veins should take up the sceptre from the ever capable hands of his grandfather.

Thus it had come to be at least tacitly agreed upon in the palace that on the death of Isabella, Ferdinand and not Joanna should reign in Castile. The will, which Isabella revised and signed in October, 1504, was intended to give effect to the secret resolution of three or four years before.

The language of the queen's testament is clear and dignified. Her funeral was to be simple, as befitted a great lady. Her body was to repose within the walls of the bright city that she had wrested from the Moor at Granada. Her debts were to be paid. Many charities were endowed. A magnificent income was settled upon Ferdinand.[1] The unjust imposition of the Alcabala was, if possible, to be discontinued.[2] Isabella ordered moreover that a number of court offices should be abolished, and she revoked and annulled the grants of cities, towns and fortresses which had been "made in consequence of necessity or importunity, and not of free will," to various members of the Castilian aristocracy; and further desired that her successor would under no circumstances alienate any part of the dominions of the crown.[3] But the true importance of the queen's testament is found of course in her dispositions with regard to Joanna.

The last document to which Isabella affixed her feeble signature, on the 23rd of November,[4] was in the nature of a codicil to her will, in which she enjoins upon her successor the task of checking the abuse of power in the new colonies, of which sad tidings had already reached her; and to cause the conversion of the Indians to be undertaken with the utmost gentleness and justice. But example is more powerful than precept; and the lesson that had been learned at Granada and was still taught at Seville, was not forgotten on the far away islands of the West.

[1] The amount was 10,000,000 maravedis, together with one-half the entire revenue to be derived from the New World; truly a royal endowment.

[2] This was in the codicil.

[3] This shameful breach of faith or posthumous royal plunder was more particularly felt by the Duke of Najera and the Marquis of Villena; and their not unnatural indignation was displayed in their prompt opposition to the regency or rule of Ferdinand. Prescott (li., 363) is very angry with Robertson for (ii., p. 17) questioning the genuineness of Isabella's testament; and he devotes a long note maintaining the certainty of its genuineness, authenticity and wisdom. But its genuineness was at all events questioned in Flanders immediately after its promulgation; and the Aragonese ambassadors who were sent to Brussels on the death of Isabella, were constrained to devote a good deal of time and attention to maintaining that the will was not only a genuine document, but that it represented the true wishes of the queen. Marsollier, *Vie de Ximenes*, ii., 54-56.

[4] The original is preserved in the Royal Library at Madrid.

Some deputies from the wretched people, given over to the uncontrolled and savage tyranny of the Spanish colonists, had indeed arrived at Seville from St. Domingo as early as the autumn of 1500, over four years previously. But they had for long been unable even to obtain an audience of the sovereigns. Ximenez at length caused their miserable story to be told to the queen, at the time when the Council of the Indies was established to give undivided attention to the affairs of the colonies. But the Council, like other councils, and boards of supervision, gave very little attention to the complaints of the weak and the oppressed;[1] and the bitter cry of the Indians was unheard or unheeded in Castile. It rang indeed in the ears of the dying queen, and provoked her tardy interference. But her death took away what little chance there ever had been that the complaints of the subject Indians would receive attention at court. Isabella herself had done little or nothing in her lifetime. Ferdinand was far too busy with his intrigues nearer home to give a thought to such humble and distant sufferers, after her death. Nor did Ximenez apparently do anything further in the matter. For he, too, was occupied with the Inquisition and with the Regency; with the exclusion of Philip and Joanna from Castile; and with his own plans for the invasion of Africa.

At last on the 26th of November, 1504, as the church bells of Medina del Campo were ringing out the hour of noon, the spirit of Isabella of Castile flitted away from this world; and her mortal remains were conducted by a mournful company to their last resting place under the shadow of the red towers of Alhambra. Through storm and tempest; amid earthquake and inundation, across mountain and river, the affrighted travellers wended their way. For the sun was not seen by day nor the stars by night, during three long and weary weeks, as if the very forces of nature were disturbed at the death of a giant among the princes of the earth.

The character of Isabella has suffered to an uncommon extent from an ignorant glorification of virtues that she was far from possessing, and the concealment of those transcendent powers that made her not only one of the greatest rulers of Spain, but one of the greatest women in the history of the world. Until the opening of the treasure-house at Simancas displayed her correspondence to the world, she was only

[1] Marsollier, i., p. 354-360.

known from the extravagant but somewhat colourless panegyrics of contemporary chroniclers, who recognised at least that she was a royal lady, compelling their gallant admiration, and that she was immensely superior to her husband, whom it was necessary also to glorify, as the last Spanish sovereign of Spain.[1]

On the death of Ferdinand, Spain passed away from the Spaniard; and the costly glory of the rule of the Hapsburgs was followed only by humiliation and decay under the rule of the Bourbons. The Imperial greatness of Charles V. no doubt eclipses, in the history of Europe and of the world, the far more heroic record of Isabella in Spain. But Spain under Charles was reduced to the position of a province—albeit the greatest province of the empire—sending as of old, under Tiberius or Domitian, her bravest soldiers and her richest treasure to minister to the ambition of a foreign imperator. What then can be more natural than that the admiration of Pulgar and Bernaldez, of Peter Martyr and of Zurita, should be practically if uncritically magnified by subsequent Spanish historians, dwelling fondly on the bygone splendour of their country, and attaching to the sainted memory of the last of the Castilian sovereigns the imperishable glory of the palmy days of Castile.

Isabella the Catholic, as she is usually portrayed by historians, is something between an unusually intelligent nun and an unusually devoted housewife, deferential to her husband, attached to her children, unduly subject indeed to her confessor, but honestly and purely religious,[2] simple in her mode of life, pious in her conversation, above all things overflowing with mercy and gentleness, a creature so tender-hearted that she could not bring herself to witness the national sport of her country, lest her pity should be too painfully excited by an accident to

[1] On the death of the queen the worst qualities of her husband were seen, unchecked, and the value of her beneficent influence may be fairly judged.

[2] Such persons as had opportunities of seeing her, and of judging by their own observation, could not find words expressive enough to describe the splendour of her attire. We have in the journal of Machado, who accompanied the English ambassadors to Spain as king-at-arms in the year 1489, printed in Gairdner's *Memorials of Henry VII.*, a relation of her *toilette* worthy of a court milliner. He declares that he never beheld such magnificence, and the description of the velvet, gold and pearls which she wore is so minute that it leaves us no room to doubt of his being a connoisseur. When he, therefore, assured the King of England that a single *toilette* of Queen Isabella amounted in value to 200,000 *escudos*, and that he never saw her twice, even on the same day, whether it were at an audience, a bull-fight (*sic*) or a ball, in the same costume, we may well believe that the simplicity of her attire, upon which some of her panegyrists are so fond of expatiating, was no more real than the other qualities with which she has been ignorantly endowed. *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), 1862, Introd., pp. 34, 35.

an awkward bull-fighter. In a word, an amiable princess, unhappily somewhat bigoted, but otherwise a discreet and estimable person. The establishment and maintenance of the Inquisition, the banishment of the Jews, the massacre of the Moslems, the queen's constant breaches of faith to friends and foes, her pitiless disregard of human suffering—these things, we are told by Prescott and other less distinguished writers, with a recurrence that at length becomes almost comic, were so foreign to her amiable and gentle nature, that although they appeared to be her work, it is obvious that some undisclosed villain must be to blame. Torquemada, Ferdinand, Ximenez, or, perhaps, the victims themselves. Her spoliation of the nobles, her humiliation of the Popes, her subjection of Ximenez, her protection of Torquemada, her degradation of Katharine, and her dreadful policy towards Joanna, these things are treated as exceptions, such as might fairly be expected, to throw into stronger relief the general rule of her otherwise gentle life. The result is a creature of the imagination so impossible and so fantastic as to be absolutely without any human interest; somewhat after the manner of the wooden Virgins that adorn the churches of Spain, whose form, be it fair or foul, is concealed by the sham jewellery and tinsel furbelows that have been accumulated by the piety of generations of ignorant devotees. Yet the ideal Isabella has long been suffered to remain to confound these simple people, who would fain believe that a tree, albeit of royal growth and giant proportions, is assuredly to be known by its fruits.

The real Isabella is one of the most remarkable characters in history. Not only was she the most masterful, but, from her own point of view, by far the most successful ruler that ever sat upon the throne of Spain, or of any of the kingdoms of the Peninsula; she stands in the front rank of the great sovereigns of Europe, and challenges comparison with the greatest women who have ever held sway in the world. A reformer and a zealot, an autocrat and a leader of men, with a handsome face and a gracious manner, scarce concealing the iron will that lay beneath, Isabella was patient in adversity, dignified in prosperity, at all times quiet, determined, thorough.

In one particular she stands alone among the great ruling women, the conquerors and empresses of history. She is the only royal lady, save, perhaps, Maria Theresa of Hungary, who maintained through life the incongruous relations of a masterful sovereign and a devoted wife, and shared not only her bed but

her throne with a husband whom she respected—a fellow-sovereign whom she neither feared nor disregarded. To command the obedience of a proud and warlike people is given to few of the great men of history. To do the bidding of another with vigour and with discretion is a task that has been but rarely accomplished by a heaven-born minister. But to conceive and carry out great designs, with one hand in the grasp of even the most loyal of companions, is a triumphant combination of energy with discretion, of the finest tact with the most indomitable resolution, that stamps Isabella of Spain as a being more vigorous than the greatest men, more discreet than the greatest women of history. Semiramis, Zenobia, Boadicea, Elizabeth of England, Catharine of Russia, not one of them was embarrassed by a partner on the throne. The partner of Isabella was not only a husband but a king, jealous, restless and untrustworthy. It is in this respect, and in the immense scope of her political action, that the great Queen of Castile is comparable with the bold Empress-King of Hungary, rather than with any other of the great queens and royal ladies of history.

The husband of Zenobia indeed enjoyed the title of Augustus; but it was only after his assassination, that the lady earned her fame as a ruler. Catharine caused her Imperial consort to be executed as a preliminary to her vigorous reign in Russia; Boadicea was the successor and not the colleague of Prasutagus; and Semiramis, though herself somewhat a mythical personage, is said to have slain both her husband and his rival, in her assertion of her absolute power. Yet Isabella revolutionised the institutions of her country—religious, political, military, financial; she consolidated her dominions, humiliated her nobles, cajoled her commons, defied the Pope, reformed the clergy; she burned some 10,000 of her subjects; she deported 1,000,000 more; and of the remnant she made a great nation; she brooked no man's opposition, in a reign of thirty years, and she died in the arms of the king, her husband!

Ferdinand of Aragon was no hero. But he was a strong man; a capable ruler; a clever, if a treacherous, diplomatist. And to this husband and consort was Isabella faithful through life, not merely in the grosser sense of the word, to which Ferdinand for himself paid so little heed; but in every way and walk of life. She supported him in his policy; she assisted him in his intrigues; she encouraged him in his ambitious designs; she lied for him, whenever prudence required it; she worked for him at all times, as she worked for Spain. For his policy,

his intrigues, his designs were all her own. Whenever the views of the king and queen were for a moment discordant, Isabella prevailed, without apparent conflict of authority. In her assumption of supremacy in the marriage contract;[1] in her nomination of Gonsalvo de Cordova to the command of the army; in her choice of Ximenez as the Primate of Spain, she carried her point, not by petulance or even by argument, but by sheer force of character; nor did she strain for one moment, even in these manifestations of her royal supremacy, the friendly and even affectionate relations that ever subsisted between herself and her husband. The love and devotion of Isabella was a thing of which the greatest of men might well have been proud. And though Ferdinand the Catholic may not fairly be counted among the greatest, he was a man wise enough to appreciate the merits of his queen, and to accept and maintain the anomalous position in which he found himself as her consort.

In war at least it might have been supposed that the queen would occupy a subordinate position. Yet in no department of State did Isabella show to greater advantage than as the organiser of victorious armies; not as a *batallador*, after the fashion of her distinguished ancestors in Castile and in Aragon; but as the originator of an entirely new system of military administration.

Before her time, in Spain, war had been waged by the great nobles and their retainers in attendance upon the king. There was no such thing as uniformity of action or preparation, no central organisation of any kind. Each man went into battle to fight and to forage as opportunity offered. Each commander vied with his fellow nobles in deeds of bravery, and accorded to them such support as he chose. The sovereign exercised a general authority, and assumed the active command of the united multitude of soldiers, on rare and important occasions. If victory followed, as at the *Navas de Tolosa*, the soldiers were rewarded with the plunder, and took possession of the property of the enemy. If the Christians were defeated, the army melted away; and the king betook himself to the nearest shelter.

But Isabella had no sooner assumed the title of Queen of Castile, than she was called upon to maintain her pretensions in the field. With no experience but that of a country palace, with no training but that of a country cloister, she set herself

[1] Or rather in the settlement signed by the king and queen immediately after the death of Henry IV. in 1474.

Cf. Dormer, *Discursos varios de historia*, etc., Zaragoza, 1683, p. 295; Prescott, i., 183.

to work to organise an army.[1] On the 1st of May, 1474, 500 horsemen represented the entire forces of the fair usurper. By the 19th of July she had collected over 40,000 men, had armed and equipped them ready for the field, and had sent them forward under the command of Ferdinand to the frontier. Although she was at the time in delicate health, she was constantly in the saddle, riding long distances from fortress to fortress, hurrying up recruits all day, dictating letters all night, giving her zealous personal attention to every detail of armoury and equipment, showing from the first that quiet energy and that natural aptitude for command that ever so constantly distinguished her. That her levies were not victorious in no way daunted her determination. A second army was raised by her, within a few weeks after the first had melted away under Ferdinand; nor would she listen to any offers of negotiation, until the enemy had been driven out of Castile.

In the conduct of the war of Granada, with time and money at her command, her preparations were upon a very different scale. The most skilful artificers were summoned from every part of Europe to assist in the work of supplying the army with the necessary material of war. Artillery, then almost unknown to the military art, was manufactured in Spain according to the best designs. Model cannon were imported, and the necessary ammunition collected from abroad. Sword-blades were forged at home. Not only a commissariat, but a field hospital—institutions till then unheard of in Spanish warfare—were organised and maintained under the personal supervision of the queen. The presence of a Royal lady on the day of battle would, as she rightly judged, have been rather a hindrance than a help: but she was very far from being a mere commissioner of supply. A first-rate horsewoman, she was constantly seen riding about the camp, encouraging, inspecting, directing; and in the last days of the siege of Granada, when the spirits of the troops had begun to flag, she appeared daily in complete armour, and showed herself upon more than one occasion in a post of danger on the field. The armies with which Gonsalvo de Cordova overran Calabria, and annihilated the French at Cerignola, were prepared and despatched by Isabella; and if in a subsequent campaign, the *Great Captain* was left without supplies or reinforcements, it was that the queen was already sickening to her death, broken down and worn out by her constant and enormous exertions.

[1] What little organisation there was in existence was at the disposal of her rival.

But with all her aptitude for military organisation, Isabella had no love for war. Her first campaign was undertaken to make good her pretensions to the crown. The extermination of the Moslems was a matter of religious feeling and patriotic pride, rather than an object of military glory; but she refused to pursue her conquest across the Straits of Gibraltar. The expeditions to Italy were a part of Ferdinand's diplomacy,[1] though the honour of victory must be shared between Isabella and her *Great Captain*. But the queen's ambition lay not in conquest abroad. On the contrary, as soon as the last province in Spain had been delivered from the foreign yoke of the Moor, she turned her attention to the peaceful development of the kingdom; and, unlettered warrior as she was, she bestowed her royal patronage upon students and studies, rather than upon the knights and nobles who had fought her battles before Granada.

The old foundations of the universities, the new art of printing, scholarship, music, architecture found in her a generous patron, not so much from predilection as from policy. Men of letters and men of learning were welcomed at her court, not only from every part of Spain, but from every part of Europe. For herself she had little appreciation of literature. She neither knew nor cared what influence her beloved Inquisition would have upon science. But as long as the queen lived, learning was honoured in Spain.

In this as in all other things, her judgment of men was unerring. The queen who made Gonsalvo the Commander-in-Chief of her armies, and Ximenez the President of her Council, who selected Torquemada as her Grand Inquisitor, and Talavera as her Archbishop of Granada, made no mistake when she invited Peter Martyr to instruct her son in polite letters, and commissioned Lebrija to compose the first Castilian grammar for the use of her court.

Of her beauty of face and form, we have already spoken. Yet vanity was unknown to her nature. Simple and abstemious in her daily life, and despising pomp for its own sake, no one could make a braver show on fitting occasions; and the richness of her apparel,[2] the glory of her jewels, and the noble dignity of her presence have been celebrated by subjects and strangers.

[1] It must be explained that the object was a purely Aragonese one, in which Isabella and Castile were not directly interested.—H.

[2] *Pompa demasiada;* distinguished for undue pomp, says Bernaldez, *Reyes Catolicos*, i., 4.

More devoted by far to her husband than to her children, more devoted to her country and to her Church than to any man or woman in Spain, her family life is the least pleasing feature of her character. Her treatment of her daughter Katharine was at best inconsiderate; her treatment of Joanna was to the last degree heartless. The most that may fairly be urged in her favour is that in her declining health she may have listened too obediently to the suggestions of Ferdinand, and the inevitable friar, and sacrificed the least dutiful of her daughters to the odious policy of her husband.[1]

To judge man or woman for acting according to the dictates of their religion is a somewhat delicate task, and may lead the modest writer of history into the province of Ethics or even of Polemics, if the tendency be not severely checked.[2] But of what is commonly spoken of as the bigotry of Isabella, the admiration of Catholic historians, and the despair of Protestant panegyrists, it is somewhat difficult to speak without offence or paradox. Religious, as she understood the word, she undoubtedly was, constant, devout, zealous. Her religion, moreover, was no cloak. It was a part of her nature, and as far as she herself was concerned, a force rather than a hindrance throughout life. For to her, and for her, it was true. That she was led by her devotion to a Church that she judged to be infallible, to hand over her subjects to torture and exile, to break her plighted word, to subordinate all moral consideration to the triumph of a narrow orthodoxy—these things are not denied, they are rather gloried in, by many even among her modern admirers, while her more dreadful exhibitions of absolute power were applauded without a pang of remorse by the wisest and the worthiest of her contemporaries.[3]

But if her religious obedience brought suffering and death to so many of her subjects, her royal independence brooked no interference, even from the head of her Church, in matters in which her personal dignity was concerned. Innocent and Alexander fared no better at her hands than if they had been

[1] The question will be again alluded to in chapter lv.

[2] The man who would class Isabella with Torquemada, or even with Philip II., must have studied history and human nature alike in vain. If she resembled any of her contemporaries, it was Cardinal Ximenez. But her judgment was more just, her vigour more chastened, her resolution more indomitable.

[3] Isabella, according to Bergenroth, was of a highly nervous temperament, and suffered much from ill-health during the last four or five years of her life. *Calendar of State Papers* (1862), Spain, vol. i., Introd., p. 38. It is well to remember this in considering her treatment of Columbus, and even of Joanna.

Jews or Moslems, when they thwarted her political aspirations, or sought to assert their spiritual authority in matters in which she felt herself within her dominions supreme.[1] She knew the true worth of Gianbattista Cibò, and of Roderic Borgia, as well as any cardinal at Rome.[2] And she used these Holy Fathers for her own purposes with a kind of cynical deference, demanding and ever obtaining their Bulls and their Briefs for the more effectual compulsion of friends and enemies, for the furtherance of her foreign or domestic policy, and even for the quieting of her own conscience.[3]

To draw the line between spiritual infallibility and temporal arrogance has puzzled more subtle intellects than that of Isabella the Catholic. The queen, like other people, decided the matter for herself in her own way. It is open to any man to call her a saint and a heroine. It is open to any man to call her a bigot and a tyrant. But no man at least may deny that she was a great queen.[4]

[1] See for example, as early as 1482, as to the investiture of the bishops of Cordova and Cuenca. Sixtus IV. having paid no attention to the representations of Isabella with regard to the appointments, the queen ordered all the Castilians at once to leave Rome, and threatened to summon a general council of Christian sovereigns to consider the question of Church government. Sixtus, it need hardly be said, speedily gave way. Lafuente, ix., 190-3.

[2] For an example of the anti-clerical vigour of Isabella in Spain, see Pulgar, iii., 66, where we read that the priests who had striven vainly against the queen were *desnaturados de los Reynos de Castilla.* See also Lafuente, vol. ix., pp. 527-536.

[3] "Though this business—the thwarting of the designs of Charles VIII.—is the business of God and the Church," says Isabella, writing with her own hand, in her most secret cypher, to her ambassador in London, "to defend which all we Christian princes are obliged—there might be mixed in it something of our own interest." Isabella to Puebla, 10th July, 1496. *Calendar*, etc., vol. i., pp. 108-110. See also the queen's letter to Rome, dated Cordova, 7th September, 1490, referred to in the *Calendar*, vol. i., Introd., p. 46.

[4] In the *Anales breves* of D. Rafael Floranes Robles y Encinas (1787), there is a most useful and carefully compiled *Memorial y Registro* of all the places at which Ferdinand and Isabella lodged from 1496 to 1504. *Doc. Ineditos*, pp. xviii., 237-339.

Nothing can more clearly show the wonderful activity of the sovereigns, especially of Isabella. A mere list of the names of the places throughout Spain, at which the court was found, would fill a page. But for purposes of reference and comparison this handy travelling diary is most useful, and I feel personally indebted to the painstaking diligence of the compiler, Don Lorenzo Galindez Carbajal, member of the council and household of Ferdinand, Isabella, Juana and Charles V. (A similar travelling diary giving an account of the movements of Charles V. was compiled by his secretary Vandernesse, printed in Bradford's *Correspondence of Charles V.*—H.)

CHAPTER LIV.

THE LAST VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.

(1502—1506.)

After long and weary waiting; after neglect and disappointment, and hope ever deferred; after rebuffs and insults that would have broken the spirit of a man less noble-hearted than Christopher Columbus, the great discoverer was at length permitted to revisit his new world; and on the 11th of May, 1503, he set sail once more for the Western Seas. He went not, indeed, as admiral or viceroy, nor with the full powers and well-appointed fleet of the brother of Calatrava, but as commandant of four old-fashioned caravels, permitted, rather than authorised, to seek new possessions for Castile.

Columbus had been most anxious to construct some new ships on improved lines; but the necessary licence could not be obtained. The largest vessel of the four that was entrusted to him, measured but *seventy* tons; and 143 souls all told sailed in his most royal fleet. He was not even allowed, by the terms of his commission, to touch at Hispaniola. His duty was only to discover. He was not to be permitted to enjoy. The ships, however, especially the *Gallega*, of sixty tons, had become so leaky by the time they had reached the West Indies, that he ran to the port of St. Domingo to refit. In the harbour was riding a noble fleet of no less than thirty-two vessels, collected by Brother Ovando, with Brother Bobadilla, and over 200,000 golden castellanos already on board, ready to start for Spain. Yet the needed succour was denied to Columbus, and he was forbidden to land, or even to hold any communication with the shore.

The great heart of the navigator was not to be hardened by all this criminal insolence; and he once more sent a messenger to the town, not to ask again for assistance or even for shelter, but to warn the assembled fleet of an approaching

hurricane. Then, and not till then, did he himself seek refuge with his leaky caravels in the little port of Azua. His forecast was realised. The hurricane burst; and his crazy squadron rode out the storm in safety. But for the great *Armada* of Ovando was reserved a very different fate. Disregarding the warnings of Columbus, the Calatravan had given orders to his captains to weigh anchor and to set sail without delay. The fleet was stricken by the tornado. Twenty vessels were at once sent to the bottom; and of the thirty treasure ships that set out from St. Domingo, one small caravel alone was spared to reach the coast of Spain. Bobadilla and his castellanos, Ovando's plunder, the spoil of tens of thousands of murdered Indians—all were swallowed up by the sea.

Having weathered the storm, and repaired his ships as best he could, Columbus continued his voyage to the westward, and by the end of July he made the coast of Honduras in Central America, whence he sailed to the southward, amid inconceivable hardships, in search of the golden region of Veragua. Veragua was found, and formally annexed to Castile. A settlement was made, and abandoned after a brief occupation in April, 1503. Seven score men may not occupy a country; and Columbus, with a fleet reduced to two ships in a sinking condition, succeeded in reaching Jamaica, where he was suffered to remain one whole year on the verge of starvation by Ovando, who was roasting friendly Indians alive in the neighbouring island of Hispaniola.[1] In the dreadful and diabolical annals of the colonisation of the American Indies there is no name more infamous than that of this religious knight, the favoured rival of the discoverer of the New World. But at length the public opinion even of the adventurers over whom he ruled was outraged by his abandonment of Columbus. A caravel was sent to Jamaica. The castaways were rescued, and Columbus was immediately sent back to Spain.

A few days before the death of Isabella, on the 7th of November, 1504, a tempest-tossed vessel, in charge of a weary crew, cast anchor in the little port of San Lucar at the mouth of the Guadalquivir. Columbus was once more in Spain;

[1] Faith is staggered, says Prescott (ii., 26), by the recital of the number of victims immolated in those fair regions within a few years after their discovery.

According to Las Casas (i., 187) *twelve million* Indians were destroyed in less than forty years after the discovery of the New World; and Herrera admits that in the single island of Hispaniola or San Domingo the native population was reduced in twenty-five years from over 1,000,000 to less than 15,000 souls. *Ind. Occ.*, dec. i., lib. x., c. xii.

broken by disease, and yet more by disappointment, but still cheerful, self-reliant and hopeful. The news of Ovando's atrocities had preceded him; the burning of the Caciques, the murder of Anaconda, the wholesale massacre of the Indians, the abandonment of the admiral himself at Jamaica. But the news was accompanied by gold; and Ovando was maintained in his high command.

As Columbus sailed over the bar of the Guadalquivir, Isabella the Catholic lay dying at Medina del Campo. Of the return of Columbus she did not live to hear. But of Ovando's atrocities, some tidings were permitted to reach her ears, and add to the grief and distress of her last moments. In a codicil to her celebrated testament, she begged her husband to protect the natives that had been committed to his care. But Ferdinand the Catholic was not a man to concern himself about the sufferings of distant Indians. The clauses in his wife's will that alone occupied his attention, while he was engaged in disposing of Philip and of Joanna, had nothing to do with new Spain beyond the Atlantic. Fray Ovando was quite good enough for St. Domingo.

Columbus was at length admitted to a final interview; but he failed to obtain redress or recognition, still less restitution or reward, at the hands of Ferdinand of Aragon. One gleam of hope was permitted to illumine his last days on earth, when Philip and Joanna landed in Spain, and a message from the admiral was acknowledged in a gracious and generous spirit by the prince from Gallicia. But the encouragement arrived too late. The great navigator was to sail no more the stormy seas of this world; and on the 20th of May, 1506, in a miserable lodging at Valladolid, in a house that is still pointed out to the curious traveller, the spirit of one of the best and noblest of men that is honoured by two continents, fled away from the confines of earth to the unknown land, far beyond Atlantic and Pacific, where injustice or wrong may not be found.

Columbus left two sons; Diego by his Portuguese wife; and Fernando by Beatriz Enriquez. Don Diego succeeded to his father's title, and recovered some of his rights at the hands of Charles V. Don Fernando[1] devoted his life to a study of his

[1] Fernando visited Louvain in search of books in 1531, and came across the great scholar Clenardus, whom he induced to return with him to Spain.

A good many interesting facts in connection with this visit, and more especially as regards the astounding decay of Arabic scholarship, or even the simplest acquaintance with the language, not only at Salamanca, but at *Granada*,

father's works and the preservation of memorials of his deeds; and it is to his tender and zealous care that we owe the *Biblioteca Colombina* that is still cared for by the Chapter of Seville Cathedral. The restoration to Don Diego of his father's titles and honours, with a part of his father's property, was due in no wise to the justice of his cause, but to his fortunate marriage with Doña Maria de Toledo, a near relation of Ferdinand of Aragon.

Confirmed thus in his hereditary office, the young admiral embarked at San Lucar in the end of May, 1509, with his lady wife, his uncles Diego and Bartolomé and his younger brother Fernando. The goodly company arrived at St. Domingo in July, 1509, when Don Diego superseded Ovando, and retained his government of Hispaniola for no less than eighteen years, until his death in February, 1526.

His son Don Luis was compelled to renounce his vice-royalty, and his other hereditary rights; receiving in exchange a handsome pension, and the title of Duke of Veragua, which is still borne by the actual descendant, in the female line, of the great navigator—His Excellency Don Cristobal Colon de la Cerda y Larreategui, Duke of Veragua, who was born in 1837, and whose eldest son and heir carries on the great name of Cristobal.[1]

will be found in an article in the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1893, entitled "Clenardus". (The matter is also referred to in an additional note in the first volume of this work.—H.)

[1] The investigations of Señor Muñoz in the archives at Simancas and Seville, between 1781 and 1799, undertaken at the suggestion of the enlightened Charles III., were and are of the utmost value and interest. The work of Señor Muñoz was continued by Señor Navarrete, who published, in 1825, his *Coleccion de los Viajes y descubrimientos*, etc., in four volumes. A fifth volume was added in 1837. For fifty years this was the great authority upon the subject, and is the basis of Irving's agreeable and well-known life of the great navigator, which was published in 1827. Alexander Von Humboldt's *Examen critique de l'histoire et de la géographie du nouveau continent* is of much critical value, and Mr. Harrisse's *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima* is a monument of patient and fruitful research; and his *Christophe Colomb, son origine, sa Vie, ses Voyages, sa famille et ses descendants*, 2 vols., large 8vo (Paris, 1884), superbly printed, is still perhaps the best and most authoritative work within the reach of those who do not read Spanish. But the most complete life of Columbus that has yet been published in any language is that of Don José Maria Asensio, entitled *Cristobal Colon, su vida, sus viages, sus descubrimientos*, 2 vols., folio, pp. 143 and 733, and 904, with maps, oleographs and numerous page illustrations, and illuminated borders (Barcelona, 1892). See also *Colon en España*, by Don Tomas Rodriguez Pinilla (Madrid, 1884). A vast amount of original and curious information with regard to the doings of the Spaniards in the early days of their *West Indian* government and exploration, will be found in the collection, entitled *Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista, y organization de America y Oceania, sacados de los Archivos del Reino* (Madrid, 1864), etc.

CHAPTER LV.

FERDINAND TRIUMPHANT.

(1505.)

I.—*La Beltraneja and La Loca.*

The government of Isabella had been by no means perfect; but it had been efficient; and it had been well-nigh universally respected. On the queen's death, Spain became once more the theatre of intrigue, of scandal, of uncertainty, and of change; when every man suspected his neighbour, and rival regents divided the allegiance of wavering subjects.

The great object of Ferdinand's ambition was to continue to reign not only over Aragon, but over Castile. He accordingly, within a few hours of the death of Isabella, made a formal and public renunciation of the crown that he had so long worn as her consort, and caused proclamations to be made of the accession of Philip and Joanna to the vacant throne; while he assumed for himself the modest title of administrator of the kingdom. The Cortes was convoked in the name of Queen Joanna; and her royal standard was solemnly unfurled in the great square of Toledo.[1]

[1] There is a concise history of the affairs in Spain, of the letters to and from Flanders, and of the negotiations generally, from contemporary MSS., chiefly those of D. Galindez Carbajal, councillor of the Catholic kings, by Rafael Floranes Robles y Encinas (1787), published in the eighteenth volume of *Documentos Inedi-tos*, pp. 339-423. Among the various documents printed, is a letter from Ferdinand the Catholic to the Archduke Philip giving the news of the death of Isabella, and begging his son-in-law to come to Spain with the utmost expedition, *con la reina mi hija*. The letter is addressed to *Philip by the Grace of God, King of Castile, Leon and Granada, and Prince of Aragon*, etc., etc. On the same evening (26th November) the standard of Queen Joanna, *Señora propietaria de estos reinos*, was solemnly and publicly raised by the Duke of Alva, cousin-german of King Ferdinand. By the end of the same month (*i.e.*, in less than four days) Ferdinand had gone to la Mejorada near Olmedo to meet Ximenez, *para entender en el Testamento de la Reina*. In December Ferdinand went to Toro, where he remained

All this was of course only preparatory to the confirmation and promulgation of the political testament of Isabella by the Cortes at Toro in January, 1505, and the investiture of Ferdinand himself with the powers and position of sole regent and *de facto* sovereign of the kingdom of Castile.

That this step should provoke the remonstrance of Philip, as the husband of Joanna, the rightful Queen of Castile, was only what might have been expected; but it provoked also the strong and practical remonstrance of the great territorial nobility. The proud and independent spirit of the Castilian magnates had bowed itself at once before the sex and the spirit of Isabella. As a woman, as a Castilian, and as a great lady, she had compelled their loyalty and their respect. Ferdinand of Aragon was a man and a foreigner; and the Castilian aristocracy saw no reason for preferring him to their lawful sovereign. Don John Manuel was despatched to Flanders as the representative of the nobles; and moved by this ever skilful envoy, Philip called upon his father-in law to resign his pretensions to supremacy in Castile, and to retire at once to his own kingdom of Aragon.

In the meantime, Ferdinand the Catholic had not been idle. He had, in the first place, despatched one Lope de Conchillos, an Aragonese gentleman devoted to his interests, to the court of the archduchess in Flanders; and the envoy had succeeded in obtaining from Joanna a letter,[1] approving the action of her father as regards the administration of Castile. The document, however, was handed by Conchillo's messenger, not to Ferdinand, but to Philip; and the scheme led to no further results than the imprisonment of the emissary, and a suspicious supervision of Joanna herself, which must have been peculiarly irritating to her nervous and supersensitive nature.

Meanwhile the widower of three months' standing had been seeking a new wife in a strange and most unexpected quarter

until the month of April of the next year, 1505, "*entendiendo en cumplir el Testamento de la Reina*, with Ximenez the Primate, and Deza, lately appointed Archbishop of Seville. *Anales breves*, in *Documentos Ineditos*, vol. xviii., 309-10.

In the *Bosquejo biografico de la Reina Doña Juana* (1874), Señor Rodriguez has collected a number of letters up to that time unpublished, bearing upon the question; and although his book is avowedly written as an answer to the calumnious suggestion of Bergenroth that Joanna was not mad (p. 10), he arrives at the conclusion, which I believe to be the just one, namely, that the queen was certainly not mad up to the date of her husband's death, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[1] This letter, says Marsollier (*Vie de Ximenes*, ii., 58), was written when Joanna was smarting under a fit of jealousy at some more than usually scandalous act of infidelity on the part of her husband, of which Conchillo made the most, for the accomplishment of his own ends.

The rights of Joanna, surnamed *La Beltraneja*, born in wedlock and recognised by her father, King Henry IV., as his successor on his throne, had only been subordinated to those of her aunt Isabella by force of arms. And Ferdinand, who had entered Castile in 1469, by marrying her rival and denying her legitimacy, now proposed to remain in Castile in 1505 by asserting her legitimacy, and marrying her himself!

The formal disposition of the crown under the hand of Henry IV.—conclusive of the legitimacy of Joanna—was, it was said, actually in the king's possession. Everything would, no doubt, have been satisfactorily ordered by Ferdinand, but the lady unhappily refused to entertain his proposals,[1] and the legitimate Queen of Spain remained unwedded in her Portuguese convent. Had she consented to reign, the title of Isabella would have been *ex post facto* impugned;[2] and had she been fortunate enough to bear a son to Ferdinand, the boy would have inherited the united kingdom of Aragon and Castile, to the exclusion of Charles V. of Germany. But as the title of Isabella was not called in question, her daughter Joanna remained Queen of Castile.[3]

[1] Ferdinand chose Don Hugo de Cardona—who was supposed to be his own son, and who certainly enjoyed his confidence to an extraordinary degree—to conduct the delicate negotiations. But neither Joanna herself nor Emmanuel, King of Portugal, would listen to his proposals. Cardona afterwards succeeded the *Great Captain* in Italy, and showed himself at least a very poor general. Pope Julius II., who was not a man to pardon military incapacity, used to speak of him as "the old woman". But he is said to have inherited some of his father's craft as a negotiator. See Marsollier, ii., 82.

[2] Cardinal Mendoza, on his death-bed in 1485, had advised the sovereigns to marry their son Juan to this Juana, as the best way of securing the future peace of the kingdom; and he deeply offended Isabella by telling her that Henry IV., on his own death-bed, had assured him of the legitimacy of his daughter. Marsollier, i., 155; P. Bembo, *Ist. Veniziana*, ii., 12; Guicciardini, *Ist.* viii.; Zurita, *Anales*, ix., 38.

[3] Although it was positively stated that Henry IV. died without having made any testamentary declaration or settlement of the succession, he did, as a fact, make a will, constituting his daughter Joanna Queen of Spain, and acknowledging her as his lawful child. The document was hidden by a priest at Almeida, in Portugal, until a short time before the death of Isabella, when it fell into the hands of Ferdinand, and was by him, in all probability, burnt, after Joanna's refusal to marry him. *Anales breves*, MS., printed in the *Documentos Ineditos*, etc., etc., vol. xviii., 253-5, where all names and details are fully given. Henry frequently and publicly declared that his daughter Joanna was his legitimate child. The last and most solemn occasion, apart from his will (*Doc. Ined.*, xviii., 253-5), was on the 26th of November, 1470, before all the prelates, grandees and commons of the realm at Val de Lozoya. Galindez Carbajal, *Anales breves*, MS., in *Doc. Ined.*, xviii., 255. (Flores, *Reinas Catolicas*, vol. iv., gives an account of Henry's death-bed declaration to the Prior of San Geronimo affirming Joanna's legitimacy.—H.)

Ferdinand was never discouraged by rebuff.[1] The succession of the first Joanna had been prevented by an offensive nickname. The succession of the second Joanna should be prevented by a title at least more personally shameful. *La Beltraneja* would not inherit. *La Loca* could not reign.

The character of Joanna of Castile was no doubt unhappily tempered, for the princess seems to have inherited much of the masterful and imperious nature of her mother, Isabella, with some of the incapacity of her grandfather John II. of Castile. But no one had ever supposed that she was anything but a wayward and a somewhat unmanageable girl. She had been by no means a favourite with her mother, who had been attached rather to her elder sister Isabella, and to her more hopeful brother Prince John. The princess had been at all times impatient of control, and punishment more severe than was even then usual in the discipline of children, had been employed in her home education.[2] But she had at least profited by her instruction, and is said not only to have been a good Latin scholar, but to have been able to improvise[3] a discourse in that learned language with correctness and fluency. Yet she seems to have been wanting in tact and discretion, and to have been the victim of a strong will and a violent temper, with but little power of self-control. In a word, her nature and temperament seem to have been of the kind now more commonly known as hysterical. Passionately devoted to the archduke, the handsomest prince of his day, anxious when absent, and jealous when near her husband, Joanna had few friends in Flanders, and fewer still in her native Castile.

In March, 1503, having been left at Alcalá de Henares by the archduke, on the occasion of his sudden visit to France, she had been delivered of her second son, Ferdinand, and on recovery from her confinement, she had not unnaturally desired to rejoin her husband in Flanders. But Isabella refused her consent; and Joanna reluctantly consented to remain. At length, having received from Philip in the following November, a letter urging her to return, Joanna once more entreated her mother to be permitted to embark. But Isabella not only forbade her to quit

[1] The fact of Ferdinand's proposal to marry La Beltraneja is ridiculed by Dunham, and apparently by Prescott. Yet it is given on the authority not only of Robertson (*Charles V.*, lib. i., chap. i.), and Carbajal, *ubi supra*, but also of Zurita (vi., lib. vi., chap. xiv., col. 1), Mariana (ii., lib. xxviii., chap. xiii.) and Clemencin (*Mem. de la Real Acad. de Hist.*, vi., 19).

[2] *Marquis of Denia to Charles V.*, *Calendar*, etc., supplementary vol., p. 405.

[3] Vives, *de Christiana femina*, chap. iv. Hefele, *Vie de Ximenès*, 114 (and also Flores, *Reinas Catolicas*.—H.).

Spain, but caused her to be imprisoned or detained in the castle of Medina del Campo, in charge of Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos.[1] Indignant, *tanquam punica leæna*, as Peter Martyr[2] has it, at this restraint, the young archduchess stormed at her attendants, lay and ecclesiastical, and was hardly pacified by a visit from the queen herself. She insisted, moreover, upon a fleet being forthwith prepared at Laredo, in which she embarked on the first of March, 1504, and arrived safely in Flanders, where she resided for the next two years at her husband's court, without suggestion or suspicion of any mental incapacity.

In January, 1505, there was no more evidence of the madness of Joanna than that of any other royal lady in Europe. It was said that she had been violent when Fonseca had shut her up in Medina del Campo. It would have been strange if she had tamely submitted. It was known that she had insisted pretty vigorously and most successfully that she should be allowed to return to her husband. She could hardly have given greater proof of mental and moral vigour. It had been reported that on her return to Flanders, she had had cut off the golden locks of a Flemish beauty of her court who had been too successful a rival in the fickle affections of the archduke. Such conduct was, no doubt, undignified; but it scarcely suggested insanity, nor had so terrible an explanation ever been thought of at her home in Flanders. Whispers indeed had been heard in Spain during the last days of the life of Isabella; and within a few months after the queen's death, the insanity of Joanna had become a matter of faith at the court of Ferdinand.[3]

Yet this courtly fiction was of itself not sufficient to establish the King of Aragon in the government of Castile; and in order to improve his prospects and maintain his position, Ferdinand was impelled to seek an alliance with the power against which the whole policy of Castile and Aragon had been uniformly

[1] Juan Rodrigo Fonseca. This ecclesiastic is so often met with in the history of this reign, under so many different titles, that I have looked up his career and noted date of translations, etc. We first hear of him as Archdeacon of Seville, in which guise he was appointed a member of the first council of the Indies, where he so systematically thwarted Columbus. He was appointed Bishop of Badajoz in 1496; transferred to Cordova in 1499; to Palencia in 1505; and to Burgos in 1514. He died in 1524.

[2] *Ep.*, 268.

[3] Just a year later Philip wrote to a confidential friend . . . *oultre plus, affin d'avoir plus grant coleur d'usurper ledit gouvernement* (Ferdinand) *feist publier et courir la voix partout que ladite royne sa fille est folle, per quoy it devoit gouverner pour elle*, etc., Philip to Jehan de Hesdin, undated, early in 1506, in de Glay, *Négotiations diplomatiques entre la France et l'Autriche*, tom. i., p. 200.

directed for over a quarter of a century. Louis XII. of France was not only the friend and close ally of Philip of Burgundy, but the archduke's eldest son, Charles of Luxemburg (afterwards Charles V.), had been actually betrothed to his daughter, the Princess Claude of France, by the treaty of Blois, executed on the 22nd of September, 1504. To break off both the marriage and the alliance would be a triumph of diplomacy; not, perhaps, for Spain, or even for Aragon, but certainly for Ferdinand himself. And Ferdinand undertook the negotiations with his usual promptitude, and conducted them with his usual success.

In August, 1505, a new treaty was concluded at Blois, which was afterwards ratified on the 12th of October, of the same year, by which at the price of great concessions as regards the kingdom of Naples, Ferdinand purchased the friendship of France as well as the rupture of all treaties or engagements of every kind between Louis XII. and the Archduke Philip; and he obtained for himself the hand of his own great-niece Germaine de Foix, one of the most buxom beauties of the court of Paris. According to the terms of this treaty[1] Ferdinand was to reimburse Louis for the expenses of the late Neapolitan war, by a payment of 1,000,000 crowns in ten yearly instalments. He was to grant a complete amnesty to the French party in Naples, and to reinstate all the dispossessed Angevin nobles in their forfeited estates; in return for which concessions, Louis ceded to Germaine[2] de Foix all his rights or claims to the kingdom of Naples, to descend to her eldest son, or in the event of her dying without issue of Ferdinand, to revert to the crown of France.

The treaty is always spoken of as foolish, impolitic and disgraceful to Spain. But as Ferdinand had no intention of being bound by any of its provisions; and as it detached France from the cause of Philip, and gave him time to settle with his son-in-law in his own way; as he obtained for himself a beautiful and charming wife, and as he never paid a single crown of the stipulated indemnity, the celebration of the treaty affords no proof of personal or political folly.

Philip was thunderstruck on hearing of this apparently reck-

[1] The usual friar employed by Ferdinand as his envoy on this occasion was Juan de Enguerra, Apostolic Inquisitor of Aragon.

[2] Prescott, strange to say, calls Germaine the sister of Louis XII. (vol. ii., chap. xvii.). She was, of course, niece of the French king, being a daughter of Jean de Foix and sister of Gaston de Foix, afterwards killed at Ravenna fighting against Ferdinand's Spaniards. She was also grand-daughter of Eleanor of Navarre, who had so cruelly murdered Ferdinand's sister at Orthez. See *ante*, chapter xxxviii. See also Lafuente, x., p. 270.

less convention, by which at least his own present and future interests were so gravely compromised. The news moreover was conveyed to him not directly by his father-in-law, but indirectly by Louis XII., who required him to abandon his intention of passing through the French dominions on his way to Spain, as had been previously contemplated and arranged. Even the careless and frivolous nature of the young archduke was impressed by the gravity of the situation; and he determined to do that which he should have done long before—even as soon as the news of Isabella's death had reached him—and to proceed, in company with Queen Joanna, without further delay to Spain.[1]

II.—*Villafafila.*

On the 7th of January, 1506, the Archduke Philip, with his wife Joanna, Queen of Castile, set sail from Flanders on their long-delayed voyage to Spain. The fleet was overtaken by a storm; and the royal travellers were compelled to seek refuge in the harbour of Melcombe in Dorsetshire. The archduke disembarked. A gracious message was soon received from Henry VII., with an invitation to Philip and Joanna to visit him at Windsor. The invitation was gladly accepted; and at Windsor Castle on the 9th of February, 1506, a new alliance was concluded between the King of England and Philip, as titular regent of Castile.[2] Henry created his guest a Knight of the Garter, and accepted

[1] A *modus vivendi* was arrived at towards the end of the year 1505 through the instrumentality of Don John Manuel, which is known as the "Concord of Salamanca," by the terms of which the Government of Castile was to be carried on in the *joint names of Ferdinand, Joanna and Philip; 24th November*, 1505.

[2] One *M. de la Chau* was sent from Flanders to Spain early in 1506 to negotiate an agreement between King Ferdinand and his son-in-law, to the effect "that they be rulers and governors of Castile as stipulated between them" . . . and that the queen "may be put under restraint". *Quirini to the Court of Venice*, dated Falmouth, 30th March, 1506, *Calendar*, etc. (Venetian), No. 872. (For a contemporary account of Philip and Joanna's visit to England, where it is asserted that the treaty was extorted from them, see *Documentos Ineditos*, vol. viii.—H.)

And as to the palace intrigues to maintain the incapacity of Joanna, lest she should assume the royal authority and annul their pensions, see *id.*, No. 873, with an account of an interview between the ambassador and Joanna herself in England, 4th April, 1506. For a woman whose intellect was not "in the eyes of the courtiers" sufficiently strong for such a charge as that of the throne of Castile, she seems to have acquitted herself remarkably well. *Ibid.*, No. 871.

The king in Spain, in gentle and soothing language, prays his son-in-law to come speedily to Spain; he will arrange every difficulty so as to satisfy all parties. Such was the entire result of the mission of de la Chau. *Quirini, ubi supra*, 16th April, 1506, No. 877.

the Golden Fleece of Burgundy for his son the Prince of Wales.[1]

The utmost pains seems to have been taken during this visit to prevent the Princess Katharine from meeting her sister Joanna, lest anything should be said by either princess to disturb the negotiations. Yet of the supposed madness of Joanna there is neither record nor suggestion, not even in that most minute narrative of her visit to Windsor that is preserved among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, although her subordination to her husband is abundantly and even painfully apparent. The visit, however, was in every way most successful. The treaties were signed. The weather moderated. Philip and Joanna continued their journey with a fair wind to Spain.

Ferdinand,[2] a bridegroom of six weeks' standing, at once sent messengers to treat with the young sovereigns. But Philip, to his chagrin, was firm; Don John Manuel, to his surprise, proved incorruptible. Nor did either the grace of Martyr, or the vigour of Ximenez avail anything to deter the queen and her husband from asserting and maintaining their rights in Castile.[3] The great territorial nobility had declared themselves for the most part opposed to the pretensions of Ferdinand of Aragon. The Marquis of Astorga and the Count of Benevente went the length of refusing him admission within their cities. It seemed as if the disgraceful surrender of Blois had been made in vain. But it was just when Ferdinand the Catholic appeared to be worsted in intrigue that he was most dangerous. It was just when he seemed humiliated by some temporary check, that he was quietly preparing for permanent victory. Nor did he stand quite alone in the day of trial. Ximenez was true to the Catholic king. Ferdinand and the friar together were more than a match for Castile.

Philip had brought with him a small army of some 5000 or 6000 men from Flanders. In case of war, gentle and simple would have flocked to his standards. Ferdinand was without forces or followers. But his powers of negotiation and intrigue

[1] *Quirini to the Court of Venice*, dated Falmouth, 25th February, 1506. *Calendar of State Papers* (Venetian), vol. i., No. 867.

[2] Ferdinand had met Germaine de Foix at Dueñas, and had married her at Valladolid (18th March, 1506), where he had married Isabella seven-and-thirty years before (19th October, 1469).

[3] Marsollier says (ii., 69) that Philip and Joanna were *reconnus et couronnés à Burgos* soon after their arrival in Castile; long before *Villafafila*, but soon after an interview between Ximenez and Philip at Orense, about the middle of 1506; and that on her arrival early in 1506, their daughter Mary of Austria, afterwards Queen of Hungary, was born in Spain, p. 65.

no man could take from him. He would negotiate. At the little village of Villafafila near Senabria in the wild mountain country to the south-west of Astorga, on the morning of the 27th of June, 1506, Ferdinand with a modest train of attendants, unarmed, and mounted on peaceful mules, "with love in his heart and peace in his hands" embraced his distinguished son-in-law,[1] at the head of his army and the friendly nobles of Castile. Joanna was not present at the meeting. Of her supposed insanity, no hint had been given in the Flemish camp. But Ferdinand showed himself not only affectionate but deferential to her husband. What could the gallant Philip have to fear from so humble an opponent? At Villafafila there was no palace; not even a house, where royal personages might meet in council; and at the request of his father-in-law, Philip accompanied him into the village church.[2] There, in an interview that lasted far into the long afternoon of a summer's day, the fate of Joanna of Spain was decided. Ximenez, the Primate and Grand Chancellor of Castile, stood sentinel at the door, and permitted no man to come within earshot of the sacred council chamber; and at length when the doors were opened, and father and son-in-law walked out in affectionate converse, it was evident to the least experienced observer at the Castilian court, that Ferdinand had won the day.

And yet the spoils of victory would seem to have remained with the archduke. For ere the sun had set on that memorable day, a treaty had been drawn up, signed, and ratified, by which Ferdinand ceded all his claims to the government of Castile "to his most beloved children," and had announced that he would immediately quit the country. He would not even content himself with retirement across the frontier to Aragon. He would do that which he had never yet done during his fifty-four years of life and government. He would leave the Peninsula and sail across the sea to his distant capital at Naples. It was prodigious.[3]

Yet, as usual on such occasions, the secret treaty which was signed on the same day was more important by far than that

[1] *Calendar*, etc., supplementary vol., Introduction, p. 35.

[2] Lafuente has it, in a hermitage or chapel of the farmstead of el Ramesal, close to the village of Senabria, on the confines of Leon, Portugal and Gallicia, *Hist.*, etc., x., pp. 277-8.

[3] It was clear that Ferdinand, who had not seen his daughter for the last two years and a half, had persuaded Philip, who had lived in daily intercourse with her, that he was mistaken in denying her insanity! *Calendar*, sup. vol., p. 36.

which was published abroad. For by this subsidiary convention between Philip and Ferdinand, it was recited that as "Joanna refused under any circumstances to occupy herself with the affairs of the kingdom," the same should therefore be administered by Philip alone;[1] and the high contracting parties bound themselves to interfere, if necessary, with their united forces *to prevent Joanna or her adherents* from taking any part in the government of Castile. It must be admitted that if Ferdinand was a detestable father, Philip was a very sorry husband.

But neither the open treaty nor yet the secret treaty was sufficient for Ferdinand the Catholic. Within an hour after he had solemnly sworn "upon the cross, and the four holy gospels, placed upon the altar, that he would guard and fulfil" all the articles of the second or secret treaty, he executed a third and still more secret instrument in the shape of a formal documentary declaration, before Miguel Perez Almazan—who was not only his own private secretary, and who in that capacity had witnessed his signature to both the treaties, but who was also an apostolic Roman notary—that "unarmed, and attended by only a few servants, he had fallen into the hands of his son-in-law, who had been at the head of a great armed force, and who was keeping prisoner his daughter, the lawful Queen of Castile;" and that thus and therefore he solemnly protested against the validity of both the treaties of that day's date, as having been imposed upon him under duress, and declared that he did not consent "that his daughter should be deprived of her liberty nor of her rights as hereditary queen of the kingdom!"[2]

Having thus prepared for all possible contingencies, the King of Aragon took leave of his beloved son, and set out on his journey to Naples.[3] But he left behind him at the court of Philip a certain Mosen Luis Ferrer, one of his gentlemen of the bedchamber, a devoted subject of Aragon, and a willing and obedient instrument in the hands of his sovereign.[4]

[1] "On account of her infirmities and sufferings, which decency forbids to be related." *Calendar*, supplementary vol., pp. 78-85, where both treaties and the *Renunciacion* will be found copied and translated in full.

[2] *Calendar*, etc., sup. vol., pp. 36 and 81. Asi juramos á Dios nuestro Señor y á la Cruz y á os Santos quatro Evangelios, con nuestras manos corporalmente puestas sobre su Ara, de lo guardar y cumplir.

[3] Ferdinand neither saw, nor sought to see, his own daughter, whose liberty he was bartering away. Baudier, *Vie de Ximenes*, 224.

[4] The written instructions given to this gentleman will be found in the *Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal Grandvelle*, vol. i., p. 48 *et seq.* The secret *vivâ voce* addition would be far more interesting.

CHAPTER LVI.

PHILIP I. OF CASTILE.

(1506.)

In July, 1506, the estates were convened at Valladolid, and an attempt was made by Ximenez and Philip to induce the Cortes to declare that the mind of Joanna was deranged.[1] The Commons of Castile, however, had not yet sunk so low. The attempt failed, and the usual oaths of allegiance were tendered to Joanna as "Queen Proprietress of the kingdom of Castile"; to Philip as her husband and consort; and to Prince Charles as heir-apparent to the crown, 12th July, 1506.[2]

The brief reign, as it is usually reckoned, of Philip I. of Castile, was in truth but an incident in the reign of his wife, recognised, in spite of his earnest endeavours, as queen in her own right. That Philip was able, thanks to the extravagant affection of Joanna, and his own unscrupulous assumption of power, to bear rule in Castile for two months of his unworthy life, is scarcely a reason for numbering him among the true Kings of Castile. That Ximenez should have not only permitted but assisted the Fleming to reign in Spain, and to ill-treat his queen and consort in her own dominions, is a matter which has perplexed all his admirers and apologists; but it is entirely consistent with his foreknowledge of the young prince's doom. One act of vigour marks the brief reign of Philip I., and it was

[1] Hefele, 377; Lafuente, x., 301. For a list of the eighteen cities *que tienen voz en Cortes* in 1506, see *Documentos Ineditos*, etc., vol. xiv., p. 296. (Anciently forty-eight cities had been represented, but at this time only eighteen, including Granada, recently added, sent deputies. For the composition of the Cortes and the towns represented, see also *Spain: its Greatness and Decay.*—H.)

Il est certain que Ximenes appuya le roi Philippe dans ses efforts pour faire déclarer par le cortes que sa femme était incapable de gouverner. Gomez, 992; Zurita, vi., 7 (11); Mariana, xxviii., c. xxii., 323; Hefele, 227-8.

[2] The original capitulation between Ferdinand and Philip, dated 27th-28th June, 1506, is printed in vol. xiv. of *Documentos Ineditos*, etc., pp. 320-331.

one that by no means commanded the approbation of the great Churchman who assisted or permitted him to rule over Castile.

To understand the position we must turn back for a moment to consider the progress and proceedings of the Holy Office in the Peninsula. The country being now at length purged of Jews and Moslems, and enriched with the spoils of the exiles, the inquisitors, apostolic and royal, deprived of their accustomed quarry, were fain to turn their attention to the spiritual and general shortcomings of the Christian population of Spain. The Holy Office was at least never wanting in courage; and the first victim that was selected for this third crusade, was no less a man than Ferdinand de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, and sometime keeper of the conscience of the Catholic queen. Talavera had not been sufficiently active in the matter of vexing the Infidel. He had set himself somewhat late in life to acquire the Arabic language. And he had caused the Gospels, the Liturgy, and even the Catechism to be translated into the language of the people. He had encouraged peace and friendly communication between Moor and Christian. He had sought rather to convert than to harry the Moors in his arch-diocese. He had never hungered after their possessions. He had even pitied their misfortunes. And his true piety, combined with this unaccustomed Christian clemency, had made him not only respected but beloved by the Moslems as well as by all charitable Christians. But by Ximenez and Deza his liberality was by no means appreciated; and within one year of the death of the queen, he was cited to appear before the Inquisition (Jan., 1506). The step was almost too scandalous even for his age and country, and Julius II. avoked the cause to Rome, where, after three years' suspense, the good bishop was formally acquitted of all the charges that had been brought against him.[1] Yet various members of his family who had been arrested during the progress of his trial on various pretexts, had been subjected to grievous penalties, and Talavera himself died a few weeks after his acquittal.[2] The Holy Office can scarcely be said to have been worsted in the encounter.

Yet another distinguished friend of Isabella was made to feel the loss of her patronage. Antonio de Lebrija, the scholar of whom Spain is so justly proud, and one of the editors of the

[1] Hefele, *Vie de Ximenes*, p. 377.
[2] Peter Martyr, *Ep.*, 31st May, 1507.

Polyglot Bible, was accused of tampering with the Vulgate in the course of that great work. His papers were seized and rifled, and it was only due to the somewhat tardy protection of Cardinal Ximenez himself, on the retirement of Deza, that the greatest scholar then living in Spain escaped from the clutches of the Dominicans.[1]

Meanwhile in the city of Cordova, less distinguished victims were made to feel the power of the ecclesiastical tribunals. Lucero, Provincial Grand Inquisitor, carried on the persecution with the most reckless and savage ferocity. The citizens at length rebelled. Gentle and simple turned upon their oppressors, and the enormities of the inquisitor were brought to the notice of Philip, some days after the recognition of his sovereign rights in Castile; and Philip, after due deliberation, not only dismissed Lucero, but suspended Deza, the Grand Inquisitor of Spain, from the exercise of his tremendous functions, and ordered him to retire to his archbishopric of Seville.[2]

It is not necessary to suppose that the archduke's death was hastened by this impious interference with the Holy Office,[3] though Zurita is of a contrary opinion; but his end was not long delayed; and Deza and Lucero were able to return from their temporary seclusion, to continue their good work without opposition or annoyance, until the Cordovans rose in insurrection against their oppression and cruelty, pulled down the Council Chamber of the Holy Office, hunted Lucero out of the town, and demanded—not the life, but the removal of the inquisitors. The boon having been refused, the Andalusians, under the Marquis of Priego, assumed a more menacing attitude, and peace was only restored by the interference of Ferdinand, who desired Deza to content himself with the archbishopric of Seville, rewarded Lucero, whose enormities have not found one single apologist of repute, with the bishopric of Almeria, and

[1] Llorente, i., x., art. 13; Hefele, 382. (Ximenez's intervention in favour of Lebrija was doubtles effected by the bold remonstrance of the great scholar in his *Apologia:* "What are you doing great Cardinal in your high seat of government?" etc.—H.)

[2] Zurita, lib. vii., 11. Este proceder, says Lafuente (x., 303), *pareció* una falta imperdonable de respeto al Santo Oficio, y le perjudicó para con las gentes fanaticas de la nacion.

Hefele judiciously says nothing whatever upon the subject, and assigns a false date to the persecution of Talavera, *op. cit.*, 377.

[3] Though Zurita suggests it, *Anales de Aragon*, lib. vii., 11, see the last sentence of the chapter beginning "*asi se atribuyo comunmente al Juyzio secreto de Dios*". . . .

appointed Cardinal Ximenez de Cisneros, to be Grand Inquisitor of Castile.[1]

Whatever may have been the precise nature of the secret instructions conveyed to Mosen Ferrer, the gentleman of the bedchamber performed his task with punctuality and dispatch; and his royal master Ferdinand of Aragon, on entering the harbour of Genoa, three weeks after he had sailed from Barcelona, on his way to Naples, was gratified, if not greatly surprised, by the news of the sudden death of his rival at Burgos, on the 25th of September, 1506.[2] A chill after undue exertion was said to have been the cause of death.[3] That the "herbs" so well known to royal Aragon had been discreetly administered, few men doubted, or will doubt. How far the secret may have been entrusted to Ximenez, no man may ever be expected to know. But the primate at least played his part to perfection in the great tragi-comedy of government. On the day of Philip's death he summoned the principal nobles to meet in the palace; and a provisional Council of Regency was appointed to carry on the affairs of the kingdom in the absence

[1] By edict of 18th May, 1507. The Grand Inquisitorship of Castile was, at this time, separated from that of Aragon—Deza had been Grand Inquisitor of Spain—and Juan Enguerra was appointed to the Aragonese office. Lucero was actually imprisoned for a short time at Burgos, pending a trial or inquiry undertaken by Cardinal Ximenez. But, as might be supposed, no judgment was pronounced against him; and on the 9th of July, 1508, he was solemnly declared acquitted of all charges brought against him by wicked and perjured men. Llorente, i., chap. x., art. 4.

[2] The general opinion was that he had been poisoned; although two physicians declared that such was not the fact. But what were such declarations worth? The physicians had not even had time to examine the case, as the bowels of the deceased were buried a few hours after his death. The accusations were not only general and positive, but were publicly made, whilst the officers of the law did not dare to call to account those who made them, for fear the truth of this "delicate case" might come to light. *Calendar*, supplementary volume, etc., p. 37. See also the case of Lopez de Araoz, of Oñate, referred to in a letter of the Alcaldes de Crimen to Charles V., 3rd February, 1517, referred to by Bergenroth, *Calendar*, *ubi supra*.

[3] There is a *particular Cronica del Catolico y sobre illustre Rey Don Phelippe Primero*, etc., by D. Lorenzo de Padilla, written for Charles V., and of little critical value, printed in vol. viii. of the *Documentos Ineditos*, etc., pp. 1-267, and a number of Philip's letters, preserved at Simancas, are added in the same volume.

The most interesting document that is reproduced, however, is perhaps the *Carta* or report of Doctor Parra, upon the death of Philip, written from Valladolid to Ferdinand the Catholic [*ibid.*, pp. 394, 397], dated apparently, 11th October, 1506. After a full account of the strange course which the supposed fever had run, the physician records that both the Flemings and the Castilians asserted that the king had been poisoned. As to which he can find nothing more decided to say—writing as he was to Ferdinand himself—than that *no le vi yo señales de tal cosa*.

of Ferdinand. No mention was made of Joanna, so lately proclaimed Queen Proprietress of Castile.[1]

Of the skill and vigour with which Ximenez defended the cause of the absent Ferdinand, more particularly against Don John Manuel, who sought to make good the claims of the Emperor Maximilian, as the father of Philip, to the Regency; and of his intimidation of the Cortes by the help of the members of the three great military orders—devoted to their grand master, Ferdinand—we may read in every contemporary record.[2]

The queen was greatly shocked, as might have been supposed, at the sudden death of the brilliant young husband, on whom she doted with all the strength of her affections. She had watched by the bed-side of her dying lord with unremitting tenderness. She had refused, it was said, for some time to believe or realise that he was actually dead; and the excess of her grief was, perhaps, a fairly reasonable excuse for not immediately troubling her with affairs of State.

Thus the queen was left to her sorrow; the Cortes was summoned by the Provisional Council, and a dutiful message was despatched by Ximenez to Ferdinand, praying him that he would at once return and rule over his loving subjects. Bergenroth is at least mistaken in supposing that Joanna was an actual prisoner from the time of her husband's death, although she was no doubt treated by Ximenez as a nullity or a nuisance, as far as the administration was concerned. Yet she seems to have been so far free, as to have been permitted to move about within a narrow area, and closely watched, from one little country town to another.

The condition of Joanna was rendered the more lamentable in that she was left on her husband's death in a state of pregnancy, and on the 14th of the following January (1507) she was safely delivered of a girl, who received the name of Katharine, and who was for many long years to share her mother's imprisonment, until at length she was permitted to marry the King of Portugal.

Ximenez, meanwhile, was governing boldly and successfully at Valladolid, surrounded by all the grandees of the kingdom who were impelled or could be induced by any reason or any interest to support the cause of the absent Ferdinand. The

[1] Prescott says *the day before;* it is quite probable that it was so.

[2] See Marsollier, *Vie de Ximenes*, vol. ii., pp. 94, 109.

noblest of the Castilian grandees was at the time far away, acting as Viceroy of Naples. The greatest man in Spain was Ximenez de Cisneros, and his greatness gained the day. A sufficient number of friendly magnates were attracted to his viceregal court. Joanna was suffered to wander, under trusty superintendence, about the country.

But the nobles of Castile were not the only persons whose presence was required by Ximenez; he summoned from Venice the celebrated commander Vianelli, and entrusted him with the command of 1000 picked soldiers, who held themselves at the orders of the primate,[1] and enabled him to defy the divided and disaffected nobles, and to hold the kingdom for his master Ferdinand. On the death of Philip, and until the return of Ferdinand from Italy, there was one danger that menaced Castile, and that was anarchy. And it will ever be one of the greatest merits of Ximenez that during the trying times from September, 1507, to July, 1508, he steered the ship of state safe amid all the rocks and shoals by which she was surrounded. He may have been arbitrary in his government, unconstitutional in his administration; he may have favoured the Inquisition, disregarded the nobles, and bullied the queen, but at least he governed Castile. And when, on the 20th of July, Ferdinand set his foot on Spanish soil at Valencia, he had nothing to do but to accept the splendid position that had been prepared for him by Ximenez, in defiance of all laws, treaties, oaths, proclamations and rights. Nor for three years after his assumption of absolute power did either the king or his great minister judge it necessary even to go through the form of convoking the Cortes, to recognise rather than to approve that which had been so superbly accomplished.

Joanna in the meanwhile, wholly possessed by her grief, had travelled with her husband's funeral cortege as far as Tordesillas on the way from Burgos to Granada, where Philip's remains were destined to repose by the side of Isabella the Catholic. The vault by the Darro, it was said, was not yet prepared for the prince. The prison by the Duero awaited the queen. It was not, indeed, until February, 1509, that Joanna was permanently incarcerated in the fortress of Tordesillas. But Ximenez, who had hardly been restrained by the Commons from pronouncing her doom in the lifetime of her husband, was not likely to have been over-scrupulous in subordinating

[1] Marsollier, ii., 113-115.

her interests to those of his master Ferdinand, when he was absolute master of the situation. And Ferdinand, after his return to assume the reins of government from the hands of the cardinal, did not, even dissembler as he was, make a pretence of considering the rights or interests of his daughter. As long, indeed, as there was any chance of getting rid of her by marrying her to Henry VII. of England, she was allowed a nominal freedom; but on the death of that king the appearance of liberty was no longer maintained, and the prison doors closed upon her for ever.[1]

[1] The general concensus of contemporary evidence, however, leads to the conclusion that, although Juana may have been only hysterical before her husband's death, she was certainly mad immediately after it. If it is permissible to draw inferences from subsequent facts, the gloomy mysticism of her descendants, from her son and grandson down to her great-great-great-grandson, the idiot Charles II., certainly strengthens the idea that the daughter of an hysterical mother and the ancestress of a long line of neurotics was herself mad.—H.

CHAPTER LVII.

JUANA LA LOCA.

(1506—1555.)

I.—*Las Cuentas del Gran Capitan.*

Ferdinand had set out on his journey from Spain to Naples exactly three weeks before the death of his rival, and leaving Barcelona on the 4th of September, he arrived in the harbour of Genoa on the 20th of the same month. It was the first time in his long reign that he had quitted the Peninsula. But his voyage was suggested by powerful considerations of state.

Gonsalvo de Cordova, who was still acting as Viceroy of Naples, had, according to the king's commands, duly proclaimed the Treaty of Blois, and had granted an amnesty to the Angevin lords; but he had not yet restored to them their estates, which had indeed been bestowed upon his own followers and allies. He had further received instructions from Ferdinand to disband his army, and to return to Spain, in order, it was said, that he might receive at the king's hands, the Grand Mastership of Santiago, the noblest office that could be conferred upon a subject in Castile, and which at the time was actually enjoyed by the king himself.

Ferdinand the Catholic, as has more than once been remarked, was no lover of war or battles, and after the fall of Granada he at once and for ever assumed the position of a modern rather than of a mediæval sovereign, in that, not from any lack of personal courage, but from motives of prudence or policy, he sent his armies to fight abroad under the leadership of a commander-in-chief, while he remained at home to negotiate with foreign powers, without relaxing his personal grasp upon the administration of his country. In the wars of Granada the situation had been entirely different. Both king and queen found their place at the head of their armies, and contributed

powerfully by their personal encouragement to the ultimate success of their arms. Yet Granada had not been conquered by battle, or even by individual military prowess, but by the perseverance and determination of Isabella, by the union of the Castilian nobles under the influence of the queen, and by the disintegration of the Moslem commonwealth.

At the present time the king was not only at once jealous and suspicious of Gonsalvo de Cordova, but he was anxious to put an end to the expense of maintaining a standing army in Italy; and if his instructions to his brilliant viceroy were calculated at once to wound the feelings of the *Great Captain* and to provoke the indignation of his troops, those instructions, as far as the army was concerned, were completely in accordance with the temper of Ferdinand's disposition and policy. The recall of Gonsalvo was no less characteristic and far less worthy of the sovereign; but it would no doubt have been equally judicious, had Gonsalvo been such a one as Ferdinand himself. As it was, the viceroy hesitated, for the moment, to obey.

Whether it was that the splendid terms offered to him by the Pope, the Emperor, and the Archduke Philip, now King of Castile, induced him to waver in his loyalty to Ferdinand, or whether the uncertain and critical state of affairs in France and Italy, as well as in Spain, induced him to retain his position as viceroy, even at the risk of offending his suspicious sovereign, it is hard to say. It seems ungenerous to doubt the loyalty of the *Great Captain*, who had so long been true to his allegiance through so many trying circumstances, and it can only be the extreme probability that any other commander of that age, similarly situated, would have yielded to the temptation of paying his mean and ungrateful sovereign in his own coin, that has led to the supposition that Gonsalvo intended to betray his trust.

But whatever may have been the cause or the extent of his hesitation, he at length decided to obey the king's commands, and he made preparations for the despatch of the greater part of his army to Spain, and his own return or retirement.[1]

Having at length set in order the affairs of the kingdom, as far as possible, before his departure, he set sail from Gaeta on his homeward voyage, and, by a strange coincidence, arrived at Genoa on the same day as his royal master, who had progressed

[1] The letter written by Gonsalvo to Ferdinand, and dated 2nd of July, 1506, on hearing of this project, is still in existence, and is printed by Lafuente, tom. x., pp. 322, 323. It is a touching and noble composition, but it is hardly likely to have made any impression upon the heart of Ferdinand of Aragon.

thus far on his journey to Naples. Reassured by Gonsalvo's submission, Ferdinand received him with all outward respect and honour; and with consummate judgment desired that he would turn back and accompany his sovereign on his visit to Naples. Nor did the news of Philip's death, which reached him at Genoa, induce him to make any change in his deeply-laid plans. The visit, indeed, was a splendid success. Happy memories of Alfonso the Magnanimous of Aragon, the best, perhaps, of all the Kings of Naples, had been revived and strengthened by the good government of Gonsalvo de Cordova, without doubt the best of all foreign viceroys in Italy; and the rule of Aragon was highly esteemed at Naples.

The king and his great captain arrived together, and the popularity of the governor contributed largely to the enthusiasm that was displayed at the approach of the sovereign. It was just fifty years since Alfonso V. had died at Naples; and nothing could exceed the warmth and splendour of the welcome that was accorded to his nephew. A *Te Deum* was sung in honour of Ferdinand, as it had been sung no less than seven times during the last eight years, in honour of the accession of seven sovereigns to the throne of Naples—Ferdinand I., Alfonso II., Ferdinand II., Charles VIII., Frederick III., Louis XII., and Ferdinand of Aragon.

A general parliament of the kingdom was soon after summoned, and Ferdinand had the satisfaction of evading the recent treaty with France, by causing his daughter Joanna to be proclaimed sole heiress to the crown of Naples, making no mention of his wife, with whom his marriage had been negotiated and solemnised only on the distinct understanding that the Neapolitan succession was to be settled upon her issue. He had less hesitation in carrying out the other clauses of the Treaty of Blois, relating to the restitution of the confiscated property of the Angevin nobles, inasmuch as they opened a door for further intrigue and double injustice; for, while the claims of many of the French lords were disallowed on frivolous pretexts, and very few of them obtained full restitution of their confiscated possessions, many of the bravest and most distinguished soldiers in the Spanish army, who have been rewarded by large grants of territory taken from the Angevin nobles, were dispossessed, without any compensation whatever, for the loss of what they had so fairly won, in fighting for the cause of their mean and ungrateful sovereign. Pedro de Paz, Leyva, Rojas and many others, including the chivalrous and almost heroic Paredes, were

thus despoiled; and it is said that the last, indignant at such unworthy treatment, abruptly quitted the Spanish service, and found no better way of repairing his broken fortunes than in the career of a corsair in the Levant.

After many months thus spent at Naples, King Ferdinand judged that the time had come for his prudent return to Castile; and ere he started homewards, he sent on before him to the ever-loyal Ximenez the Brief which raised him to the purple, dated as of the 17th of May, 1507. No living ecclesiastic had so fully earned a seat among the princes of his Church. Yet the Brief, if it was signed by the Pope of Rome, was dictated by the King of Aragon. The scarlet hat was the reward, not of the administration of Toledo or the learning of Alcalá, but of the bold and subtle diplomacy of Villafafila.[1]

But if Ferdinand judged it expedient to maintain the friendliest relations with the Regent of Spain, he had in no wise changed his determination as regards the Viceroy of Naples. Nor had he altered in any respect his sentiments as to Gonsalvo de Cordova, whose generosity, whose independence, and whose nobility of character must have rendered him even more distasteful to Ferdinand, than Ferdinand was to him. Nor could any representations by the Neapolitan nobility, nor even the splendid loyalty of Gonsalvo himself, induce the king to abandon his sinister intentions.[2] Far otherwise, the meanness of his nature, and his jealousy of a faithful servant, whose devotion he was incapable even of understanding, led him to give ear to the whispered slander that ever waits on success, and to accuse the *Great Captain*—the man who had added a new kingdom to his dominions—of the embezzlement or malversation of public money.

If Gonsalvo de Cordova was loyal, he was never servile: he promptly accepted the ignoble challenge, asking merely the royal permission to produce his own accounts; and he took the first opportunity of public audience to appear at court, and read aloud the statement of his public expenditure. The first item

[1] Within three months the cardinal was raised to the more active office of Grand Inquisitor of Spain. The title of "Cardinal of Spain" had been enjoyed by his predecessor Mendoza, and was adopted by Ximenez.

[2] Gonsalvo was tempted with magnificent offers from the Emperor, the Archduke Philip, the cities of Venice and Florence, from many of the magnates of Naples, and even from Pope Julius II., to throw off his allegiance to Ferdinand. But, faithful among the faithless, he remained true to his allegiance. The Pope was so much chagrined at his refusal, that he is said to have attempted to poison him. Zurita, *Anales*, vi., ch. xi.; Lafuente, x., 321.

was 200,763 ducats and 9 reals to friars, nuns and mendicants, to offer up prayers for the success of his Majesty's arms. The next item was, 700,494 ducats and 10 reals to spies. Ferdinand, who had never sent Gonsalvo even money enough to provide for the daily pay of the soldiers during his long struggle with the French in Naples, was glad to turn the matter into a jest, and abandon so unhappy an audit. The incident must have made a considerable impression at the time, as the phrase *Las Cuentas del Gran Capitan* has passed into the language of Castile, and is still used in Spain as a proverbial expression by thousands who may know nothing whatever of its true origin.[1]

But neither jests nor justice could turn Ferdinand from the main object of his voyage to Naples, the removal of the *Great Captain* from his high command ; although as long as he remained in Italy, he pretended that Gonsalvo's return to Spain was in no wise in the nature of a recall, but rather the occasion for new and more splendid honours. He accordingly appointed Prosper Colonna Grand Constable of the kingdom of Naples, and having named his own nephew, the Count of Ribagorza, titular viceroy during the *temporary* absence of Gonsalvo, he set out on his return to Castile. The magnificent and touching farewell accorded by the sympathetic and keen-sighted Neapolitans to the fallen general was more flattering by far than the more usual adulation of the victors and the princes of the hour. But it was by no means pleasing to Ferdinand, who was still more chagrined at the honour that was paid to the *Great Captain* on their arrival at Savona, where Ferdinand with his beautiful Queen Germaine was received by the King of France with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and where, at the special request of Louis XII., Gonsalvo de Cordova supped at the same table as the kings and queens, a favour in the case of a subject, actually unprecedented at the court of France or of Spain.[2]

[1] With regard to the book of the *Cuentas del Gran Capitan*, preserved in the National Artillery Museum at Madrid, see Lafuente, x., pp. 329, 330. The judicious Spaniard takes Prescott to task, on the same page, for his simplicity in supposing that Ferdinand ever had any intention of fulfilling his promise or offer to Gonsalvo to invest him with the Grand Mastership of Santiago. "*El rey*," says he, "*usó en esto de artificio por traer el Gran Capitan consigo.*"

[2] Guicciardini, iv., 77, 78. *The League of Cambrai* was the result of these negotiations. (It is fair to say that an explanation of Ferdinand's treatment of Gonsalvo de Cordova may be found in the fact that the latter owed no allegiance now to the King of Aragon. The retention of Naples and Sicily, and the intervention generally in Italian affairs, were objects which did not intimately concern Castile, but were vital to the traditional policy of Aragon ; and Ferdinand might well consider that in future such a policy would be safer in the hands of an

II.—*Joanna at Tordesillas.*

At length king and captain set sail for the last time from Italy, and steered a straight course for Spain; Gonsalvo to retire distrusting and distrusted by his old master; Ferdinand to find himself raised to a pitch of power, greater by far than anything that he had yet enjoyed. Isabella was dead. Philip was dead. Joanna was under restraint, if not yet actually under lock and key. Charles was barely seven years old. Maximilian was at best a very distant rival. A Cortes indeed had assembled at Burgos. But it had not shown itself quite as amenable as Ximenez desired, and it had been unceremoniously dissolved. The way to supreme power lay open in Castile.

On the death of Philip, Joanna had shut herself up, had refused to transact any business, and had abandoned herself to her grief, a grief that was all the more terrible, inasmuch as it found no vent in the ordinary solace of tears. She suspected, and justly suspected, all who surrounded her; and for Ximenez, who, although he was determined that she should never reign, was anxious to obtain her formal consent to certain acts of state, as a preliminary to his own government, and the recognition of the claims of Ferdinand, she refused to sign a single document. The skill and the determination with which Ximenez carried on the affairs of the kingdom under such trying circumstances, are worthy of the highest admiration. Yet all his efforts were directed to securing a kingdom for Ferdinand rather than to honouring or even humouring his legitimate if unmanageable queen in Castile.[1] Meanwhile Joanna, harassed at once by her grief and by her fears, had removed from Burgos to the little town of Torquemada, where on the 14th of January, 1507, she was safely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Katharine, and who was destined for many years to share her mother's captivity.

On the 20th of July Ferdinand of Aragon arrived at Valencia. Castile, thanks to the course of events so skilfully guided by

Aragonese than of a Castilian. So long as Isabella lived Ferdinand was allowed to use Castilian resources for the furtherance of Aragonese ends, and was constrained also to employ Castilian instruments; but he must have known that with the temper of the Castilian nobles he would not be able to continue to do this indefinitely. The Castilians had done their work; Ferdinand now wished Aragon to reap the benefit.—H.)

[1] For an excellent account of this practical *interregnum*, see Rodriguez Villa, *Juana la loca*, pp. 189-226.

Ximenez, was ready not only to receive, but to welcome him back as absolute ruler of Spain. The Marquis of Villena, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and most of the leading nobles had been won over by the cardinal to his side. The Duke of Najera alone stood aloof, and Don John Manuel, suspicious and suspecting, had prudently betaken himself to Flanders. Joanna, travelling by way of Hornillos, hastened to welcome her father back to Spain. The meeting took place at Tortoles, near the frontier of Aragon, from whence father and daughter passed on together to Santa Maria del Campo, where Ferdinand proceeded to the formal investiture of Ximenez with the scarlet hat, which he had been permitted to bring with him from Rome. More than this, he took advantage of the occurrence of the anniversary of King Philip's death to cause a solemn commemorative service to be performed in the village church, with masses for the repose of his soul. Leaving Queen Joanna, after these formalities, in a species of modified captivity, he proceeded with all his court to Burgos to assume the reins of government. Joanna went to Arcos, where she lived well watched and guarded by Ferdinand of Aragon, and where she was sought in honourable marriage by Henry VII. of England, and was treated for some time as a lady if not as a queen, until negotiations failing and hearts hardening, she was finally immured in the fortress or prison at Tordesillas, in January, 1509.

Of the madness of Queen Joanna previous to the death of her husband, we have at least no trustworthy evidence. She was wayward, unreasonable, jealous, hysterical; no more. That the sudden death of Philip, the object of her extravagant affection, should have powerfully affected her, was but natural. That the treatment to which she had been subjected, first by her husband after the compact at Villafafila, after his death by Ximenez and Ferdinand, and lastly by Charles V., may have ultimately affected her reason, is scarcely remarkable. But the conspiracy to keep her out of her royal inheritance dates, as we have seen, from a time long antecedent to the first whisper of mental derangement.[1]

That Ferdinand did not himself believe in the madness of

[1] The letters of Peter Martyr establish the fact that the first symptoms of lunacy in Joanna were manifested in the month of November, 1503; *Ep.*, 268. See *Edinburgh Review*, vol. cxxxi., p. 347. See also a very curious and most *intelligent* letter written by Joanna as late as 3rd May, 1505, from Brussels, to a certain de Veyre, preserved in the *Archives of Simancas*, printed by Lafuente, tom. x., Appendix, p. 489.

his daughter, even after the death of Philip, is evident from the whole tenour of his correspondence with Henry VII., with Puebla, and with her sister Katharine, upon the subject of her second marriage. It is indeed well-nigh impossible for any man to read the letters and despatches[1] that passed between England and Spain from the death of Philip to the date of the queen's final incarceration in February, 1509, and to retain a belief that Joanna was even then mad, or anything like mad, in the fair acceptation of the term. Joanna was unmanageable, as she had ever been. As she refused to marry Henry VII., and take herself away to distant England, Ferdinand judged, and judged no doubt rightly, that it would be to his interest to keep her shut up at Tordesillas; and as she was neither strong enough to break out of prison, nor weak enough to die in captivity, at Tordesillas she continued to remain, until at length her spirit was broken, and the communion with her chains made her what she was during the long reign of her Imperial son.

But Henry VII. was by no means the only suitor for the hand of Joanna. The Count de Foix pretended, but pretended in vain. Nor does he appear to have been the only other candidate for the honour of an alliance with the Queen of Castile. But the last thing that Ferdinand would have desired was that Joanna should marry a husband who might wish to reside in Spain: and thus de Foix's pretensions were promptly rejected. Ferdinand would have been glad, no doubt, to have her removed to England, where she would have been unlikely, and probably unwilling, to trouble him. But on the whole, perhaps, it was simpler to keep her at Tordesillas. There at least she would be

[1] See for instance, *Puebla to Ferdinand*, dated London, 15th of April, 1507. De Puebla writes: "As to the marriage of the Queen of Castile, the King of England and the few councillors who are initiated in the matter approve fully of his discreet manner of proceeding. There is no king in the world who would make so good a husband to the Queen of Castile as the King of England, whether she be sane or insane. Think she would soon recover her reason when wedded to such a husband as Henry; King Ferdinand would at all events be sure to retain the regency of Castile." *Ferdinand to Puebla*, 19th of May, 1567: "If the Queen of Castile marries, her husband shall be the King of England and no other person". *Ferdinand to de Puebla*, 8th of June, 1507: "Will do his utmost to persuade the Queen of Castile to marry the King of England". Katharine, Princess of Wales, writing to her father, on the 17th of July, 1507, says, "that she has heard from France that a marriage was in contemplation between the Count de Foix and her sister". And most remarkable of all, is the letter of proposal of marriage written by Katharine on behalf of her father-in-law, Henry VII., to her sister Joanna, as the marriageable and certainly not the mad Queen of Castile, as late as 25th October, 1507. *Calendar*, etc., pp. 439, 441. See also in the same volume of the *Calendar*, the letters of March, 1507 (p. 88); June, 1507 (p. 109); December, 1507 (p. 137).

safe.[1] And in the fortress of Tordesillas, Joanna of Castile lay immured for forty-six years of her unhappy life, as completely debarred from all connection with the outer world as though she too had reposed in her grave. Mosen Ferrer, who had so successfully represented her father at the court of her dead husband, was fitly chosen as her jailor, and although her death was not desired by any of her friends or relations, his treatment of his royal prisoner was harsh to the point of absolute cruelty.[2]

The old palace of Tordesillas was a building of moderate size, overlooking the river Douro, or Duero, and the sandy plains beyond. It was fortified and defended by a strong tower, and consisted of a large room or hall, with a number of other rooms adjoining, small, ill-lighted and ill-ventilated. It was occupied not only by Joanna and her little daughter Katharine, but by the women who watched her day and night, under the direction of her jailor. The windows of the great hall looked on to the river, but the queen was not allowed to remain in that apartment, still less was she at liberty to look out of the windows, lest she might be seen by some passer-by, and should call him to her assistance; and except upon extraordinary occasions, when she was more strictly watched, she was forced to live in a back room without windows, and deprived of all light but that of a sixteenth century candle.[3]

[1] As to the lack of evidence of the queen's insanity even at the end of her life, and the number of early writers whose silence at least suggests that her mind was never deranged, see *Calendar*, etc., supplementary volume, Introduction, p. xxvi., with the references to Maquereau, Johannes de Los and Sandoval.

See also the now celebrated letter of the Marquis of Denia to Charles V., January, 1522: "If your majesty would *hacer premia*, *i.e.*, apply physical or moral force—the word is of doubtful signification—it would be a good thing; your grandmother (Isabella) served and treated thus the queen widow (Joanna). *Calendar*, etc., supplementary volume, p. 405. Bergenroth's suggestion that *hacer premia* meant to apply torture has called forth a storm of indignation. I do not pretend to be as good a Spanish scholar as most of his critics, and certainly far inferior to Bergenroth himself; yet I find in the great *Dictionary of the Spanish Academy*, the standard authority in all such matters, under PREMIA—*Violencia, opresion, ú tyrania*. (This *premia* used by Isabella to her daughter is probably that referred to by Flores. He says that in 1504 when Philip had left for Flanders, Joanna became unmanageable at Medino del Campo, wandering about and refusing shelter, "upon which the queen, though herself ill, was obliged to go and bring her to reason.—H.)

[2] *Calendar*, sup. vol., p. 41. Mosen Ferrer was suspended on the report of the Bishop of Majorca early in 1516, after the death of Ferdinand "as suspected of endangering the health and life" of Joanna. *Calendar*, supplementary volume, pp. 141-143. The Marquis and Marchioness of Denia were afterwards (15th March, 1518) appointed the queen's principal jailors, with extraordinary powers. See letter of appointment in *Calendar*, sup. vol., p. 153.

[3] *Ibid.*, Introduction, pp. xliv.-xlvi., and pp. 400-406.

That such treatment should tend to weaken the most robust intellect, can scarcely be controverted; and that the queen's bodily health should not have given way amid such dreary and unwholesome surroundings is perhaps even more remarkable. Nor can it be entirely accounted for by the fact that her captors did not even allow her to have the services of a physician.[1] She was not permitted to hear the news even of the death of her father; and when the presence of her son in Spain could no longer be concealed from her, she was told that he had only undertaken the journey in order to obtain from her father, Ferdinand, some alleviation of the harsh treatment to which she was subjected.[2] Priests, however, there were in plenty; though the queen, who had for a considerable time objected to confess, had not long after her imprisonment refused even to hear Mass.[3] It would, perhaps, have been difficult in contemporary Spain to give a more conclusive proof of insanity.

Joanna would, no doubt, have made a very inefficient queen. The change from the brilliant administration of her mother Isabella would have been in many ways disastrous to Spain. Yet Ximenez might assuredly have ruled for Joanna as he ruled for her father Ferdinand. And it is given to no man to judge how far responsibility, and respect, and sympathy might have strengthened an intellect, which was only extinguished by long years of imprisonment and insult.

Whether Bergenroth or Don Vicente de Lafuente is right about the signification of the word *premia*, no one can read even the little that we are permitted to know about the captivity of Joanna, without seeing that the treatment which she endured in her dungeon at Tordesillas was, for her at least, torture of the most cruel and relentless character.

Expediency no doubt is always attractive, and may even find a justification in certain phases of political life; and it may not unnaturally have seemed as unwise as it would have been distasteful to Ferdinand, with his brilliant foreign policy, and his care for the present and future greatness of Spain, to retire to Saragossa, and hand over Castile, which he had so long and so successfully administered with Isabella, to the uncertain, if

[1] *Calendar*, *ubi supra*, Introduction, p. xlvii., and pp. 182, 183, 200.

[2] *Calendar*, Introduction, pp. lii., liv., and pp. 154-202.

[3] After the death of Ximenez, it seems that the queen was compelled by threats, if not by the actual employment of personal violence, to be present at the solemn celebration. *Calendar*, *ubi supra*, Introduction, pp. xlix.-li., and pp. 164, 189, and 391-428. But this is beyond the limits of the present volume.

legitimate government of his weak and wayward daughter.[1] Religion, patriotism, policy, every good and noble feeling that might be found in the king's nature, must have combined to lend colour to the self-satisfying suggestion that it would have been not only foolish but wicked for him to neglect his great opportunities.

That he should have been troubled by any consideration of abstract moral rectitude, was assuredly not to be expected by friends or foes. That he should have poisoned his son-in-law, as he may have done, and imprisoned his daughter, as he certainly did, in order that he himself might reign in Castile as well as in Aragon, must have seemed but a small matter to a son of John II., though it may strike the inconsiderate modern reader as a somewhat exaggerated display of what may be called mediæval opportunism.[2]

[1] It must also be recollected that in order to carry out his "brilliant foreign policy," which was purely Aragonese and not Castilian, it was vital for him to ensure, so far as it was possible for him, the material assistance of the larger and richer kingdom. This he could not hope to do if Castile were ruled in Castilian interests alone.—H.

[2] In the *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), vol. i. (1862), and vol. ii. (1868), a great many original documents of the highest interest as to the madness of Queen Joanna will be found; but more than this, a *Supplementary* volume, published in 1868, of some 470 pp., is almost entirely devoted to the question. I have therefore referred but sparingly to these volumes, which I read and re-read before arriving at the conclusions which I have—not, I trust, too confidently—embodied in the foregoing chapter.

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE RETIREMENT OF XIMENEZ.

(1509.)

No one could be supposed to have less sympathy with the fighting bishops of fourteenth century Spain than Ximenez de Cisneros, the ascetic monk, the reforming primate, the founder of universities, the publisher of books; and yet there was something of the old Adam of Alfonso Carrillo, or Alfonso of Saragossa, in the new Cardinal of Spain.

As early as September, 1505, Ximenez had contributed to the cost of an expedition, which he had himself suggested, against the Moors, no longer assailable in Spain, but on the opposite shore of Africa, on the Berber's or Barbary coast, which, with the port and city of Marsalquivir,[1] over against Carthagena, had fallen into the hands of the Castilians;[2] and as soon as the Government of all Spain had been peacefully handed over to Ferdinand, the vigorous prelate, whose zeal and pertinacity made light of his seventy years, proposed himself to head an expedition, partly crusading, partly plundering, against the flourishing city of Oran.

Ferdinand was glad to encourage an enterprise which would occupy the attention of his too powerful chancellor; an expedition of which any advantage would certainly be his, and of which he was asked to share neither the expense nor the responsibility. Yet the army was not suffered to depart without much shuffling and tergiversation. But there was no putting false dice upon Ximenez; and in the early summer of 1509, the

[1] *Marz* or *Merz, al Kebir.* The great harbour.

[2] The *Empresa de Allende*, or expedition against Africa, had occupied the attention of Ferdinand as far back as 1493-4. It was proposed *ganar la costa de los Moros de Oran hasta Zula*, or Sallee. A number of letters relating to this expedition, lists of troops and ships, estimates and plans of operation, with minute or marginal notes by the king's hands, are preserved at Simancas, and have been reprinted in the *Documentos Ineditos*, vol. li., pp. 46-113.

Cardinal Commander-in-Chief, advised by the Italian Vianelli, and accompanied by the Navarrese Pedro Navarro, "the Vauban of the sixteenth century," set sail from Carthagena (16th May), at the head of a small fleet, carrying an army of 14,000 or 15,000 men.

Nor was the primate less successful in the field than he had shown himself in the palace, in the court, and in the library. Taking his place at the head of his army, girt with a sword over his ecclesiastical vestments, and surrounded by an imposing if not a brilliant staff of friars similarly accoutred, he marshalled his troops against the coveted city, and after a spirited harangue to the soldiers in order of battle, he was with difficulty restrained from actually leading the charge against the foe. But if he did not, like Gonsalvo, actually head the stormers, his troops were no less active in their assault. Oran was taken and sacked. No mercy was shown to the vanquished; no respect for age or sex. Four thousand Moslems were cut down in the city. Eight thousand prisoners and half a million of gold ducats attested the Christian zeal of the invaders. The army was gorged with the plunder of an opulent city.[1] No triumph surely could be more complete; and yet there was a spectre at the feast of victory.

The man who served Ferdinand the Catholic could never sleep securely. Columbus, tricked out of the reward of his immense services, had withered and died of chagrin; Gonsalvo, banished to his country farm, had seen a priest preferred to the command of an army; and now Ximenez, at all times the protector of Ferdinand's cause in Castile, the most loyal and devoted of his servants in the moment of supreme danger and difficulty, was at last to feel the touch of the serpent's fang. In the very flush of victory, a letter addressed to his lieutenant Navarro fell into his hands. The letter was from Ferdinand of Aragon; and in it we may read, as was read by the cardinal himself, of the ingratitude, of the perfidy, of the shamelessness of the king whom he had enthroned, and in whose service he was at the moment risking his life and squandering his private treasure.[2]

[1] Ximenez himself is said to have contented himself with a few MSS. He might have had more at Granada in 1499—on easier terms.

[2] The French translation of old Michel Baudier is racy enough, as the following sample will show: "*Empêchez le bonhomme* (*i.e.*, Ximenez) *de repasser sitôt en Espagne. Il faut user sa personne et son argent autant qu'on pourra. Amusez le, si vous pouvez dans Oran, et songez à quelque nouvelle entreprise.* Baudier, *Vie de Ximenes*, p. 263 (ed. 1851). See also Cartas del Cardenal Don Fray Ximenez de Cisneros, dirijidas á D. Diego Lopez de Ayala; edited by D. Pascual Gayangos

Ximenez was not a man to indulge in idle lamentation. He determined to return at once to Spain. Not, indeed, as he had come to Africa, under the convoy of a noble fleet, but in a single unprotected galley; not at the head of an eager army, but attended only by a few domestic African slaves; not as a conqueror, but as a victim.[1] Scorning the royal invitation to the court at Valladolid, he made his peaceful entry into Alcalá, and devoted himself to the most honourable work of his life, the preparation of his magnificent edition of the Holy Scriptures.[2]

The Castilian arms were less successful after the departure of the archbishop. Tripoli, indeed, succumbed to the assault of Navarro, July, 1510; but the Christians sustained a lamentable defeat in the following month (28th August, 1510), at the Island of Gelbes,[3] where Don Garcia de Toledo, a son of the Duke of Alva, and a cousin of Ferdinand, was killed, and over 4000 Spanish troops were cut to pieces by the Moors. The loss of the army was followed by the loss of the fleet,[4] and Pedro Navarro was hardly able to bring the scattered remnant of the Spanish forces ingloriously back to Carthagena.[5]

The martial successes of Ximenez had rendered Ferdinand, as usual, jealously envious of his great minister, and the altered sentiments of the king were promptly appreciated at court. The repayment of a sum of money due by the king to the cardinal in connection with the expedition to Africa was not effected with-

and D. Vicente de Lafuente. Vol. i., Madrid, 1867. The letters range in date from (1) 1st September, 1508, to (129) 27th October, 1517. Vol. ii., edited by D. Vicente de Lafuente, 1875, contains letters to and from the Cardinal's secretaries, 1515-1517.

[1] But in Oran, at least, the great Cardinal long continued to watch over the city that he had won for Castile. His spectre, apparelled as in life, was seen on the battlements for more than a century after he had raised the sacred standard of Toledo against the stronghold of the refugees of Granada.

[2] This was about the time that Ximenez built those country houses near Alcalá where the professors might spend their holidays or *fête* days pleasantly and respectably—*honesté*—Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, 1066.

[3] Gerva, or Jerba, near Cabes on the border of modern Tripoli.

[4] Pedro Navarro afterwards went to Italy, and was taken prisoner at Ravenna, fighting in the service of his country. Ferdinand, who, unlike Isabella, was always seeking to get rid of any capable servant, refused to ransom him, so Navarro renounced his allegiance, and claiming his right as a Navarrese subject, was ransomed at the price of 20,000 crowns by Francis I., and enlisted in the service of France. He was afterwards unhappily taken prisoner by the Spaniards, and killed in the Castel Nuovo, by order of Charles V. Brantôme, *Vies*, etc., Disc. 9.

[5] The kings of Tremecen (Tlemcen), Tunis, Fez and Algiers, are said to have offered their nominal submission to Ferdinand in 1511. P. Martyr, *Ep.*, 471. See also Gomez, p. 1049.

out insulting inquiry or Inquisition. A sham bishop of Oran appeared to oust the jurisdiction of Toledo over the newly conquered territory;[1] and finally the king had the effrontery to request Ximenez to vacate the primacy of Spain, that he might promote one of his own bastards, already Archbishop of Saragossa, to that exalted position.

The return of Gonsalvo de Cordova had been required by the king on the pretext of his investiture in Spain with the insignia of the grand mastership of Santiago, a fitting reward for his great services. But as soon as Ferdinand found that his own position was assured in Castile, and that the *Great Captain* was far away from his devoted soldiers and his no less devoted Neapolitans, he not only disregarded his promise with his usual facility of faithlessness, but he took the opportunity of an alleged affront to a royal officer, to deal a blow against the honour of the Aguilars, which gave bitter pain to Gonsalvo, whose nephew, the young Marquis de Priego, in spite of his earnest remonstrances, was sentenced to pay a fine of 20,000,000 maravedis, to surrender all his fortresses to the crown, and to be banished the kingdom. The ancient castle of Montilla, one of the glories of the family of Aguilar, and the birthplace of Gonsalvo de Cordova, was included in the same royal condemnation, and was razed to the ground in December, 1508.[2]

Gonsalvo, ever loyal, yet deeply chagrined, retired to Loja, and endeavoured to forget his sovereign's baseness in the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, in improving his estates, and adjusting the differences of the townspeople, who deferred to his decision in all matters of business with a complete and unhesitating confidence. He also took a great interest in the condition of the conquered Moors, and did all in his power to mitigate the hardships to which they were subjected in consequence of the infamous *pragmatica* of Seville. His hospitality was unbounded, and his liberality as princely as ever. His home became the

[1] Louis Guillaume, a Franciscan friar, was named bishop *in partibus*, with the title of *Auriensis*. Hefele, *Vie*, 427-8.

[2] The Marquis of Priego was peculiarly obnoxious to Ferdinand, inasmuch as he had been one of the chief accusers of the infamous Lucero, and had played a leading part in the opening of the prison of the Inquisition at Cordova; but he was by no means the only one of the grandees who was made to feel the tyranny of the King of Aragon. The Duke of Najera was compelled to give up all his fortresses, *heureux de pouvoir garder sa vie et son Château de Najera*. Ferreras, viii., 331. The Duke of Medina Sidonia, the noble chief of the Guzmans, was despoiled of his possessions, and together with Don Pedro Giron, the eldest son of the Count of Ureña, was glad to make his escape to Portugal (P. Martyr, *Ep.*, 406).

resort of all honest and honourable men in Andalusia, and especially of his old friend and commander, the good Count of Tendilla.

Thus the Great Cardinal in Castile and the Great Captain in Andalusia, exiled each of them from the court of their perjured sovereign, bore silent witness to the jealousy and to the ingratitude of Ferdinand. But in the year 1508 Ferdinand's thoughts were once more turned far away from Spain.

CHAPTER LIX.

A KINGDOM OF ITALY.

(1509—1511.)

The League of Cambray, which was signed on the 10th of December, 1508, between Louis XII., the Emperor Maximilian, and Ferdinand of Aragon, at the instance of the warlike Pope Julius II., was nominally directed against the Turks, but was in reality a coalition for the destruction and partition among the confiscators of the rich State of Venice.[1] If anything was wanted to make this league of public plunderers more corrupt and more odious than it would under any circumstances have been, it was that the kings of France and of Aragon, in order to secure the adhesion of the Medicis, sacrificed their faithful allies, the Pisans, after solemn assurances of protection and support, and actually sold that ancient city to the Florentines, their hereditary enemies, for 100,000 ducats.

But all their bad faith and covetousness was displayed in vain. The perfidious leaguers could not even trust one another; and the success of the French arms at Agnadel, in May, 1509, so seriously alarmed both Julius and Ferdinand, that a second treaty was concluded in October, 1511, when the Pope and the King of Aragon invited the Venetian Republic, for whose destruction they had leagued themselves together with Louis XII. not three years before, to assist them in driving the French out of Italy.

Of the consummate skill with which Ferdinand, from the middle of 1509 to the end of 1511,[2] played off his allies and rivals one against the other, until he had accomplished the

[1] As to the full details of the provisions of the League of Cambray, see *Calendar of State Papers* (Venice) (ed. Rawdon Brown, 1867), Introd., p. 9. The Signory of Florence actually invited the Sultan Bajazet to join the league, and take possession of the Oriental dominions of the Republic, p. 44.

[2] 18th May, 1509, to 13th November, 1511; see *Calendar*, etc. (Spain), vol. ii., p. 28.

central object of his diplomacy in the great confederation against Louis XII., we may read in the history of France and of Italy, of England and of Germany, rather than in the Chronicles of Aragon. For King Ferdinand pulled the strings that moved the puppets, while he remained well-nigh hidden himself. But by the end of 1511 the showman was compelled to make his own appearance upon the stage of European warfare; and Ferdinand was ever less successful as an actor than as an *impresario*. His policy for the past two years had been the formation of a league against his dearly-beloved uncle-in-law, Louis XII., by the aid of his dearly-beloved son-in-law, Henry VIII. Queen Katharine, who had already played the part of ambassador to her English father-in-law, was to make use of her influence over her English husband; and if the queen should refuse to advise King Henry to go to war with France, her confessor was to tell her that she was bound as a good Christian to do so.[1]

To coerce the confessor, Ferdinand applied to the Pope, and to control the Pope he betrayed to him, in secret, the whole scheme of King Louis XII. as regards the plunder of the States of the Church. It is easy to understand what an effect the communication of the French king's plans of spoliation produced upon the excitable and irascible Julius. When he had learnt that he was not only to be robbed of his temporalities, but that he was to be deposed and imprisoned in case he should prove spiritually intractable, he hastened, in spite of his age and his infirmities, to traverse the snow-covered mountains, that he might meet his enemy in the field.[2]

The King of Aragon was a diplomatist who left nothing to chance. He trusted no man. And if no man trusted him, he never deceived himself by supposing that any one was simple enough to do so. No detail, however trifling, was neglected by him in his negotiations. No contingency, however remote, was left out of sight in his intrigues. And however little we may

[1] Queen Katharine behaved during the whole of the quarrel between King Henry and King Ferdinand as became a Queen of England. She loved and revered her father. It certainly made her unhappy to see that he and her husband had become enemies. But when King Ferdinand attempted to make use of her influence over her husband, she refused to serve her father's purpose. Louis Caroz complained in the most bitter terms that neither he nor any other Spaniard could obtain the smallest advantage through her interference. *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), vol. ii., Introd., pp. xxxvii., xcii., and pp. 51, 52.

[2] *Calendar*, etc. (Spain), vol. ii., p. 38. Julius II. was above all things a warrior; and it was rather hitting below the belt to excommunicate the armies against which he led his own temporal forces. He was said by some Italian opponents to be rather *Carnifex* than *Pontifex* maximus.

respect his character, which was perhaps not much worse than that of some of his rivals, we cannot refuse to admire his transcendent skill, his infinite perseverance, his forethought, and his keen appreciation of every shade of political development. A little honesty would have made him a great man; a little generosity would have made him a great king. His policy, moreover, towards the close of his life, is at least worthy of an admiration which has rarely been extended to it. It was a policy which embraced all Europe in its scope; and although it had no direct relation to Spain or the Spanish people, it would be ill to conclude even a brief survey of the history of Spain without referring to the Imperial dreams of the great Spaniard, first of modern diplomatists, and of his early endeavours to solve more than one of those questions that still embarrass the foreign policy of modern states: the establishment of a kingdom of Italy; the alliance between Italy and Germany, to withstand a dreaded power beyond the Danube and the Carpathians; the entanglement of England in a central European league; and the treatment of the Pope of Rome.

The Turks, the mediæval bugbear in the East—for the Middle Ages had also their Eastern question—were at this time rapidly encroaching upon Christian Europe; and it was obviously desirable to form a powerful empire, as a bulwark of Christendom, on the banks of the Danube. The opportunity of founding a great empire in Central Europe actually existed. Ladislaus II., King of Bohemia and of Hungary, had only one son, Louis, who was of so delicate a constitution that no issue could be expected of his marriage. In case he should die without children, his sister, the Princess Anne, was the heiress of both his kingdoms; and if her father could be persuaded to marry her to the heir of the Austrian principalities, Bohemia, Austria and Hungary, thus united with the heritage of the Hapsburgs, would form by no means a contemptible State, which might itself be but the nucleus of a greater and more ambitious empire.

Naples, which had so lately been added to the Aragonese dominions, was still exposed to the attacks of the French, who claimed one half, and were always ready to appropriate to themselves the whole of the kingdom. Naples was separated from France, indeed by a considerable extent of territory in Italy; but the smaller Italian States were too weak to render any serious resistance, and too fickle to be counted upon as friends or as foes by any Spanish sovereign. The best way to render Naples secure was, in the eyes of Ferdinand, the foundation of

a great kingdom in northern Italy, powerful enough to prevent the French from marching their armies to the south.

The formation of such a kingdom moreover would have had results far more important than that of keeping the French out of Naples, important as that was both to Italy and even to Spain, and it would have greatly facilitated a peaceful division of the great Austro-Spanish inheritance between Prince Charles and his brother, the Infante Ferdinand.

If Charles could be provided not only with the kingdom of Spain, but with the possessions of Maximilian and Ladislaus and the Princess Anne, and the empire of Central Europe, his younger brother Ferdinand might content himself with a kingdom to be made up of all the states of Italy, protected against the encroachments of France by Spanish *infantry* and German *landsknechts*, and ready to drive the Turk out of the Mediterranean in support of the Christian empire on the Danube.

The kingdom of Italy thus designed for his younger grandson by the far-seeing Ferdinand of Aragon, was to consist of Genoa, Pavia, Milan and the Venetian territories on the mainland. The country of the Tyrol, being the most southern of the Austrian dominions, could, without sensibly weakening the projected empire, be separated from it and added to the new kingdom in Italy. Thus stretching from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic, and from the Gulf of Spezia to the Lake of Constance, this sixteenth century kingdom of Italy, with the whole power of the holy Roman empire to support it, would have been a splendid endowment for a younger son of the greatest family on earth. There was also a reasonable prospect that it might afterwards be still further enlarged by the addition of Naples, and the smaller Italian states would easily have fallen a prey to their powerful neighbour. But, in addition to all this, Ferdinand thought that he would render a notable service to the Catholic religion and to the peace of Europe if the Church were thoroughly reformed. What Rome herself has lost by Ferdinand's failure, it is not given even to the infallible to know. What the king's reforms were to be, we can only shrewdly surmise ; and although they would most assuredly not have been Protestant, they would with equal certainty have been by no means palatable to the Vatican. For it is reasonably probable that if either Louis XII. or Ferdinand the Catholic had been permitted to carry out their designs, the Pope of Rome would have found himself deprived of his temporal power, and Garibaldi, nay, perchance Luther, would have been forestalled. It was the reforms of Ximenez

that to a large extent prevented Luther in Spain. The reforms of Ferdinand might possibly have prevented him in Italy.

The defensive alliance between England and Spain, however important it may have been at the time that it was made, had become, in little over a year from its execution, no longer of any advantage either to King Ferdinand or to King Henry; since both of them had independently entered into an offensive league against France. The treaty of the 24th of May, 1510, was, therefore, converted into the offensive confederation of the 17th of November, 1511. The pretext for this new alliance was the duty of the contracting parties to defend the Church. The real object of Henry VIII. was the conquest of Aquitaine, with the help of the Catholic king, who had bound himself to deliver to his son-in-law all such places as had formerly belonged to the crown of England, as soon as he should have wrested them from the enemy. The real objects of Ferdinand were, as we have already seen, very far from being the conquest of Aquitaine, or even the defence of the Church, but something far larger and more ambitious; and for the moment his magnificent schemes appeared to be in a fair way towards realisation.

After negotiations, continued for more than eighteen months, he had at last succeeded in forming two great confederations against France; and he was resolved to use his confederates as his instruments to obtain from Louis XII. his consent to the formation of the kingdom of Italy.[1] By way of giving additional force to the new coalition, Julius II., made indignant, as we have seen, by the skilful disclosure of the intentions of Louis XII. as regards the Holy See, dispensed or released the ever-ready Ferdinand from the obligations of the marriage treaty of 1505, by which his Neapolitan dominions were to revert to the French crown on the failure of his issue by Germaine de Foix, and thus gave additional power to the latest coalition against France.

Could the fiery *Giuliano della Rôvere* have been informed of Ferdinand's own scheme for the disposal of the patrimony of St. Peter, and for the reformation of Rome, he would assuredly rather have excommunicated than have dispensed the greatest master of diplomacy in contemporary Europe. But Ferdinand kept his own counsel; and a Spanish army was marched confidently into northern Italy.

If Ferdinand of Aragon had a large mind, he had a very small heart; and his jealousy would not permit of the employment of the greatest soldier in Europe, who awaited but his marching

[1] *Calendar*, etc., vol. ii., p. 41.

orders to lead the Spanish troops once more to victory in Italy. In the absence of Gonsalvo de Cordova, the chief command was entrusted to an incompetent courtier, Don Hugo de Cardona, under whose leadership the allied army was well nigh cut to pieces at the memorable battle of Ravenna, on the 11th of April, 1512. The Spanish infantry, under the sturdy Pedro Navarro, fresh from the spoils of Africa, did all that was possible to retrieve the fortunes of the day; and the French victory was dearly purchased by the death of their brilliant young commander, Gaston de Foix.[1] A capable general would have marched on Rome or Naples, and Ferdinand might have found it too late to repair his errors. But the French strategy was as poor as their diplomacy; no advantage whatever was taken of what should have been made a decisive victory, and before the end of the year 1512, they had actually retired beyond the Alps.

The defeat of the allied army at Ravenna, however, had so seriously alarmed Pope Julius, as well as all the Italian allies of the League, that Ferdinand had been reluctantly compelled to give his consent to the nomination of the *Great Captain* to the chief command of an army which was to be immediately raised in Spain, and despatched to Italy from the port of Malaga. Nobles and their retainers, knights and burghers, peasants and adventurers from every part of Spain at once flocked to that port, and enrolled themselves under the banner of the *Great Captain*. No expense was spared by gentle and simple to equip themselves in a manner worthy of their leader; and Gonsalvo, as may be supposed, entered upon his duties in that liberal-handed and large-hearted spirit for which he had always been distinguished. But Ferdinand's fears and jealousy were only aggravated by the popular enthusiasm created by Gonsalvo's appointment, the more so as the number of deserters from his own army to that of the *Great Captain* was so great that Navarre, which was then menaced by the French, was left almost undefended.

[1] See in *Documentos Ineditos*, tom. xxv., *Vida del conde Pedro Navarro;* and in tom. lxxix., pp. 233-298, *Relacion de los sucesos de las armas de España en Italia, en los años* 1511 *y* 1512, *con la Jornada de Ravena*. Eighteen thousand soldiers are said to have perished in the great fight at Ravenna, a number positively stupendous, when we consider that in the battles of a few years before, a death roll of a few hundreds was considered enormous. It was largely the Spanish infantry trained by Gonsalvo de Cordova, that introduced real fighting into the wars of Europe. The mercenary troops of the fifteenth century, who fought indifferently on the side of the best paymaster, thought twice before killing or even seriously wounding an opponent, who might have been a few days previously a good companion in arms. *Cf.* Roscoe, *Leo X.*, Bohn's ed., vol. i., pp. 264-5.

Gonsalvo's preparations progressed rapidly; yet not more rapidly than the French disorganisation. No successor had been found for Gaston de Foix; and before the end of the year, 1512, their victorious army having, as it were, melted away, Ferdinand gave orders for the disbanding of his new levies in Andalusia, and for the retirement of the *Great Captain* himself once more to his farm at Loja, separated by well-nigh the entire length of Spain from the theatre of a new war under the shadow of the western Pyrenees.

Gonsalvo, however keen was his disappointment, never forgot his loyalty to the king; and he not only obeyed the royal order, but he urged his indignant troops to take service in the army which Ferdinand was then raising for service against Navarre, under his cousin the Duke of Alva.

With the operations of this army, and the political developments that attended the conquest of Navarre by the Spaniards, I shall deal in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER LX.

THE LAST DAYS OF FERDINAND.

(1515—1516.)

I.—*Annexation of Navarre.*

To follow or examine in every detail the politics of the little kingdom of Navarre during the joint reign of Ferdinand and Isabella would carry us beyond reasonable limits; and it must suffice to say that Queen Eleanor, whose accession to the throne had been purchased at so dreadful a price, had died in 1479, leaving, in addition to many sons and daughters, a grandson, Francis, surnamed Phœbus from his superlative beauty, whose father, Gaston, had been killed in a tournament in 1472, and whose mother was Madeleine of France, a sister of Louis XI. This *François Phébus* was crowned King of Navarre in November, 1482, and poisoned, it was said, by Ferdinand of Aragon, in January, 1483.[1]

Madeleine, the Queen-Dowager, immediately assumed the reins of government, as guardian of her daughter Catherine, who was soon after (1486) married to a neighbouring prince of by no means royal rank, Jean, Seigneur or Sire d'Albret; and Madeleine dying a few months after the marriage, the young couple entered upon their sad and stormy reign almost before they had attained to years of discretion. The continued warfare between the factions of Beaumonts and Agramonts; domestic strife secretly stirred up by Ferdinand of Aragon; unsatisfactory relations with France; and, last of all, the interference of the notorious Cæsar Borgia,[2] who had married a sister of Jean

[1] Lagrèze, p. 256-8. The young prince was passionately fond of music, and was taken off by means of a poisoned flute.

[2] Cæsar Borgia had been imprisoned by Ferdinand and Isabella at Medina del Campo, whence he had escaped into Navarre, where he was killed in a skirmish at Viana, on the 12th of March, 1507, fighting against the Beaumont faction.

d'Albret, combined to render the lives of the young sovereigns troubled and unhappy.

If Ferdinand the Catholic did not or could not resort once more to poison in the development of his policy as regards Navarre, he neither abandoned nor forgot his design upon the little kingdom which lay so perilously near the frontiers, both of Aragon and of Castile. Spain was ill-protected on the side of the Atlantic Ocean. The road from Bayonne by Irun to Vitoria and Bilbao was, indeed, controlled by the Castilians; but there was another mountain pass from St. Jean Pied de Port to Pamplona, which was in the power of the King of Navarre; and it was by this far-famed route, through Roncesvalles, that Spain had been most commonly invaded on the north-west. To guard against any such inroads for the future, Ferdinand had long judged it desirable to bring the mountain passes of Navarre under the control of Spain, by the conquest and occupation, not only of Navarre, whose southern frontier reached down into the very heart of Castile, but also, if possible, of Béarn, to the north of the Pyrenees. An invasion of Spain by France would thus be made a matter of extreme difficulty, as the long mountain ridge which stretches from Navarre to Roussillon was utterly impassable for an army.

But Ferdinand was never in a hurry. Nearly thirty years were suffered to elapse after the murder of François Phébus (1483) before he judged that the time had at length arrived for the annexation of his sister's kingdom. To conquer Navarre in 1512, Ferdinand looked to Julius II. for a Bull of excommunication, and to Henry VIII., or to his wife's confessor, for an army of invasion; and as it was desirable to draw off the troops that had been enlisted by Gonsalvo de Cordova in Andalusia to a place beyond the reach of the *Great Captain*, a Spanish contingent was organised, under the command of the Duke of Alva, to take the field on the borders of Navarre.[1]

On the 12th, or possibly the 18th of February, 1512, not long after the signature of the Holy League between Julius II., Ferdinand, and the Republic of Venice, against Charles XII. of France (4th October, 1511), the Pope fulminated a Bull of tremendous import against the sovereigns of Navarre;[2] a

[1] The Navarrese naturally retorted by an attempt to draw closer their alliance with France. But after the battle of Ravenna, in April, 1512, it became obvious to all parties that Navarre was doomed.

[2] The history of this Bull is very curious. Many writers are content to assert that it never existed at all. *Lagrèze* sums up all that can be said for this view

Bull, indeed, so shameless in its scope and tenour, that Papal apologists have long been fain to deny its existence; and an impartial historian has sought to minimise the wickedness of its declarations of deposition, by suggesting that it was purposely provided with a false date.

In any case Ferdinand obtained the desired assistance by the early summer of 1512. An English contingent, under the command of Grey, Marquis of Dorset, was despatched to the assistance of the Spaniards, and on the 8th of June an English squadron cast anchor in the beautiful little port of Pasajes, near San Sebastian, and awaited the arrival of the Spanish army. But the Spanish army never arrived. As Navarre was the true object of Ferdinand of Aragon, Navarre, of course, was not spoken of either to Henry or his general. Guienne was to be the price of the English intervention, and a joint invasion of the duchy was to be the first business of the allies. What happened is somewhat obscure. The Duke of Alva at first delayed to join the Marquis of Dorset; the marquis subsequently refused to

with admirable judgment and completeness in his *Navarre*, tom. i., pp. 268-276, and cites a number of authorities. Bergenroth's solution of the difficulty appears to me, on the whole, to be the most satisfactory. "It is an admitted opinion among some historians," says he, "that Pope Julius II. assisted King Ferdinand in the conquest of Navarre by excommunicating Jean d'Albret and the queen. Other historians of equal authority deny the fact, and observe that the original Bull was never produced. But the Bull, as a matter of fact, *was* granted by Pope Julius. Bulls were generally written on extraordinarily large sheets of parchment; but as it was difficult to read a document, the lines of which were thirty or forty inches long, it was customary to add, in the Papal Chancery, a transcript of the original Bull on paper or parchment of convenient size. When this particular Bull and the transcript arrived in Spain, the transcript only was read, and it was found to be in perfect order. The Archbishop of Cosenza, who was Papal Nuncio, had copies made from it, which were published in Spain, and sent to other countries. Thus the excommunication served all the purposes which King Ferdinand had in view. When, however, a year later, it was found necessary to consult the original, it was discovered that in several essential parts it differed from the transcript, and was utterly "worthless". *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), vol. ii., pp. 46, 47. "There is no reason that I know of," says Prescott, vol. ii., chap. xxiii., note, "for doubting the genuineness of the instrument, but many for rejecting the date." His reasons are chiefly that a Bull of more general import, directed rather against the people than the sovereign of Navarre, was certainly published in July, 1512, and that contemporary writers seem to have overlooked that of February in speaking of that of July, and "it was probably obtained at the instance of Ferdinand, and designed, by the odium that it threw on the sovereign of Navarre, as an excommunicate, to remove that under which he lay himself, and at the same time to secure what might be deemed a sufficient warrant *for retaining his acquisition*". The tenour of the Bull itself is so shameless that, perhaps, it is not affected even by the fact of the instrument itself being a fraud! The falsification of a date is, perhaps, no worse, even in a Pope, than the spoliation of an innocent and friendly sovereign. The editor of the admirable edition of Mariana's History (Valencia, 1796), vol. ix., has given copies of *both* Bulls, App. x., pp. 126, 145.

See also P. Martyr, *Op. Epist.*, 497, and Hefele, *Vie de Ximenes*, pp. 452-4.

join the duke. Ferdinand sent envoys[1] to London to complain of Dorset. Dorset embarked his troops on board his ships, and sailed away to England. Guienne was neither occupied nor invaded. Henry VIII. gained nothing, not even honour, by his expedition. Yet the presence of Dorset and his army within a few miles of Bayonne had kept the French army under the Duc de Longueville so completely in check, that Ferdinand was enabled to send forward his troops into Navarre by the middle of July, to overthrow the kingdom almost without striking a blow, to drive out Jean d'Albret and his legitimate queen, and to occupy the Navarrese capital of Pamplona.[2]

At Pamplona, without troubling himself about his English allies, or even about the conquest of Guienne, Ferdinand, in accordance with his old policy, concluded a friendly truce for six months with France, which was followed by the definite Treaty of Orthez early in the following year (1st April, 1513). By this treaty Louis XII. recognised the spoliation that he had been unable to prevent; and while Guienne was saved from invasion or attack, the ancient kingdom of Navarre, with the exception of a few square leagues to the north of the Pyrenees, was permanently united to the Spanish monarchy. On the 23rd of March, 1513, the Estates of Navarre took the usual oath of allegiance to King Ferdinand; and on the 15th of June, 1515, the Cortes of Burgos incorporated the new province in the kingdom of *Castile*. Jean d'Albret and his wife lived but a short time after their spoliation. But if they had not defended their ancient kingdom with valour, they accepted their altered fortunes with dignity. Polite letters were encouraged, and good cheer was ever found at their little court in the castle of Pau, until Jean d'Albret died in 1516, and Catherine followed him less than two years later, in the spring of 1518.[3]

[1] Martin Dampier and Juan de Sepulveda. *Calendar*, etc., vol. ii., p. 45.

[2] Ferdinand was, as may be supposed, very angry at the departure of the English. See Zurita, lib. x., cap. xi.-xviii.; Bernaldez, 236; Lafuente, x., 407-9. The fact that Lord Dorset was made a fool of by Ferdinand, does not render his retirement, when he might have been of service to his sovereign as well as to his nominal ally, either more prudent or more honourable; and he was severely blamed by Henry VIII. on his arrival in England. But it was, no doubt, supremely difficult for any honest man to work with Ferdinand. See *Calendar*, etc., vol. ii., pp. 42-47.

[3] The portion of Navarre north of the Pyrenees was a prey to almost constant anarchy until 1530, when it was abandoned by Charles V. to its rightful owners.—H.

II.—*Henry VIII. of England.*

By the Treaty of Orthez, Ferdinand had, as he fondly hoped, at length prepared the way for the accomplishment of his scheme for the redistribution of power in Europe. Yet the practical difficulties in the way of the consummation of his wishes appeared daily more and more insurmountable. The establishment of the great Italian kingdom would undoubtedly have been pleasing to the emperor, whose grandson was to be endowed therewith. But unless France was held in check by the fear of an English invasion and the possibility of a Spanish alliance, Louis would never allow the kingdom in Italy to be established; and if Henry VIII. were allowed to perceive that he had been made a fool of by his father-in-law, in order to draw off the attention of France, and that he had no more chance of acquiring Guienne than he had of acquiring Granada, the choleric Englishman was capable of avenging himself, not only by abandoning his alliance with Spain, but even by hostile action in France or Italy. The position was critical in the extreme. That fiery old soldier, Julius II., had died in February, 1513; and in the following May, immediately after the Treaty of Orthez, a conference of the European Powers was held at Rome under the presidency of his subtle and politic successor, Leo. X.

That nothing was settled by this Council of Nations is not surprising; for every ambassador was provided with formal instructions to agree to everything, and with secret instructions to agree to nothing, that was proposed by any other power; and no one was either deceived or convinced by any one else. Meanwhile Henry VIII., who had just concluded a treaty on his own account with the emperor at Malines, on the 5th of April, 1513, introduced new complications by actually invading France. Ferdinand, while he professed an appropriate indignation to Louis XII., urged the English to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. But the victory at Terouanne, near Boulogne, which is commonly called the Battle of the Spurs, in August, 1513, failed to provoke the armed intervention of Ferdinand on either side; and his son-in-law, having taken and occupied Tournay, entered into a new and closer alliance with the emperor, which was signed at Lille on the 17th of October, 1513. Ferdinand replied by a solemn promise to Henry to invade and conquer Guienne for the English early in the next year—an undertaking which he fulfilled by the renewal of the

Treaty of Orthez with Louis XII. in March, 1514. The noblest schemes of a man so inherently and radically false, were, of necessity, foredoomed to failure and disappointment.

By this time it is probable that, under any circumstances, Henry VIII. would have arrived at a just appreciation of the value of his father-in-law's promises. But his intelligence was quickened by the intervention of our old friend Don John Manuel. That accomplished diplomatist had judged it prudent, on the death of Philip at Burgos in 1506, to withdraw from Spain; and he had acquired some influence at the court of the Emperor Maximilian in Flanders. Ferdinand the Catholic, justly judging that such influence was not likely to be favourable to his own political interests, had prudently arranged that Don John should be smuggled on board a Spanish ship at Antwerp, "that he might be conveyed as a prisoner to the place of which the captain only was informed".[1] "A ship," said Dr. Johnson, "is a prison with the chance of being drowned." The contingency, in the case of Captain Artieta's vessel, was so extremely probable, that we can feel no doubt that the place only known to that loyal mariner was none other than the bottom of the sea.

So, at least, thought Don John Manuel, and he contrived not only to remain on dry land, but having further obtained the direct and special protection of the emperor himself,[2] he proceeded to busy himself, as a practical retort upon King Ferdinand of Spain, with the agreeable task of enlightening King Henry

[1] *Calendar*, etc., etc., vol. ii., pp. 138, 139, 199. Letter of Ferdinand the Catholic. Written in the margin, "is not to be overlooked; to be read with attention". The letter informs the confidential envoy that "Madame Margaret is willing to deliver Don John Manuel up to him as a prisoner. He is to tell her that Don John has not only rendered bad service to him (King Ferdinand), *but also speaks so ill of her*, that for this alone he deserves punishment. He sends Artieta, who is the bearer of this despatch, with a ship which ostensibly sails with merchandise, but which, in fact, is sent for no other purpose than to convey Don John as a prisoner to the place of which Artieta is informed. If madame has not changed her mind, she is, with the greatest dexterity, and in such manner that nobody may be aware of it, to transport Don John on board ship, and to deliver him to Artieta to be carried away. This seems to be a small thing, but, in fact, it is very important."

[2] Maximilian to Margaret of Austria, 10th January, 1514. *Calendar*, etc., vol. ii., pp. 199, 200 (No. 160).

June, 1513.—The Catholic King to Mosen Juan de Lanuza. *Calendar*, etc., vol. ii., p. 136 (No. 119).

Henri VIII., *commençait enfin a' s'apercevoir qu'il avait été constamment joué par ses alliés, et qu' aprés avoir fort diminué les trésors que lui avaient laissés son père il était aussi loin que jamais de la conquête de la France.* Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, tom. xv., 659.

VIII. of England as to the private character and political aims of his worthy father-in-law.[1]

The suspicions of the great Tudor were further aroused by the news of a secret treaty between Ferdinand, Louis and Maximilian, by which the French King was to marry Eleanor, the grand-daughter of the King of Aragon, and sister of Charles of Hapsburg; and upon the 7th of August, 1514, Henry VIII. concluded a final treaty with France. One very important provision in this treaty was the cancellation of that secret convention by which Louis XII. was to marry the Archduchess Eleanor; and the French King was immediately betrothed to Mary of England, whom he actually married some months afterwards, and who enjoyed but ten weeks of wedded life as Queen of France.[2]

The Peace of August, 1514, is not usually counted amongst the great treaties of mediæval or of modern times, or even of the sixteenth century. It was maintained but a few months; nor did either of the contracting parties at any time attach to it very great importance. Yet it changed the whole current of European history; and its effect upon the political state of Europe is to some extent felt even at the present day.

It was partly due to this treaty that King Henry VIII. was not permitted to "take the government of Scotland into his own hands," and that that country was afterwards united to England in a peaceful and lasting fashion; and the great object of Ferdinand's ambition was made impossible. The kingdom of north Italy was not formed. And as the Infante Ferdinand could not thus be indemnified by a grant of territory to the south of the Alps, he did not renounce his claim to any part of the Austrian inheritance; and as a division of the Austrian principalities would have prevented the formation of a powerful empire on the frontiers of Turkey, Charles had no choice but to abandon them entirely to his younger brother, who, thus endowed, became the only possible husband for the Princess Anne, through whom he acquired the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia. Charles was left, therefore, without any possessions in Germany or central Europe; and although he succeeded his grandfather on the Imperial throne, he was crippled in his

[1] *Calendar*, etc., vol. ii., Introd., pp. 81-83.
A general truce had been previously signed at Orleans on the 13th of March, 1514. Rymer, xiii., p. 395; *Calendar*, etc., ii., pp. 230-234; and Sismondi, xv., 664.

[2] Louis XII. died on New Year's Day, 1515.

political movements during the whole of his life, by the fact that he was regarded as an alien within the empire. Nor was he able at the close of his most splendid and eventful reign to secure the succession to the Imperial purple for his favourite son, Philip of Spain and the Indies. It was the younger branch of the Hapsburgs that in future gave emperors to Europe; and as neither Spain nor the newly discovered islands and continents of the West, neither the Burgundian dominions, nor Naples, nor Sicily, nor Milan belonged to the *Kaiser* at Aix-la-Chapelle, Charles V. was the last prince of the House of Hapsburg who was in a position even to aspire to universal empire in Europe.[1]

III.—*Death of Ferdinand.*

By the year 1513 the life of Ferdinand had become as wretched as his bitterest enemy could have desired. Chagrined at his failure of issue by Queen Germaine; at enmity with his successor, jealous of his nobles, suspicious of all the world, he fled from town to town throughout Spain, seeking rest and finding none; harassed by business, incapable of pleasure, consumed by his old ambition, but never cheered by his old success.

In March, 1509, Queen Germaine had been delivered of a son, who received from his parents the name of John. But the curse that lay upon the children of Ferdinand was not yet spent; and the rival of Charles V., the heir of Aragon, Sardinia, Naples

[1] It may be seriously questioned whether Ferdinand ever intended, if he could help it, his elder grandson to succeed to Spain as well as the empire. His anxiety, like that of all his Aragonese predecessors, was to extend the influence of Spain towards the East, and to prevent the expansion of France in that direction. He was surely too wise to desire to burden Spain with the new responsibilities in the north entailed by the possession of the empire and the dominions of the House of Burgundy—responsibilities which ultimately caused her ruin. Ferdinand more probably desired that his grandson Ferdinand should ultimately succeed to Spain and Naples as well as north Italy, in order that Spain might continue the secular policy of Aragon; and that Charles should inherit the empire and Flanders. Such a combination would have crippled France utterly, and have secured Italy and perhaps the Levant for Spain. When Charles had inherited Spain as well as the empire his life-long struggle to obtain dominion over north Italy had quite a different object from that of his grandfather. His policy was no longer Aragonese expansion towards the East, but to shut in and surround France with the territories of the empire, and provide an easy road by land for the transport of Spanish troops into Germany, Franche Comté, Luxemburg and Flanders. In other words the policy of Ferdinand was directed to increase the influence of Spain, whilst the policy of his grandson Charles was necessarily that of *using* Spain for the forwarding of a set of Imperial and Burgundian interests in which Spain, as such, had no concern. Ferdinand's intentions, however, rest mainly upon conjecture, and evidently before his death he recognised that circumstances were too strong for him to attempt to deprive Charles of any part of his inheritance.—H.

and Sicily, was permitted to gladden the envious heart of his father by but a few hours of life. As years passed on there seemed little chance of any further issue of the King and Queen of Aragon. The unity of Spain at length appeared to be secure. But the ambition of Ferdinand was even surpassed by his jealousy. Childless, vindictive and obstinate, he chafed at the ill-success of his personal schemes; and rather than open the prison gates at Tordesillas, or suffer the crown of United Spain to pass over to his daughter's son and heir, he sought, at the hands of some medical impostor, the powers that were denied to his old age. The drug that was to have renewed his youth destroyed his constitution, and his death was the direct result of one of the least creditable of the many developments of his jealousy, his obstinacy and his selfishness.

During the whole of the year 1514, and the greater part of 1515, the king's condition grew worse. His restlessness became more marked, his physical suffering more acute, his loneliness more grievous.

Isabella had given place to a frivolous Frenchwoman. The *Great Captain* was languishing, as the great admiral had languished, ere he died of a broken heart, despising the false heart of his sovereign. Navarro was in prison in Italy; Joanna was in prison in Castile; Ximenez, negligent and neglected, sat silent in his library on the Henares, awaiting the inevitable regency; Don John Manuel was an honoured correspondent between Brussels and London.[1] Henry of England, Maximilian of Germany, Charles of Luxemburg, Louis of France, John of Navarre, Leo X., who had lately succeeded Julius II. at Rome, and the rulers of every state in Italy, agreed only in this, that Ferdinand of Aragon was a king with whom no prudent or honourable man could desire to treat or to deal. The only personage in Europe of whom he had not yet become jealous was his grandson and namesake, the younger son of the unhappy Joanna, a boy of nine years old. Yet the Italian kingdom that he had destined for Ferdinand had come to nought. The most prudent, the most statesmanlike, and the most generous project of his life had been shattered by his own perfidy.

As he could not bequeath Italy to his grandson, he determined to indemnify him in the Peninsula; and anxious also to spite the one great man that yet lived in Spain, he committed to the child,

[1] A new treaty of peace and alliance with Henry VIII. of England was due to the exertions of Cardinal Wolsey, and was signed in London in December, 1515.

by his royal will and testament, the Regency of Aragon and Castile. But to this, at least, his council could not consent; and the sick man was forced to give his grudging and envious assent to the substitution of the name of Ximenez for that of Ferdinand in his political testament as Regent of Castile. The Regency of Aragon was confided to his natural son, the Archbishop of Saragossa.[1]

But towards Gonsalvo de Cordova he was drawn by neither fear nor favour; and the indignant hero was moved, towards the close of the year 1515, to seek in another land the consideration that was denied to him in Spain. His loyal nature was at last weary of the mean jealousy, of the perjured faith and the stupid ingratitude of the King of Aragon. His soul chafed at being virtually imprisoned, in the very theatre of so many of his former exploits, by a sovereign who owed so much to his devotion and to his loyalty; and in the autumn of the year 1515, he prepared to embark for Flanders, with his banished nephew, Don Pedro, Marquis of Priego, the Count of Ureña, and his future son-in-law, the Count de Cabra, the head of the great rival house of Cordova, now, indeed like so many of the other noble and knightly houses of Castile, shorn of its splendour by the oppressive policy of Ferdinand. But the *Great Captain* was not a man to take even a step of this sort in secret. The news of his preparations reached Ferdinand. The king sent word that no ship of any sort should leave Malaga without a royal permit; and gave orders for Gonsalvo's arrest. But the old soldier was not doomed to suffer this last indignity at the bidding of his sovereign. Death anticipated the royal officer. And on the 2nd of December, 1515, in his

[1] Carbajal, *Anales* (1516), cap. ii.; but *cf.* Zurita, lib. x., cap. xcix.

It is sometimes stated—without a shadow of reason—that Ferdinand at one time intended to leave his crown of Aragon by will to his favourite grandson.

With all his faults and weaknesses, Ferdinand the Catholic never seems to have contemplated the dismemberment of Spain, so gloriously united by his marriage with Isabella. His policy would no doubt have been changed by the birth of a son to him by Germaine; but it is hard enough to know what Ferdinand the Catholic did, without seeking to guess what he might have done. His dream of sovereignty for his grandson Ferdinand was in Italy or southern Europe; and he was the last man to leave as a heritage to his grandson the civil war which would inevitably have followed an attempt by the brothers to divide the kingdom of Spain, legitimately united in the person of their mother, Joanna, and actually to be enjoyed by her eldest son.

With the destruction of all his schemes for the establishment of a kingdom of United Italy, Ferdinand's great European scheme was brought to nought.

His last endeavour, as regards his grandson Ferdinand, was to endow him, not with the sovereignty of what was once the kingdom of Aragon, but with the Regency of United Spain (with the hope, doubtless, that his regency might later be converted into sovereignty.—H.).

palace in Granada, the *Great Captain* was released from his worldly allegiance, and took his place among the departed heroes of his country.[1]

The death of Gonsalvo brought to Ferdinand neither sorrow nor satisfaction. Ximenez was firm in his refusal to reside at court, and he remained at Alcalá *"attendant,"* as Baudier quaintly has it, *que Dieu fist de ce Prince selon le décret de sa volonté.*

At length came the inevitable end; and at the wretched hamlet of Madrigalejo, near Guadalupe, in the mountains of Estremadura, on the 23rd of January of the new year 1516, Ferdinand died; and Spain was at length a United Kingdom. But, by the bitterest irony of fate, at the very moment that national unity was secured, national independence was lost. While the Spanish queen lay in prison in Castile, the sallow foreigner from Flanders was summoned to sit upon her throne, and the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, after so many changes and chances, found themselves at last united, only to make a rich province in the empire of the Hapsburg, the brightest jewel in the crown of a German Cæsar.[2]

[1] His wife Doña Maria survived her husband but a few days. The whole of Gonsalvo's possessions passed to his daughter Elvira, whose marriage with the Count de Cabra was in due time solemnised, and their eldest son, called after his grandfather Gonsalvo Fernandez, filled the important offices of Governor of Milan, and Captain-General of Italy, under the Emperor Charles V.

[2] A letter of 22nd January, 1516, written by Ferdinand on his death-bed, to Prince Charles, is preserved at Simancas, and published in the *Documentos Ineditos*, tom. xiv., p. 353. Ferdinand says that although he could dispose of his kingdoms, *que en nuestra vida han sido acrescentados de nuestra corona real de Aragon*, as he pleased, yet that he had not done so *por el amor que os tenemos;* and asking him, in return for such favour, to be kind and good to his widow Germaine. The letter is endorsed, *Carta muy notable.*

CHAPTER LXI.

CÆSAR.

(1517—1522.)

I.—*Supplementary*

The history of Spain from the death of Ferdinand the Catholic until the election of his grandson, Charles of Hapsburg, to the Imperial throne in Germany, is beyond the scope of these volumes. The capable and masterful administration of Ximenez in Castile, the ingratitude of Charles at Brussels, the rapacity of the Flemings at Valladolid, the waning powers of the captive queen at Tordesillas, and, above all, the new position that was occupied by Spain and the Spaniards towards the empire, and the vast responsibilities which the connection entailed; all this would need many chapters for its record and development.

But there is one episode, characteristic at once of the aspirations and the methods of mediæval Spain, that belongs rather to the fifteenth than to the sixteenth century, albeit the result had an immense influence upon the fortunes of Spain and of Europe at a most critical period of the history of the world; and with a brief *supplementary* chapter, telling of the inception, of the nature and of the suppression of the revolt of the Comuneros of Castile, I will bring this sketch of ancient and mediæval history to a final, and, I trust, not an inappropriate conclusion.

II.—*Carolus Rex Romanorum.*

Within a few days after the death of Ximenez, Charles, the first king of that name who had ever reigned in the Peninsula, made his triumphant entry into Valladolid, on the 18th of November, 1517. He was nearly eighteen years of age, of moderate stature, slight in figure, but excelling in all rude and

martial exercises, illiterate, inconsiderate, and hardly displaying that capacity for affairs which even then he undoubtedly possessed.

He had up to this time resided exclusively in the Low Countries, and had been brought up by a Flemish tutor, William de Croy, lord of Chièvres, under the spiritual guidance of Adrian of Utrecht. The young prince was grave, self-contained, taciturn. His ignorance of the Spanish language rendered any communication between him and his Castilian subjects well-nigh impossible. His court, moreover, was composed almost exclusively of Flemings, who soon monopolised every position of honour or profit under the crown.

William de Croy, a nephew of the lord of Chièvres, a youth not even of canonical age, was hastily appointed to sit upon the throne of Ximenez as Primate of Spain;[1] and one Sauvage, an obscure Fleming, succeeded the great cardinal as Chancellor of Castile. But the Spanish nobility had been humbled under Ferdinand and Isabella, and they were very far from having recovered their ancient influence under the brief but despotic administration of Ximenez.

The Commons of Castile were more ready to assert their power; and in January, 1518, they assembled in the convent of St. Paul at Valladolid. Charles had called himself King of Spain; but the royal title belonged of right to his mother Joanna; and it was with much difficulty that the Cortes was induced to accept the young prince as their titular sovereign, *in conjunction with* his mother, whose name was to take precedence of his own in the royal writs and proclamations. Nor was this modified recognition agreed to until the king had consented, as a condition precedent, to swear that he would observe the laws and customs of the kingdom.[2]

Content with this practical, if theoretically partial, recognition, of which the value was enhanced by a handsome subsidy,

[1] Peter Martyr, *Epist.*, 655.

[2] *Guardar las libertades, privilejios, usos, y buenas costumbres del Reino.*

No less than eighty-eight petitions for the redress of grievances were presented to the king at the same time. Some of them are sufficiently curious, as for instance:—

That the king shall take a wife as soon as possible.

That the king shall learn to speak Spanish.

That the exportation of horses be forbidden.

That the Inquisition be required to do justice according to law, with the bishops acting as judges.

That grants in mortmain to churches be forbidden.

That no man be compelled to receive, against his will, nor to pay for, a Papal Bull.

Charles set out for Saragossa, where the Commons of Aragon showed themselves less compromising and by far less liberal than the formalists of Valladolid. In Catalonia the popular feeling was still more adverse, and a confederacy of cities, unsupported by the nobles of either Castile or Aragon, submitted a bold though respectful remonstrance to Charles at Barcelona, early in 1519.

The young king had contrived in a very short space of time to make himself exceedingly unpopular in Spain. His abrupt and ungrateful dismissal of Ximenez, his exclusive patronage of Flemish courtiers, his ignorance of the Spanish language, his disregard of the Spanish people, were alike distasteful to his new subjects, already disposed to be jealous of a sovereign who had never set foot in their country, and whose mother, the legitimate Queen of Castile, was kept in confinement within the realm. The appointments of De Croy, of Sauvage, and of Cardinal Adrian were no less offensive than the removal of his brother Ferdinand to Flanders.

Thus all Spain was offended, apprehensive, ill at ease. But before the growing discontent in the Peninsula could be dealt with, or even fully appreciated, a new current was given to the personal ambition of the young king by the death of his grandfather, the Emperor Maximilian on the 18th of January, 1519. Universal empire was already the dream of Charles' life. The marriage of his brother Ferdinand and the division of the inheritance of the Hapsburgs in central Europe had, indeed, reduced his territorial possessions in Germany to a cypher. Yet it was upon the empire that all his thoughts were now fixed; and his more solid position as King of United Spain was disregarded, if not actually despised. Charles I. of Spain is not spoken of, even by the pedants of history, by his Spanish style and title, but is ever known as the fifth German Charles, whose capital was at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Three European princes at once sought the suffrages of the electors[1]: Francis I. of France, Henry VIII. of England, and Charles I. of Spain. The intrigues, the bribery, the endless negotiations, the intervention of Leo X., the attempted election of Frederic of Saxony, and the final success of Charles of Haps-

[1] The seven *Electors* at the time of the death of Maximilian were: 1. Louis, King of Bohemia; 2. Frederic, Duke of Saxony; 3. Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mentz; 4. Hermann of Wied, Archbishop of Cologne; 5. Richard of Greiffenklau, Archbishop of Treves; 6. Joachim, Marquess of Brandenburg; 7. Louis, Count Palatine of the Rhine.

burg, these things form a long and not uninteresting chapter in the history of Germany and of Europe. The effect upon Spain was immediately and permanently disastrous. On the 28th of June, 1519, just six months after the death of Maximilian, Charles was duly elected as his successor by the Assembly at Frankfort-on-the-Maine. The news was received by him nine days later at Barcelona, and the young prince, who had but recently landed in his hereditary dominions, where he had so hardly been recognised as king, made immediate preparations to return to his beloved Germany to claim the barren title of emperor.[1]

If the Spaniards had up to this been indignant, they now became rebellious, and if any possible pretender could have been found throughout the length and breadth of Spain, the young kaiser would have been sorely put to it to retain his Spanish crown. But the pretender was not forthcoming, for the popular young Ferdinand had been prudently spirited away.

To provide for the expenses of Charles' expedition a new subsidy was required; and the emperor-elect could think of nothing better calculated to allay the irritation among his Spanish subjects, than to summon a Cortes to vote the needful supplies, which should meet, not at Burgos, nor at Valladolid, but in the wildest and most distant corner of the Peninsula, at Santiago de Compostella, in Gallicia.[2] At Santiago, accordingly, the Commons assembled, at the end of March, 1520, well prepared with petitions and remonstrances against the king's proceedings. On the first critical division the court party could only secure a majority of *one* in the chamber; but the sitting having been adjourned to Corunna, and every art of flattery, of menace, with bribery, direct and indirect, having been lavished by the king upon the members of the Cortes, the subsidy was finally voted, and Charles sailed away the next morning, leaving his faithful Commons to reckon with their enraged constituents.[3]

[1] Not having been crowned by the Pope, Charles was considered to be only emperor-elect, and entitled to be styled *King of the Romans*. It would be somewhat pedantic so to speak of him. Yet it must be remembered that his Imperial position, technically, was incomplete. It is sufficiently strange that until the death of Joanna, in 1555, he was not *de jure* even King of Spain.

[2] The departure of the new emperor from Barcelona was anything but dignified. He withdrew himself suddenly from his palace during a storm of rain, and anticipated by a few minutes the approach of a body of some 6000 armed citizens who had intended to prevent his departure.

[3] Demonstrations against the deputies broke out before Charles left Corunna. The revolt rapidly spread through Castile, the property of most of the deputies being destroyed, and they themselves hanged.—H.

The immediate destination of Charles, when he set sail from Corunna on the 20th of May, 1520, was not Flanders, but England: and on the 26th of May he landed at Dover. His interview with his uncle, Henry VIII., was cordial in the extreme, and in spite of the magnificent and flattering reception of the King of England but a few days later by Francis I., "'twixt Guines and Ard," on the *Field of the Cloth of Gold*, the alliance between Charles and Henry was undisturbed. A return visit, indeed, was paid by the King of England to the emperor-elect at Gravelines on the 10th of July; and on the 14th of the same month a secret treaty was signed at Calais, by which both princes engaged themselves to refrain from any alliance with France. But we are concerned not with the history of Europe nor of the empire, but with that of the Spanish people.

III.—*The Germania of Valencia.*

The antagonism between the nobility and the people had always been more strongly marked in Valencia than in Aragon, or even in Castile, while the temper of the inhabitants was ever turbulent and unmanageable. In the summer of the year 1519, the plague broke out in the capital. The nobles, with many of the municipal officers, fled from the city, and the rumour spread abroad that the Moors of Algiers were about to take possession of the abandoned seaport. Some trivial outbreak displayed the power of the ungoverned citizens, and a JUNTA, or Council of Thirteen, was speedily constituted by popular election, under the leadership of two artisans, Juan Lorenza and Guillem Sorolla, who assumed the supreme power in the city.

The authorities, alarmed at the revolt, sent commissioners to the emperor-elect at Barcelona. But the delegates of the rebel council were not far behind them. Charles was about to set out for Aix-la-Chapelle, chafing at every delay, and in the worst of humours with the notables of Castile. To the noble delegates from Valencia he made answer that a Cortes should at once be summoned to meet in their city, but that as he himself could not attend, the Cardinal Adrian should preside in his stead. To the artisans he granted, whether to spite the nobles for their tardy recognition, or in pure ignorance of the gravity of the situation, the right of armed meeting and independent organisation at Valencia.

Never, surely, was coquetting with treason followed by more

swift and sudden disaster. On the last day of February, 1520, while Charles was on his way into Gallicia, the rebels, who were known by the name of *Germaneros*, held a great review at Valencia, at which 8000 armed men rallied round the standard of the *Germania*, and the Cardinal Governor was compelled to add the unwilling sanction of his presence to this declaration of civil war. Jativa, Murviedro, Segorbe, Orihuela and all the adjoining towns, with the single exception of Morella, proclaimed the *Germania*,[1] and the rebels, shouting *Viva el Rey*, everywhere took possession of the government. Unpopular nobles were hanged; houses and castles were burned or sacked. Mob law, under the uncertain guidance of the Junta, or Council of Thirteen, prevailed throughout the country. An ordinance of July, 1520, prescribed that no plebeian, of what crime soever he might be guilty, should be put to death, unless a noble was hanged at the same time, an ultra democratic system of criminal procedure unrivalled, perhaps, in the codes of the mediæval or modern world. At length the fugitive nobles took heart of grace, and seeking to unite their forces with those of the single city that held its ground against the *Germaneros*, succeeded in routing a large body of those irregular troops outside the very walls of *Morella*.[2]

This was the turning point in the insurrection. Union had been met by union. Charles, mindful at length of his former errors, sent a gracious message from Aix-la-Chapelle. The nobles were less successful at Jativa, where the citadel fell into the hands of the *Germania;* and in two or three battles during the summer of 1521, in the neighbourhood of Valencia, great numbers were slain on either side, without any decided advantage to either party. Yet the anarchy in Valencia died a natural death. An administration of hot-headed artisans was not made to endure; and before the end of the year the Junta, unconquered by king or kaiser, voluntarily abandoned their authority to their more legitimate opponents; and a few irreconcilables only retired, under the leadership of the bold velvet-cutter

[1] The one was a wool carder, the other a weaver. The word *Germania* answers exactly to the Castilian *hermandad* = a brotherhood, inasmuch as the Limousin word *Germâ* = *hermano* = brother. The fact of the association having been first heard of under a *German* king has given rise to some absurd etymologies.

[2] Morella, an inland city not far from Tortosa, at the mouth of the Ebro, was the *Castra Ælia* of the Romans and the winter quarters of Sertorius. It is still a strong, as well as a most picturesque, frontier fortress, with its steep streets, Moorish walls and towers; standing, as it does, upon a height to all appearance impregnable.

Vicente Peris, to make a last stand at the little town of *Jativa*.

The Roman Valeria Augusta, the Setabis of earlier days, and the Xativa of the Moors, a city famous under every dynasty that bore rule in the Peninsula, Jativa stands upon a height overlooking the sea, and its lofty castle commands an extensive view over the green *Vega* of Valencia, whose gardens are a "paradise of flowers and fruit"; the richest land in all Spain.[1] From December, 1521, to May, 1522, the town held out. A sudden assault was even made by the garrison upon the neighbouring capital; but Vicente Peris was killed in the streets, and the insurgents were repulsed with heavy loss.

A royal or pseudo-royal pretender, who is supposed to have been a Castilian Jew, took the place of the velvet-cutter at Jativa, and, asserting that he was a legitimate son of Prince John of Castile and Margaret of Flanders, made head for some weeks against the regular government. This new leader was treacherously killed on the 19th of May, and his body burned by the Holy Office; yet Jativa did not submit to the besiegers until the following September; although the garrison was reduced to such slender proportions that the walls are said to have been entirely defended by women for some weeks before the final surrender.[2] The usual executions followed the inevitable success; and order at length reigned at Valencia.

IV.—*The Comuneros of Castile.*

In the meantime Castile had been the scene of popular disturbances, more extensive, more remarkable, and in every way more serious than those of the Germania of Valencia—being rather a quasi-constitutional revolt, better known in general history as the war of the *Comunidades*, or *Comuneros* of Castile.

As Charles was on the point of setting out from Corunna for Flanders, the news had reached him of a rising at Toledo; and the return of the deputies to Segovia was the signal for a new outbreak of popular indignation against the king who had abandoned his country to rapacious foreigners, and against the

[1] The home of the Borgias and the birth-place in later days (1588) of Ribera, the painter. No stronger fortress, no richer magazine could have been found within reach of Valencia.

[2] The rising of the *Germania* extended also to Majorca, where the civil war was attended with many horrors, but was more promptly suppressed by the despatch of a royal fleet.

delegates who had been unfaithful to their trust. That the Flemings should monopolise the administration of Castile, and send sackfuls of gold *castellanos* out of the country by every ship that sailed from Spain for the north, was bad enough. But that the representatives of the Castilian cities, who had followed their flying king into far-away Gallicia, to remonstrate with him upon his conduct, should have been prevailed upon to burden their fellows with unusually oppressive taxation, to provide an enormous subsidy for his foreign enterprises—that, at least, was not to be borne. The returning deputies were received as traitors to Castile. At Segovia, where heads were ever hot and hands hasty, they were promptly hanged by their constituents. The representatives of Zamora more prudently kept away from their city; and were no less promptly, if less effectively, burnt in effigy.

At Madrid, at Guadalajara, at Alcalá, at Soria, at Toro, at Avila, at Cuenca, the people rose. Blood was spilt by the authorities and by the rebels; but as yet the disturbances were local and special protests, rather than civil war. At Burgos the appointment as corregidor of a good Castilian, the Constable Iñigo de Velasco, was hailed with satisfaction even by such zealous tribunes of the people as Doctor Zumiel; and everywhere the cry was "Long live the king! Death to his evil councillors!" *Viva el Rey! y mueran los malos ministros!* But the king was far away. The evil councillors had been left behind. Castile drifted from remonstrance into rebellion; and Cardinal Adrian, returning from Santiago, undertook savage measures of repression.

Medina del Campo, in the year of grace 1521, was one of the richest cities in Castile. It was not only the great mart and emporium of central Spain, but it had long been one of the favourite places of residence of the Castilian court. The prudence of Cardinal Ximenez had established a vast magazine of military stores within the walls. Three great fairs in each year attracted the merchants and traders of every country in Europe. Nowhere was to be found such a profusion of costly stuffs, of fine cloth, of rich brocades, of tapestries, of carpets. The jewellers, moreover, and workers in metals of every kind were no less celebrated than their brother craftsmen.

Medina was not only an emporium, it was a granary. Lying in the centre of the great wheat country of the Peninsula, its merchants supplied at once all the necessaries and all the luxuries of life. But Medina had assisted Segovia in its op-

position to the foreigner, and the foreigner revenged himself without mercy. The city was taken, plundered, burnt. Nine hundred houses are said to have been utterly destroyed. Of the rich merchandise within them, nothing was left to the owners or to Spain. Medina was ravaged beyond restoration. Nor did the city at any time recover or seek to renew its old importance. Trade was turned into other channels. Riches no longer sought a home in the blackened ruins. And although the proud name of Medina del Campo is still borne by the little town which gives its name to a modern railway station in Castile, there is nothing left to remind the traveller of the glories of a forgotten past.[1]

The destruction of Medina del Campo was the signal for civil war. Every town and city prepared to assert its rights. The tocsin was rung in Valladolid, the seat of the Viceregal Government. Burgos declared for the *Comuneros*. Nor were the central provinces alone affected. In Aragon, indeed, thanks to the great influence of the nobles, domestic peace was maintained.[2] But the insurrection spread from Castile to the southern provinces. Badajoz and Seville, Jaen, Ubeda and Baeza sent their delegates to a popular assembly at Avila, which was known as the *Junta Santa*. Nothing could have been less like the conduct of the *Germaneros* at Valencia than that of the *Comuneros* of Castile. Nothing could be more orderly than the meeting of their assembly. Nothing could be more reasonable than their declaration of grievances. They expressed their loyalty to the king, their desire for peace and good order, their detestation only of the foreigners and their oppression. The appointment of a stranger to act as Regent of Castile was pronounced unconstitutional, and Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht was invited to resign his charge.

At this critical moment all eyes were turned to poor Joanna, the legitimate Queen of Spain, shut up in prison at Tordesillas. The cardinal, ignoring the State fiction of her insanity, applied to her for a confirmation of his authority as regent. Surprised at this sudden manifestation of respect, the queen, not unwisely, hesitated; and before she had satisfied herself of the reasonableness of Adrian's demands, Juan de Padilla and Juan Bravo, the leaders of the *Comuneros*, made

[1] There are now (1894) about 4000 inhabitants, thanks to the new railway station.

[2] It may be added that Aragon had not the same reason for rising as Castile. The Cortes of Aragon had only grudgingly voted the usual supplies.—H.

their appearance at the castle, and demanded her royal assistance for Spain.

Joanna, shut out from all knowledge of contemporary affairs, might well have been perplexed at the situation; yet she seems to have behaved with considerable discretion. Her signature was not affixed to the decree submitted by the regent, but Padilla received a commission as Captain-General of the kingdom, and the *Santa Junta* was invited to assemble at Tordesillas, where the learned Doctor Zuñiga of Salamanca, exposed to the queen, in repeated audiences, the grievances that vexed the people of Castile.

The political fable of Joanna's madness was thus entirely forgotten by her contemporaries; and historians are content, as a rule, with the assertion that she was enjoying a "lucid interval"; yet it was not to be supposed that the feeble and ignorant prisoner could direct a constitutional revolution. No Berengaria was she to steer a bold and prudent course amid the rocks of contending factions; nor did any saviour of society stand forward in these trying times. The hour had come, but not the man. Padilla and Bravo were good enough as *guerilleros*. The Junta was composed of worthy citizens; but a leader of men was not found in Spain. Yet the result would have been very different, had not the Castilian nobles, more jealous of the power of the Commons than of the authority of the foreigner, held aloof from Tordesillas, or declared for Charles of Hapsburg.[1] The people, unaided by their natural and national leaders, became at once unruly and despondent. Joanna hesitated, and was forgotten.

A letter of remonstrance in very humble language was addressed by the Junta to Charles, and the young emperor, who showed at least a juster appreciation of the situation than might have been supposed from his former proceedings, shut up the bearer in the Imperial prison at Worms; vouchsafed no reply to his rebellious subjects; but wrote urgent letters to his Flemings in Spain, commanding them to seek the assistance and support of the native nobility: while at the same time he appointed the

[1] This was to a great extent the fault of the *Comuneros* themselves. In their great petition of eighty-two clauses, embodying a perfect scheme of advanced reform in all branches of political life, they were unwise enough to include demands directed against the privileges of the nobles. They must be debarred from office in the revenue or domains and royal fortresses; their towns and lands must be assessed for taxation like the property of commoners; no more grants of nobility must be made, and so on. This naturally turned the nobility against the movement.—H.

Constable Iñigo de Velasco and the Admiral of Spain, Don Fadrique Henriquez, to be coadjutors of the discredited regent. No conduct could have been more discreet. Spain at length felt the firm hand of a master. Burgos returned to its allegiance. Simancas had never joined the *Comuneros*. The queen remained at Tordesillas. The Junta had wasted precious time; and an ill-considered attempt to enlist the services of one of the great territorial lords was attended with the most disastrous consequences, when Don Pedro Giron, the eldest son of the Count of Ureña, was named Captain-General of the popular forces, in place of the brave Juan de Padilla. That noble-hearted and true patriot was content, indeed, with a subordinate command in the army of his countrymen; but Don Pedro, gained over by an ecclesiastical emissary from the royal camp, treacherously withdrew his forces on the approach of the Imperialists. Tordesillas was taken and sacked; the queen was once more subjected to a rigorous imprisonment; and the traitor Giron was suffered to return to his estates.[1]

The disaster was irreparable. Yet the insurrection was far from being suppressed. Juan de Padilla, notwithstanding the jealous opposition of the President of the Junta, Don Pedro Laso de la Vega, was re-elected Captain-General of the *Comuneros;* and a severe blow was inflicted by him upon the Imperialists near the ruins of Medina del Campo; but a want of harmony in the councils of the insurgents prevented their chief from recovering Tordesillas, and once more setting free the queen. Torrelobaton, indeed, was taken. But the advantage was not followed up, and the insurgent leaders were amused by negotiations with the Imperialists, while Pedro Laso de la Vega was making his own terms for the betrayal of the Junta with the regent and his Flemish advisers. The blue blood of Castile had, indeed, lost its ancient virtue.

Bishop Acuña of Zamora, a sexagenarian prelate of the good old fighting school that had well-nigh passed away, remained the sole chief and director of the national party; and he was proclaimed Archbishop of Toledo by a tumultuous assembly in the cathedral of the metropolitan city. Prior Zuñiga, his rival in camp and choir, took advantage of his absence within the sacred precincts of Toledo—it was on Good Friday, 1521—to attack

[1] D. Pedro Laso de Vega, President of the Junta, had unhappily become jealous of Juan de Padilla. Señor Lafuente (xi., 173) justly takes Robertson to task for his ignorance and want of appreciation of the contemporary history of Castile, in supposing that Giron was no traitor.

and plunder the neighbouring town of Mora, where some 4000 *Comuneros*, who had taken refuge in the church, were burnt alive within the very walls of the disregarded sanctuary.

The evil passions that had been so constantly fed with the blood of Jews and Moors and Indians were now directed without restraint against Catholics and Castilians. But the conduct of those who fought for the Fleming and the foreigner seems, upon a calm review of the circumstances, to have been more atrocious by far than that of the humbler patriots who fought, albeit unwisely, for the ancient privileges of Castile. Yet it was but natural that, as the contest was continued, the character of the rising should have changed; and that what was at first little more than a political demonstration—a remonstrance, unconstitional, but not unprovoked—should have become a desultory and aimless rebellion, an exhibition of the old antagonism between the Have-nots and the Haves.

The nobility, lukewarm from the first, were completely alienated by the excesses of the *Comuneros*. The Junta ceased even to direct the movements of its former supporters. The end was not far off. On 23rd April, 1521, at Villalar a little town between Toro and Torrelobaton, the insurgent army, marching unadvisedly across a morass, was surprised and cut to pieces by the Imperialists without the loss of a single man. It was a massacre, not a battle; and it sealed the fate of the insurrection.

Padilla, Maldonado and Bravo, the three chiefs of the Communal forces, were taken prisoners, and immediately executed, under circumstances of extreme indignity. Yet the noble widow of Padilla continued the contest for a few months, and added her name to the long roll of honour of the many heroines of Spain.

Doña Maria Pacheco, a daughter of the Count of Tendilla, and a sister of the Marquis of Villena, in whose frail and delicate body was found a spirit no less bold than that of her noble husband, had married Juan de Padilla in the year 1505. She was residing at the time of the massacre of Villalar, in her husband's house at Toledo. She had won the admiration of the citizens, not long before, by a solemn and ceremonious appropriation of the church plate to the needs of the *Comunidad*, a piece of patriotic sacrilege so reverentially executed, that even the cathedral clergy did not venture to oppose it, though it was not likely that they should approve or forget it; and on hearing of the disaster at Villalar, Doña Maria took upon herself the defence of the city. Acuña, the fighting Bishop of Zamora, was content

for some time to lend her his valuable support; but at length, judging, no doubt, that further resistance had become impossible, he stole out of the city by night, and falling into the hands of the implacable Prior of San Juan, he was sent to the castle of Simancas, where he was subsequently executed[1] after five years' imprisonment, in March, 1526. Doña Maria, seeing that no hope remained of useful resistance, and willing to cut short the horrors of a siege, obtained from Prior Zuñiga, who commanded the besiegers, most honourable terms of capitulation, which were signed at the neighbouring monastery of La Sisla, by virtue of which Toledo opened its gates to the Imperial troops on the 25th of October, 1521.[2]

But the peace was of short duration. In the course of some ecclesiastical rejoicings at the election of Cardinal Adrian to the Popedom in January, 1522, some insult was offered by an *Imperialist* to a *Comunero*. The latter, retaliating somewhat warmly, was hanged the next day by order of the governor. The streets were filled with troops. Popular resistance was of no avail. The *Comunero* fled or were driven out of the city. The treaty of La Sisla was declared violated and annulled. Doña Maria herself hardly found safety in flight across the frontier into Portugal.[3] *Asi*, says Señor Lafuente, *acabó el levantamiento de las Comunidades.*

But something far more than an insurrection had been destroyed at Villalar, when the Castilian nobles betrayed their brothers, the commons of the realm, that a foreign priest and a foreign emperor might imprison the Queen of Castile; and when Juan de Padilla, the last of those sturdy Spaniards who "feared neither[4] king nor rook" was surprised and butchered at Villalar,

[1] He was hanged from the battlements, by order of Ronquillo, with the approbation of Charles V. Lafuente, xi., 259.

[2] The first article of this celebrated treaty is sufficiently characteristic. It provides that Toledo, in spite of rebellion and capitulation, should retain its title of "most noble and most loyal".

[3] She died unpardoned by Charles, in March, 1531.

[4] In the summer of 1522, Charles, attended by a long train of Flemish courtiers, and protected by no less than 4000 German troops, once more set foot in Spain. On the 16th of July, he landed at Santander, and travelling by way of Tordesillas, where he paid a brief visit to his mother in prison, he proceeded to set up his court at Valladolid, and to deal with the extinct rebellion of the *Comunidades*. And it was here, on the 28th of October, 1522, nearly a year after the surrender of Toledo, and a year and a half after the massacre at Villalar, that he promulgated that celebrated edict of pardon of his late rebellious subjects, whose wise clemency has called forth the extravagant eulogiums of subsequent historians. As a matter of fact, the principal leaders of the revolt had already suffered the extreme penalty of the law—some before, and some after the return of their

it was not the death of a hero that Castile was called upon to deplore; it was the final destruction of the Free National Life of the Spanish people.

sovereign from Germany. Castile, which had never been really disloyal to Charles himself, was now profoundly tranquil. And yet in this tardy *universal Pardon* are found the names of no less than *three hundred* Spaniards of distinction withdrawn from its sphere of mercy. It was not, perhaps, unwise; it was not iniquitously cruel; but it was certainly not extravagantly clement. The double traitor, Don Pedro Giron, was the only one of the leaders of the *Comunidad* that was ever suffered to enjoy the royal or Imperial favour. *Cf.* Gudiel, *Hist. de los Girones*, fol. 151 *et seq.*

CHAPTER LXII.

ARCHITECTURE.

I.—*Christian Architecture.*

Down to the middle of the eleventh century the architecture of Christian Spain was characteristically and essentially national. Known in the language of Spanish art as the *obra de los Godos*, the style was truly *Gothic*, and had nothing in common with that later and nobler development of the art of the builder which is known in England by the somewhat misleading name of Gothic architecture. The only remains of this early Spanish art that are still in existence, are to be found, as might be supposed, in the extreme north of the Peninsula, in the old kingdom of Leon or of the Asturias to the west, and in the county of Barcelona to the east of the Pyrenees.

The earliest remaining example of this *obra de los Godos* in Spain is said to be the Church of Santa Maria de Naranco near Oviedo, which is the work of the middle of the ninth century, while the Church of St. Paul at Barcelona,[1] where Wilfrid *the Hairy* lies buried (*ob.* 912), is probably of about the same period. Santa Maria de Naranco is not particularly characteristic of the old Gothic work, for the building is rather Romanesque, both in design and in detail, and it is chiefly interesting, according to Mr. Fergusson, in that it exhibits the Spaniards, in the

[1] Mr. Street sees no reason to doubt the antiquity of this church, which is described very fully by him in his *Gothic Architecture in Spain* (1868), pp. 229-290, and pp. 413-415. See also Masdeu, xiii., 154; and Cean Bermudez, *Viaie.* The principal churches of the eighth century are Santa Cruz (*circ.* 735?), at Cangas de Onis; San Salvador at Oviedo; San Juan Evangelista at Pravia; and the Cathedral at Urgel. Of the ninth century—San Tirso, San Julian, Santa Maria, and Nuestra Señora de Oviedo; San Marcello at Leon; and the Cathedral of Santiago at Compostella. Of the tenth century—the Cathedral of Leon; and of the eleventh century—the Cathedral of Barcelona.

See as to Santa Cruz de Cangas, Street, 412; *Esp. Sagr.*, xxxvii., 86; and Ford (1878), p. 224; and as to Santa Añes de Pravia, Street, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

middle of the ninth century, trying to adapt a Pagan temple to Christian purposes, as if they had been unable to elaborate any kind of *Ecclesia* in which they might assemble for worship, from their own artistic conceptions. St. Paul's at Barcelona is more original and more characteristic, as is the church of St. Pedro de los Gallegos at neighbouring Gerona, which is also the work of the tenth century.

From this time till the close of the eleventh century there was little or no change or development in Spanish art or construction. But about the time of the Norman conquest of England, the incursion of French ecclesiastics from Citeaux and Cluny, the interference of the Pope in the affairs of the Spanish Church and churches, and the general awakening of the country, led to a revolution in the Christian architecture of the Peninsula. Catalonia then came to belong artistically to Aquitaine, and Leon to Anjou, and while the eastern provinces were in the hands of a Latin people, the inhabitants of the western must have been rather Gothic or Iberian in blood, and their style is strongly marked with the impress of their race.

The Romanesque or Franco-Spanish may be said to have sprung into existence about 1066, and endured for two centuries in Spain. Introduced, in the first instance, from the north of the Pyrenees,[1] it gradually assumed a distinctively Spanish character; bold, simple and effective; with round arches, and pointed windows freely introduced.

Of the ancient and famous church that was founded in 868, and consecrated before the close of the ninth century, nothing now remains at Compostella; and the foundations of a new and more splendid edifice were laid somewhat less than 100 years later (1060-1070). The actual date of the commencement of the work is uncertain; but it was apparently completed under Diego Gelimez, the first archbishop of Santiago, about the year 1110.[2] Yet constant additions and alterations were made from the time of its first completion; and the ancient exterior is at

[1] Under the special patronage of Alfonso VI.—the destroyer of the national liturgy—and his French wife, Constance of Burgundy, and his French archbishop, Bernard of Toledo. See as to their influence more particularly, *ante*, chap. xxii.

[2] See the contemporary *Historia Compostelana*, reprinted by Florez in the *España Sagrada*, tom. xx. and *ib.*, tom. xix., p. 91.

The work was begun certainly not later than 1082, and completed *before* 1117. The building, as regards the general plan, is nearly identical with the Church of St. Sernin at Toulouse, which was begun in 1060, and consecrated in 1096. The bones of St. James are said to lie at Toulouse as well as at Compostella. See Street, 145; and *Transactions of Royal Institution of British Architects* (1861) as to St. Sernin at Toulouse.

the present day almost entirely overlaid with more modern masonry, though the interior has suffered less than usual at the hands of the workmen of the Renaissance.[1]

Somewhat similar in character to the great Cathedral of Santiago is the Church of St. Isidore at Leon, which is probably 200 years older than the Cathedral of that famous city, having been founded in 1030 by Ferdinand I. for the reception of the bones of St. Isidore, which were miraculously discovered and brought from Moslem Seville, as has been already related.[2]

Both the city walls and the cathedral at Avila were constructed in the last decade of the eleventh century. The walls remain to-day just as they were built nearly 800 years ago, and their round towers and solid masonry are a standing witness to the turbulent age that rendered such fortifications necessary, and to the good and honest workmen who raised them round about their city.

The Cathedral at Sigüenza was consecrated in 1123. The present nave is of a later period, but the work, both inside and out, is simple and characteristic. The first stone of the Burgos Cathedral was laid in 1221, and the work was carried on until the end of the sixteenth century. The first stone of Lerida Cathedral was laid in 1203, and the structure was probably completed in 1416. The great bell is said to have been cast in 1418. The cathedral itself is of surpassing interest and beauty. The cloisters were pronounced by Mr. Street to be "the grandest that he had ever seen"; and the whole is distinguished from contemporary work in France and England by that richness of detail and profusion of ornament that characterises almost every period of Spanish architecture.[3]

In 1227, when the older style originally introduced from France had developed itself into something peculiar to Spain, and before the new wave of French influence had spread over the country, the Spanish architects designed a church which was

[1] The great west front, known as the *Portica de la Gloria*, "the crowning glory of the Cathedral of Compostella, and one of the greatest glories of ecclesiastical architecture in Christendom," was completed about 1188. Street, 153. There is a plaster copy of this noble doorway in the South Kensington Museum.

[2] *Ante*, chap. xvi. The name of the architect, Petrus, is found in an inscription on the door of the church. See Gil Gonsalez Davila, *Teatro Ecclesiastico*, tom. i., pp. 340-356; *Esp. Sagrad.*, tom. xxxv., 350-360; Street, 120-128.

[3] See Street, *op. cit.*, p. 351. Characteristic, however, and beautiful as are these details, the great feature of the early Spanish style is the *Cimborio* or dome, which usually occurs at the intersection of the nave with the transept. Perhaps the most perfect example of such a dome is that which crowns the old cathedral at Salamanca, and dates from the first year of the thirteenth century.

to exceed in size, as well as beauty, anything that then existed in western Europe, the great cathedral on the banks of the Spanish Tagus. As early as 587, and probably for many years earlier, a Christian church had stood on the site of the present Cathedral at Toledo. At the conquest in 711 the church was converted into a mosque, enlarged and greatly embellished by the Arabs. On the cession to the Christians under Alfonso VI., in 1085, when the young Prince Yahia abandoned his noble patrimony and retired to Valencia, it was expressly stipulated that the Moslems should retain it as a place of worship. But within two months from the departure of the Moslem king, the Mosque was forcibly occupied and consecrated by Bertrand the French Archbishop, who had lately arrived from Cluny. Of this second building—as of its predecessor on the same site, nothing now remains.

The first stone of the new edifice was laid by St. Ferdinand in 1226 or 1227, about the same time as the work of cathedral building was begun at Salisbury and Amiens, and it was many long years before the great church was completed. The ground plan and the details for some distance from the foundations are French in character; and although Moorish influence may be seen to some extent in the later work, the whole church, says Mr. Street, is "a grand protest against Mohammedan architecture"; nor can any city in the Middle Ages show anything "so distinctly intended and so positive in its opposition to what was being done at the same time by other architects." The edifice, as completed, is larger than any Christian church in England, France, or Germany, though it holds only the third place among the cathedrals of Spain.[1]

An indifferent husk, says Mr. Fergusson, encases a noble interior. In spite of French design and Arab suggestion, the

[1] The superficial area of the great cathedrals of Europe is approximately as follows. I have taken the measurements, as a rule, from Fergusson:—

St. Peter's	230,000 square feet.
Cordova	160,000 ,,
Seville	125,000 ,,
Milan	110,000 ,,
Toledo	90,000 ,,
Cologne	89,000 ,,
Florence	85,000 ,,
St. Paul's	84,000 ,,
Agia Sofia	70,000 ,,

The inclusion or exclusion from the measurements of the various chapels in the case of *Toledo* has caused a great discrepancy in the different estimates, which vary from 75,000 to 105,000 square feet. I trust I have arrived at a fair mean.

work is essentially Spanish, and the treatment of the choir and of the screen surrounding it is one of the glories of Castilian architecture, and perhaps the richest specimen of its class in Europe.[1]

The noble cathedral at Leon was built between 1250 and 1310; and that of Oviedo is of the same architectural period; while in the far north-east, the Cathedral of Barcelona, which is highly praised for its "cheerfulness" and "elegance,"[2] was also erected in the fruitful years between 1270 and 1330. But between the north-east and the north-west there are well marked differences of style. The structural width, which is so constantly aimed at by the early Spanish designers, more especially in the north-east, is carried to excess in the church at Manresa, which is but two hundred feet long, and fully one hundred feet in breadth. In the great Cathedral of Gerona the central aisle has a clear span of fifty-six feet, and while the length is but one hundred and sixty feet, the width is no less than seventy-three feet clear. If it is remembered that the normal width of the naves of the largest English and French cathedrals is about forty feet, and this in buildings three or even four hundred feet in length, the boldness of these Spanish constructors becomes the more apparent. Nor can the abnormal width of the buildings be considered as in any degree an artistic blemish or deformity. "As it stands," says Mr. Fergusson, "the church at Gerona must be looked upon as one of the most successful designs of the Middle Ages, and one of the most original in Spain."[3]

But while Gothic churches were being erected under French tuition in the north and centre of Spain, another style was developing itself under Moorish influence in the south, which failed to have any lasting effect on the national art, owing to the antagonism of race and religion between the Spaniard and the Arab, or rather the growing intolerance on the part of the Christians to adopt or allow anything that savoured of Islam.

We have seen that from the beginning of the eighth to the beginning of the thirteenth centuries, the Peninsula was largely peopled by Christians who lived under the Arab government, and were known as *Mozarabs*. By the middle of the thirteenth century, when James of Aragon and St. Ferdinand of Castile had recovered the greater part of Spain, the Moslems continued to dwell in many of the towns and districts, more especially in

[1] Fergusson, *History of Architecture* (1867), vol. ii., pp. 139-142.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 144. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

the south, under the new Christian rulers, and were known as *Moriscos* or *Mudejares*.[1]

The chief industries of the country remained for a long time in the hands of this more cultivated section of the population, and many Christian churches and other buildings of importance were built by them during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Accommodating their own architectural taste and traditions to Christian requirements, they created a new and mixed style, which is technically known in the Spanish Peninsula as *Mudejar*. Of this style we have still remaining the *Alcazar* of Seville, of 1353; the Mudejar gates of Toledo and Saragossa, and the Chapel of St. James in Alcalá de Henares.[2]

As examples of civil or non-ecclesiastical architecture, the finest remaining in this style are the *Cas de Pilatos* at Seville, the palace of Mendoza at Guadalajara, the archbishop's palace at Alcalá, and the *Casa de Mesa* at Toledo.

But although comparatively few examples of this most interesting style are now to be found,[3] the influence of Arab art is seen in every quarter of the Peninsula, and shows itself more particularly in the extreme richness of the ornamentation into which the Spanish architects were so often tempted, even when expressing themselves in Gothic and Renaissance details.

The Cathedral at Seville is at once the largest and the grandest of all mediæval cathedrals. But although it is not, like the Mezquita at neighbouring Cordova, itself a Moslem temple, it was erected on the site of the mosque, which was cleared away to make room for it, and whose tower the Giralda yet remains to tell of its old Moslem magnificence.[4] Excluding the chapel behind the altar, a sixteenth century excrescence, the cathedral is four hundred and fifteen feet in length by three hundred feet in width, and is thus somewhat

[1] Ford (1878), Introd., p. 56.

[2] W. Webster, *Spain*, p. 196; Cean Bermudez, *Noticias*, ii., p. 7. The *Alcazar* was "restored" by Peter the Cruel, by Charles V., Philip II., Philip III., and Ferdinand VII.!

[3] The most noteworthy examples of this style, according to Fergusson, are the Church of Santa Maria la Blanca, of the twelfth century, and Nuestra Señora del Transito, of the fourteenth, both at Toledo, and both originally built not as mosques but as Jewish synagogues. Some other examples are described and figured by him (*History of Architecture*, ii., pp. 152-158). The only example of a Christian church, built as such, in the Moorish style is said to be the Church of Santiago de Penalva in *el Vierzo*. See *Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1865; and Ford (1878), pp. 206-208.

[4] The first public clock that was put up in Spain is said to have been that over the cathedral at Seville, in 1400. Saez, *Demostracion de Monedas*, p. 445.

larger than the noble church at Milan, and exceeded only by St. Peter's and the Mezquita among the Christian churches of the world. The building was commenced about the year 1400, and was not completed until 1520, when St. Peter's at Rome was already far advanced in construction. Seville Cathedral is a truly Spanish church—immense, sombre, magnificent—the work of a native architect whose name has perished; rising like Spain itself from the ruins of Arab splendour, touched but hardly effected by French influence—splendidly, superbly incomplete!

The tower of La Giralda is, according to Mr. Fergusson, a more massive structure than is to be found elsewhere as the work of Moslem architects. At the base it is forty-five feet square, and it rises to a height of one hundred and eighty-five feet. A modern belfry of narrower dimensions was added in 1568 by Ferdinand Ruiz (?), which raises the tower ninety-five feet more, making it two hundred and seventy-five feet high at the present day.[1] How the original tower was completed we do not know. The idea that it was fitted as an observatory is scouted by Fergusson, who inclines to the theory that it was built by Yusuf the Almoravide to commemorate his great victory at Alarcon in 1195. As such a pillar of victory, says he, it is superior to most of those erected in Europe in the Middle Ages, and contrasts pleasingly with the contemporary Campanile at Venice, which, though nearly of the same dimensions, is, like most of the Italian towers of the same age, lean and bald compared with the tower at Seville.[2]

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, when what is called Gothic architecture was becoming gradually debased, and all western Europe was bent on supplanting it by the introduction of classical styles, Spain still clung to her old traditions, and the Cathedral of Salamanca, which was commenced in 1513, and that of Sevogia in 1523, are both true Spanish Tudesque designs, scarce influenced by the stress of the Renaissance.

But it is in the cloisters of Spanish monasteries and churches that the progress of Spanish architecture may be studied even more fruitfully than in the churches themselves. For the open

[1] Ford (1878, p. 300), says 250 feet, *plus* 100 feet.

The Campanile at Venice is 160 feet from the ground to the platform, and 124 feet more to the top, in all 284 feet. Girault de Prangey, pp. 103-112, *Essai sur l'Architecture des Arabes et des Mores en Espagne* (1841).

[2] *Op. cit.*, 404. If the tower of Giralda is surpassed in the world in size and beauty of construction, it is by another Moslem work, the Kutub Minar at Delhi, which is 240 feet in height at the present day—how much more we know not in the day of its prime—and forty-eight feet in diameter at its base.

cloister is peculiarly appropriate to the Spanish climate, and in the proportions and ornament of the arcades and patios, in the arches and the tracery, the artists of the Peninsula, largely influenced by Moorish models as well as native necessities, have ever taken their chief delight, and shown their most striking originality and skill.[1] In the gradual development, from the simple arcade of Gerona, dating from the earliest years of the twelfth century, to the exuberant caprice at San Juan de los Reyes, completed some 400 years later, we may read the progress of Spanish art.

Of domestic architecture earlier than the sixteenth century we have few records or remains. The cities possessed no municipal buildings like those of northern Europe; private houses in the towns were unimportant or artistically uninteresting, and the castles of the old nobility, whose ruins may still be seen throughout the country, have found no native student or foreign artist to examine, to catalogue, or to describe them.[2]

[1] The cloisters of Sigüenza were completed about 1507; of Palencia, 1514; of Tarragona, in 1520; and of Santiago, 1533. Street, p. 471. As to the cloisters of Las Huelgas, near Burgos, and of Tarazona, and as to the Spanish cloisters generally, see Fergusson, ii., 159-161.

[2] Fergusson, *op. cit.*, ii., 162, 163. See also Street, *op. cit.*, pp. 436-438. Referring to the castles of Segovia and of Coca in Castile, and of Olite in Aragon, Mr. Fergusson says that a monograph of the military architecture of Spain during the Middle Ages would be almost as interesting as that of her ecclesiastical remains. A history of Spanish architecture in general would be more interesting still. Of the 1500 pages of which Mr. Fergusson's *History of Architecture* is composed, only forty-two are devoted to the architecture of Spain (120-162). Of the same author's *History of Modern Styles*, twenty-eight pages, out of 580, is the somewhat more liberal proportion (pp. 147-175); while in Bucknall's edition of *Viodet le duc's Lectures*, the words Spain or Spanish do not ever occur in the index. Mr. Tavernor Perry, in his recent *Chronology* (1893), ignores altogether the Obra de los Godos or the architecture of any kind in north-west Spain until the middle of the eleventh century. Not a single building at Oviedo is referred to in any part of his work, nor are any Spanish buildings but Leon and Gerona set down in his very full chronological lists before Santiago at the end of the twelfth century.

Mr. Street's celebrated work, true to its title, *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain*, is in no sense a history of Spanish architecture, nor even of Gothic architecture in Spain. It is a record of intelligent examination of a number of churches, and other buildings, with plans and sketches of the very highest value and interest; but of progress, of development, of the evolution even of *Tudesque* art in the Peninsula, of the influences within and without, that made the churches what they were, Mr. Street neither gives, nor professes to give, any account whatsoever. Nor has any modern Spanish artistic writer supplied the want. The work of Caveda (*Ensayo*, etc., Madrid, 1848), which I have consulted without much profit, is supposed to be the standard work on the subject; and though many interesting monographs upon the various cities in Spain have been recently published with many admirable illustrations, no author as far as I know has ever attempted to do more than describe particular buildings. A history of Spanish architecture has yet to be written.

II.—*Moslem Architecture.*

The origin of the Arabian styles of architecture is to be found no doubt at Constantinople. How a Greek art already dead, and a Roman art dying or decadent, can have originated the style that is conventionally known as Byzantine, it is somewhat hard to say; for the Byzantine differed, not only in detail but in principle, from all that is known to us of earlier European architecture. Strength was the great characteristic of the Greek; lightness the distinguishing feature of the Byzantine. The Parthenon would support a roof of ten times the weight that was actually placed upon the walls. *Santa Sofia* has just so much solidity and no more as may carry its exquisite cupola. As regards the material employed, the difference is no less remarkable. Huge stones characterise the Greek; small bricks the Byzantine; the pillars of the one are massive, simple, single, each one standing magnificently alone. The columns of the other are light, slender, graceful, and are frequently coupled, grouped and twisted. The difference between the Greek roof and the Byzantine cupola is even more striking; and in place of the great stones and broad slabs of a noble antiquity, a wealth of floral decoration invests the more modern style with its characteristic elegance. The ground plan of the Byzantine buildings, moreover, shows an equally radical change. The parallelogram gave place to the cuneiform and the circular. The arch, which the Greeks ignored, and which, in the hands of the Roman builder, had not yet been developed out of the primitive half-circle, is one of the favourite constructive devices of the Byzantines, and assumed in their hands every possible shape, but was ever distinguished by lightness and grace rather than by massive solidity. To derive the Byzantine, therefore, from the Greek, or even from the Roman, is rather a confession of ignorance, than an intelligent recognition of facts.

The history of Asiatic art after the battle of Issus is well-nigh a blank. It is probable that the unrecorded development of

The following works may further be consulted: Villa Amil, *España Artistica y Monumental* (1846); Parcerisa, *Recuerdos y Bellezas de España*; Chapuy, *Moyen Age Monumental et Archéologique* (1840); Wyatt, "An Architect's Notebook in Spain," *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxvii., p. 496.

The great work, the *Monumentos Architectonicos de España*, in process of publication by the Spanish Government, is too *monumental* for ordinary use. It is published in what is, I believe, called *double elephant* folio, and each of the parts or *fasciculi* requires two men to carry it about, and a special table to lay it upon. Let me here record my thanks and apologies to the attendants at the British Museum Library, whom I have occasionally victimised *ad hoc*.

architecture in western Asia from the time of Alexander to the time of Mohammed, rather than fusion of Greek and Roman systems, may have produced that Byzantine style, which has so little in common with anything that went before it in Europe. But the rise and the connection of the various architectures of the world is a subject far beyond the limited scope of this chapter. And it is at least certain that the warriors of Arabia, spreading themselves, in the seventh century, like the flowing tide over the southern dominions of the empire in Asia, found the Byzantine style of architecture already highly developed, to a great extent, no doubt, by Persian influences; that they took possession of the Christian basilicas for the celebration of their own worship, and that the edifices which were gradually raised by them for their own religious services were closely modelled upon those which already existed in the country.

The first Moslem building of which we have any record of knowledge is the Mosque of Omar, erected by that leader on the site of Solomon's Temple at Jerusalem about 637. The mosque built by Amrou at Old Cairo some five years later, and the great mosque at Damascus that was built by the Caliph Walid in 705, are among the best known of the early edifices of Islam; and they were built, without exception, under the inspiration and influence of Constantinople. After the eleventh century the Arab arts underwent a fundamental change, which resulted, in the thirteenth century, in a brilliant development, which is characterised by novelty of form as well as by beauty of ornament.

The style that was introduced into the Peninsula by the Moslem conquerors in the eighth century was what may be called pure Arab Byzantine. But from the moment of the landing of the invaders in Baetica, the influence of Roman architecture, of which so many magnificent examples were present around them, cannot have failed to make itself felt. At Merida, at Italica, at Cordova, at Alcantara, at Toledo, and at Tarragona the glorious remains of Roman greatness, of which but few have survived to our own times, still stood to impress and astonish the æsthetic invaders;[1] and it was not long before they themselves had added new glory to the architecture of Spain.

[1] At Merida, Italica, Cordova, Toledo and Tarragona.

"De ces nobles débris d'édifices élevés pour le plus part au temps d'Auguste . . . peu sont arrivés jusqu' à nous, mais les historiens Arabes racontent l'étonnement de Moussa et ses soldats á la vue des monuments . . . qu' ils supposaient être l'œuvres des génies." Girault de Prangey, *Essai*, pp. 21, 22.

An interesting account of the progress and development of Moslem architecture in Sicily at this time, as compared with that in Spain, will be found in the same work, pp. 68-100.

Of the mosque at Cordova, a brief account has been given in a former chapter of this work. It was constructed in the eighth century, and its architectural character is, above all things, simple and severe—the Arab style of Damascus and Bagdad, invested with greater dignity and with a magnificent severity by the local influence of Imperial Rome. But during the eleventh and twelfth centuries Arab art in Spain changed considerably in character. Beyond the natural and the national development and progress which is inherent in all true art, it may have been modified by Indian, by Egyptian, and by other foreign influences from Asia and Africa; and, in any case, it separated itself daily more and more from its parent, the architecture of dying Byzantium, and from the grander traditions of the more ancient Roman. Of this period of transition, interesting from so many points of view, we have unfortunately very few remnants in Spain. The sanctuary known as the Chapel of Villa Viciosa, attached to the mosque at Cordova, the Alcazar, and the Tower of the Giralda at Seville (1195) are considered by M. Girault de Prangey to be specimens of what may be called the Transition period, during which, among other changes, the stiff and formal cufic character, in which the decorative inscriptions were always written, gave place to the *Nashki*, or cursive character, that forms so striking and so characteristic a feature in the decoration of the Alhambra.

Señor Riaño, a distinguished Spanish critic of to-day, is inclined to doubt whether any existing work in Spain may be certainly attributed to that most interesting and obscure period of development between the death of Abdur Rahman an Nasir and the taking of Seville by Saint Ferdinand. The date even of the buildings that have been mentioned is most uncertain. How far they may have been changed by subsequent additions and restorations is even more hard to ascertain. And speaking generally, it is not too much to say that we know nothing of the special development of Moslem architecture in Spain during the eleventh and twelfth centuries of our era. But as soon as the thirteenth century is reached, we find a new native Arab style in the Peninsula—Moslem, no doubt, and entirely unlike the contemporary Christian architecture of Spain, yet distinctly and distinctively Spanish. And it is this style which, in the hands of the descendants of those Syrian conquerors who founded a second Damascus at Granada, reached its highest perfection on the ever-celebrated banks of the Darro.[1] It was not until the

[1] Granada was sometimes actually called Damascus. See Abulfeda, French translation (Paris, 1848), tom. ii., p. 233.

Moslem art had well-nigh forgotten the traditions of Byzantium, and revelled in its own originality, that it reached the highest pitch of perfection in the Peninsula. And if Granada did not enjoy the artistic supremacy in contemporary Europe that was universally allowed to Cordova, it was not so much that the Spanish Moslem was less powerful and his culture less directly influential, as that Europe had in two centuries become at once relatively and absolutely more civilised than before. The Christian Renaissance was at hand.[1] Yet Granada was a centre of artistic culture, less magnificent and less powerful, but no less truly artistic, and actually distinguished by a more characteristic originality and spontaneity of development, than the Cordova of the greater Caliphs. Among all the buildings, not only of Spain but of Europe, the Alhambra at Granada has long been accounted one of the greatest marvels and exemplars of superlatively graceful construction that still lives to disarm the critic, and to delight the lover of the beautiful.

The Alhambra was designed by Mohammed the Ruddy,[2] and the work, commenced by him in 1248, and carried on with zeal and good taste by his son and successor, Ibn Abdullah, was finished by his grandson, Mohammed III., about 1314. This third Mohammed also added the splendid mosque, which was destroyed only in the present century by French vandalism in 1812. Under Abdul Walid, from 1309 to 1325, and more especially under Abu Abdullah *al Ghazi* (1334 to 1351), whose name is introduced largely among the ornamental inscriptions on the walls, the decoration of the interior was completed much as it now exists to charm us after 500 years of constant neglect and ill-treatment.

To describe the indescribable is a vain task, yet a few indications of the more apparent beauties of the edifice may be attempted without impertinence. The actual construction of the Alhambra is of the rudest kind, and yet where it has been undisturbed by the hand of man, it appears almost as perfect as the day when it was executed. The walls of the towers are built of concrete, and their severe, if picturesque exterior gives

[1] It was largely the influence of Arab upon Christian art that first awoke the dormant civilisation of modern Spain. For this fine thought I am indebted to Don Juan Facundo Riaño, May, 1892.

[2] Mohammed el Ahmar was a chief of the tribe of the Beni Nasr. His name of *Ahmar*, the Red or the Ruddy, appears, strangely enough, in that of his red palace, *Al ahmara*, the Alhambra. The king, like David, was "ruddy and of a fair countenance".

no indication of the art and luxury within. They were formed externally, like the palaces of the ancient Egyptians, to impress the beholder with respect for the power and majesty of the king.[1] The grace and beauty of the interior was designed with a very different object. The inner walls are constructed of brick ;[2] the columns are of marble ; the ornamental portions are moulded in gypsum ; the mosaic pavements and dados are of baked and glazed earthenware ; and the ceilings, beams and doors are of wood. The entrances to the fortress appear to have been four, now known by the Spanish names of the *Torre de las Armas* (the Tower of Arms), *Torre de los Reyes Católicos* (the Tower of the Catholic Kings), *Torre de los siete Suelos* (the Tower of Seven Stories), and the *Puerta de Justicia*, or Gate of Justice, where the Kings of Granada sat to administer justice to every class of their subjects, and which was then, as it is now, the principal entrance into the palace. Like all the other towers of the Alhambra, it is built chiefly of concrete, the jambs of the doorway are of white marble, and the horseshoe arch, with its elegant spandrils, is of red brick.

The interior of the Alhambra, as it now exists, consists of an oblong court, with a portico of six columns at either end, and a sheet of water in the centre, which gives the name to the *Patio de la Alberca*, or Court of the Fishponds. This leads to an oblong corridor which the Spaniards called the *Sala de la barca*, the ancient Hall of Blessing.[3] Beyond this again is the yet more celebrated Hall of the Ambassadors, or Golden Saloon, a square of thirty-seven feet, sixty feet high from the floor to the centre of the dome, the largest, as well as the most imposing, of the halls of the Alhambra. At right angles to the Hall of the Fishponds, abutting on the opposite end of the Hall of the Ambassadors, is the Court of the Lions, so called from the fountain in the centre, the most perfect, and perhaps the best known portion of what remains of the palace. It is a parallelogram of 100 feet by 50, and is surrounded by a portico with small pavilions at each end. The portico and pavilions consist of 128 columns,

[1] Owen Jones, *The Alhambra* (1854), p. 23.

[2] Arab architecture, says Señor Pi y Margal, capricious and rich in the palaces, was hard, severe, inflexible in all that concerned fortifications, walls, gates, castles. D. Francisco Pi y Margal, *Granada*, 1 vol., illustrated (Barcelona, 1885), pp. 459-540.

[3] *Barkah* = blessing, an Arabic word which is many times repeated in the inscriptions on the walls. The Spaniards, having forgotten the meaning of the Arabic *Barkah*, but remembering the old name of the hall, invented the explanation of a boat-shaped room to explain their incomprehensible Barca.

supporting arches of the most delicate and elaborate finish, still retaining much of their original beauty, although the various colours of the ornaments are wanting. During the repeated restorations which the palace has from time to time undergone, the walls of this court were defaced by several coats of whitewash, beneath which it is still possible to discover traces of the original colouring. At right angles to the Court of the Lions, and in the centre of the building, are on the one side the *Sala de las dos hermanas* or Hall of the Two Sisters, on the other the Hall of the *Abencerages*, and at the end of the hall is the Court of Justice. These, with the private baths and the small Court of the Mosque, in another part of the palace, are all that remain at the present day undisturbed by the barbarous destruction, and the scarce less barbarous repairs, of successive rulers of Granada.[1]

To descant upon the varied delights of the Alhambra, even in its decay, a volume would hardly suffice. The mere mention of the Hall of the Ambassadors and the Hall of the Blessing, the Hall of the Fishponds and the Hall of the Two Sisters, the Hall of Justice and the Hall of the *Abencerages*, and the far-famed Court of the Lions, suggests beauty and grace, even to those who have not been privileged to wander through the enchanted palace.[2]

Five-and-thirty years after the departure of Boabdil, Charles V. pulled down a considerable portion of the fairy edifice to erect a modern residence for himself. But although the vandal destruction was fully accomplished in 1526, the new building was never completed, and is now to be seen, roofless and decayed, a broken toy, forgotten like the whim that suggested it, a monument only of folly, of vanity and of bad taste.

By no builders in the world, says Mr. Owen Jones, has the great rule that the architect should decorate construction, and not construct decoration, been more perfectly carried out than by the Moslem builders of the Alhambra. Every line and every curve is exactly what it should be, and where it should be; and

[1] The greatest offender, next to the Flemish Charles V., was the French General Sebastiani. M. Girault de Prangey (*op. cit.*, p. 193) calls attention to the fact that although the Alhambra is apparently the most *slightly* constructed of any of the great buildings of the world, it has successfully resisted as great or greater violence than any other—including many earthquakes.

[2] See generally A. de Beaumont, *Les Arts Decoratifs en Orient et en France* (1886); and Don Juan Facundo de Riaño, *Discurso* (Madrid, 1880), a work of special interest and originality. Upon the similarity of some forms of Persian with the Spanish modern art, especially in mural designs, see Don Garcia de Silva (Ambassador of Philip III. to the court of the Shah in 1617), published in Paris in 1668. See also Antonio Teneyro, *Itinerario* (Coimbra, 1540).

they all grow one out of another in natural as well as graceful undulations.[1] There is thus nothing excrescent, nothing that could possibly be removed without destroying the symmetry of the whole. Whether the Moors in their marvellous decoration worked on certain fixed rules, or only in accordance with a highly organised natural instinct, which they had attained by centuries of refinement and intelligent study of the works of their predecessors, we cannot tell. But as regards the colouring, we may discern at least the general rule that primary colours were used on the upper portions of the work, secondary or tertiary colours on the lower, a rule which, like all the great canons of taste, is most certainly in accordance with the law of nature.[2]

One peculiarity of the ornamentation of the Alhambra has been specially noticed by Mr. Owen Jones, and that is that although many of the ornaments or patterns are repeated in the various halls and in different positions, they always exactly fit the position that they occupy. The pattern is *never* interrupted or broken by any but a natural division. Each ornament appears specially designed and made for the particular spot in which it is found.

Of the exquisite designs that adorn every room of the palace, of the domed cupolas and the stalactite ceilings, of the glazed tiles or *azulejos* that may not be imitated even by the most skilful craftsmen of to-day, of the tracery of the windows, of the mosaic of the floors, I will not speak here. Pages might be devoted to the inscriptions alone, which are not only in the utmost degree ornamental and decorative, but served the higher purpose of directing the attention of those for whom they were displayed to nobler thoughts than any mere material beauty of form and colour. Entire poems (*ashar*) decorate the walls of the great courts of the palace, some in praise of the building itself, or of its architects, some in praise of its sovereigns, but all lofty and dignified in tone. In the shorter inscriptions that occur in the greatest profusion we find the true note of the whole, "There is no power nor strength but in God". "God is the best of protectors". "Praise to God, Eternal, Omnipotent, Merciful."

[1] In their domestic architecture the Arabs alone have almost solved the problem how to unite ventilation and ornament by means of currents of air of different temperatures. The pendulous stucco fretwork by which they conceal the angles of their apartments, serves not only for ornament, but to equalise the temperature and to admit of concealed openings whereby air can penetrate without draught or chill. Wentworth Webster, *Spain*, p. 196.

[2] Owen Jones, *The Alhambra* (ed. 1854, pp. 32, 33 and 44).

These meet our gaze at every turn, as does the most practical precept, "Be not one of the negligent". But there is one admonition of peculiar significance to the leader of a warlike and a harassed people, a text that is found so constantly upon the palace walls, that its graceful curves must be known to the most careless and ignorant of visitors. It is that which told the king, as he set out from his palace for his camp, or as he returned to his home after victory or after defeat, that *There is no conqueror but God.*

CHAPTER LXIII.

MONETARY AND COMMERCIAL SYSTEMS.

I.—*Coinage.*

The monetary system of mediæval Spain is at once complicated and uncertain, but some general notions, and a few more or less ascertained facts, may be given with advantage, the more so as coins of every conceivable name and value are spoken of by most chroniclers and historians without either explanation or apology.

The earliest coins that were struck in Spain were undoubtedly the *Drachmæ* of Emporiæ (Ampurias) and Rhodes (Rosas) in Catalonia. The female head crowned with ears of corn, the rose, the three dolphins, and the war-horse are among the commonest and most characteristic devices. The legends on the earlier pieces are in Greek, on the later in Iberian characters.[1]

Silver and copper were coined by the Carthaginians at New Carthage during their dominion in Spain; and the Romans set up mints at many of the colonial towns, especially at Saguntum.[2] From the time of Scipio Africanus *Numantinus*, until the time of Leovgild, the coinage of Hispania was the coinage of Rome.[3]

The names and values of the various Gothic pieces are alike uncertain. The workmanship is poor and inartistic; and

[1] In addition to the devices given in the text, the following are found, more rarely, on these Ibero-Hellenic coins :—

A Bee or Fly, a Ring, Tunny-fish, Bull's Head, Boar, Crescent, Lance Head, Star, Cornucopia. See *ante*, vol. i., chap. i., pp. 7, 8, 9.

[2] The coins then struck by Greeks, Iberians, Carthaginians, and more particularly by the Romans, are fully described and catalogued by Florez and such more modern authorities as Heiss, Pujol, Zobel and D. Alvara Campaner y Fuertes.

[3] No money seems to have been coined by any of the Spanish Visigoths previous to Leovgild : see *ante*, chapters viii. and xi.

Talentos or Talents, *Libri* or *Livras*, *Uncias* or *Onzas*, *Solidi* or *Sueldos*, *Besantes*, *Siliquias* and *Tremesis* are among the coins most frequently met with.[1]

But the earliest true national coins of Spain are the *Maravedi* and the *Real*, which are not heard of for more than 300 years after the rout of the Guadalete; the one telling of Moorish domination, the other of the royal (*real*) power of Roman and Christian Castile.[2]

The Moslem coins differ from those of all other dynasties in Spain in having no figure or representation of any kind stamped upon them. The legend, in Arabic, serves at once to indicate the value, the place, the date, and the city when and where the coins were struck. For some years after the conquest, the Moslems coined pieces with bilingual inscriptions, in Arabic and in Latin, for the greater convenience of the conquered; but the Latin was soon discontinued. The Arab or Moorish coins were the *Dinar*, of gold; the *Dirhem*, of silver; and the *Felus*, of copper. Fractions of the *Dinar* were also coined in silver under the name of *Quirates*. But of this coin it is impossible to know the relative, still less to estimate the actual value.[3] The Moors of Granada continued to coin money in Spain until the conquest in 1492; and the *Dobla* of Granada is first heard of as late as the reign of Mohammed III., or about the year 1330.

The first *Christian* money coined within the limits of the Peninsula after the conquest by the Arabs, was struck by order of Charlemagne, at Barcelona; and coins of his sons, Louis

[1] For a critical account of these early monies, the reader may consult *Escrutinio de Maravedises y Monedas de oro antiguas*, etc., etc., by Don Pedro de Cantos Benitez (Madrid, 1763).

[2] The etymology *Mora vedi*, as introduced by the *Al Moravides*, is given by Dozy and Engelmann, in their *Glossaire*.

A fanciful statement by Benitez, that *marevedi* is an Arabic word signifying *money*, would solve all difficulties, if it were itself founded on fact. Dufresne in his *Glossaire* would have it *Mora* and *botin* = booty of the Moor, which is almost equally fanciful. The *Mora* in the word *Moravides* has, of course, nothing to do with *Moors*.

Some notes upon the etymology of *Almoravides* will be found *ante*, vol. i., p. 202.

See also the *Chronicle of King James of Aragon*, chap. clxxix.; and note by Don Pascual de Gayangos in his edition, vol. i., p. 283, and vol. ii., p. 694. There is a learned treatise on Arab coinage and coins in Spain in vol. v. of the *Memorias de la Real Academia de Historia* of *Madrid* (1817), pp. 225-315, with plates in an appendix.

[3] The leading authority for the Moslem coins of the Peninsula is *Tratado de la Numismatica Arábigo Española*, por D. Francisco Codera y Zaidín (Madrid, 1879, 1 vol., 4to).

the Pious and Charles the Bald, *denarii* and *oboli*, were also apparently struck in the same place down to the year 874, when Charles the Bald conceded the entire sovereignty of the county of Barcelona to Wilfrid the Hairy.[1]

One of the Ramon Berenguers[2]—it is uncertain which—is said to have coined gold *Dinars* with a bilingual inscription in Arabic and Latin; but by the time of Peter III. of Aragon (1285), the typical coin of the country was the silver *Croat* or *Real*.

From the ninth to the fifteenth centuries we find in circulation at various times, Catalan, Navarrese, Aragonese, Portuguese, Valencian, Leonese and Castilian coins, with which we may not now concern ourselves; for it was the Castilian system which displaced and survived them, and became, with slight modifications, on the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, the national coinage of Spain; of which, as already suggested, the *Maravedi* and the *Real* are at once the most ancient and the most constant types.[3]

The *Maravedi* is first heard of in Spanish records at the beginning of the eleventh century (in 1020), but is not much spoken of for another hundred years. In the time of Alfonso VI., *Sueldos*, *Maravedis*, *Aureos*, and *Castellanos* are generally taken to mean the same coin, containing the sixth part of an ounce of gold, or, say, sixteen shillings of English money, or about the value of a modern French *Louis d'or*.[4] But there were also *Maravedis* or *monies* of *Vellon* or debased silver, being one eleventh part of the *Sueldo*, which contained the sixth part of an ounce of silver, such *Sueldos* or *Sols* being of about the nominal

[1] The authority for these and other early Catalonian coins is *Tratado de las Monedas Labradas en el Principado de Cataluña*, por el Doctor D. Josê Salat, 2 vols., 8vo (Barcelona, 1818).

[2] Possibly Ramon Berenguer I. For the confusion of names of these early courts, see *ante*, vol i., p. 214. *Cf. Indicator de la Numismatica Española*, por Don Alvaro Campaner y Fuertes (1 vol., Madrid, 1891, pp. 290).

[3] Señor Alvaro y Fuertes (*op. cit.*, 466), speaks of a gold maravedi with an Arabic inscription of the time of Alfonso VIII. (1214). *Dineros* and other coins of silver and of *Vellon* appear about the same time. *Vellon*, a word of very uncertain etymology, akin to Fr. *Billon*, means, in Spanish, primarily a fleece of wool; and thus a *mass* of anything metallic; and thence metal alloyed as opposed to pure metal; and the word is conventionally taken to mean alloyed or debased silver of uncertain standard or value. The English word *Bullion*, apparently cognate, is really a word of very different origin, although one signification of each word is as similar as the appearance of the word itself.

[4] King James of Aragon, in his *Chronicle*, chap. xxiv., and again, chap. clxxix., speaks of *Morabatins*, which Don Pascual de Gayangos translates *maravedis de oro*, value about eleven shillings sterling.

value of a modern franc, or one-twentieth of a *maravedi* of gold. Their value was fixed by an ordinance of Alfonso VI. in 1090, the coins being spoken of as *Sueldos de plata pesante*. The so-called silver *maravedi*, which was made of some alloy of copper or *Vellon*, would have been thus worth something less than an English penny. The *Maravedi* of gold was known as the *Maravedi mayor;* the minor maravedis were of various weights and names, and to make the confusion still greater, there were also *Sueldos* not only of silver, but of gold!

Alfonso X., although he debased the silver coinage and added seriously to the existing uncertainty of exchange, not only coined gold maravedis of the ancient value, but he refers to them frequently in the laws of the *Siete Partidas*,[1] and the coin is called by Benitez "the key to, and standard of, all the contemporary coinage". These gold maravedis were familiarly known as *Alfonsos*, and afterwards as *Buenos*. Alfonso also coined for the first time true silver *Maravedis* or *Burgaleses*, worth one-sixth of a gold maravedi, as well as maravedis of inferior standard, of silver and of *Vellon*, known as *Blancos*, *Burgaleses* or *Novenos*. He also coined copper or black maravedis—*Negros* or *Prietos*—in addition to those of debased vellon, as well as other coins of inferior and very uncertain value.[2]

The *Real* was originally a fraction of a *Maravedi*, but in course of time it became the chief unit of value in Spain, and represented the sum of many maravedis. The first *Real* of which we have any certain knowledge was struck by Henry II. on the 15th of May, 1369, as a *Real de plata*, of the value of three maravedis.[3]

By the end of the fourteenth century the Castilian coinage had got into a state of hopeless confusion. The number of coins described by a modern writer as known and current in Castile during the reign of Henry III. is no less than 140![4] In the

[1] *Cronica de Don Alfonso X.*, chap. i.; and see, for instance, *Partida*, vii., *titulo* xxxiii., ley 2; and Benitez, 50-52.

[2] Benitez, *op. cit.*, 46-76. After 1433 we hear nothing of the *Burgaleses*.

[3] In 1281 the *Maravedi* of gold was worth six *Maravedis Burgaleses*, or fifteen *Sueldos Burgaleses* or *Dineros Prietos*, or sixty *Maravedis Novenos*, or seventy-five *Sueldos Comunes*, or ninety *Dineros Burgales*, or 180 *Dineros Pepiones*, or 600 *Dineros Novenos*. Heiss, i., 39-42. As to *Doblas*—doubloons—of gold, Moorish coins of *double* the value of some inferior coins, see Benitez, chapters xiii., xiv. They were introduced by Yusuf the Almoravide, in 1097, and were known also as Maroquines = of Morocco. Later on, the doblas or doubloons were called *Granadinas*.

[4] Saez, *Demonstracion de Monedas*, ed. 1796.

same reign there were as many as *twenty-eight* different florins—coined in various countries of Europe—current in Spain, varying in value from seven reals vellon (*florin pequeño de Grecia*), or, say 1s. 6d., to 22 reals (*florin of Florence*), or, say 4s. 6d. The facile reference to "*so many* thousand florins" in historical works is thus hardly calculated to enlighten the inquisitive reader as to the importance of the sum of money supposed to have been received or paid.

In the reign of Henry IV. of Castile the principal current coins, with their values, were: In gold, the *Doblon* or *Mouton*, worth from 37 to 38 maravedis, or 60 modern reals, say 12s.; the *Gold Crown*, from 35 to 36 maravedis, say 11s.; the *Ducat*, from 32 to 33 maravedis, say 10s. 6d.; and the *Florin*, about 21 maravedis, or say 6s. 9d. In silver, the *Real de plata* was equal to two reals vellon, or three old or standard maravedis, say fivepence sterling. In copper, the old or standard *Maravedi* was reckoned at one-third, and the new *Maravedi* at one-eighth of the silver real.[1]

Ferdinand and Isabella within a few years of their marriage set themselves vigorously to work to put an end to this monstrous and hopeless confusion, and according to the decrees of the Cortes of Madrigal, in 1476, the currency was reformed by the coinage of *Florins of Aragon*, *Castellanos* and *half-Castellanos*, *Gold Crowns* or *Doubloons*, *Eagles*, *Gold Excelentes* and *half-Excelentes*, *Ducats* and *Cruzados*.

In the year 1475 a decree was issued that all coins should pass at a certain and fixed value as follows: The *Enrique Castellano* at 435 maravedis; the *Dobla* at 335; the *Dobla de la Banda* at 375; the *Florin* at 240; the *Silver Real* at 30; and the *Maravedi* at 3 *Blancas de Vellon*.

[1] The standard work on mediæval and modern Spanish coins is A. Heiss, *Descripcion general de las monedas Hispano-Cristianas desde la invasion de los Arabes* (Madrid, 1869), 3 vols., large 4to; but the author takes no account of values, save of the fancy values of the coins at the present day in the hands of the collector.

I have constructed the following Table chiefly from Saez, *op. cit.*, ed. 1796:—

6 *meajas*	= 1 DINERO	see page	37
6 *dineros*	= 1 AGNUS DEI	,,	68
10 *dineros*	= 1 MARAVEDI	,,	54
6 *coronados*	= 1 ,,	,,	65
12 *cinquens*	= 1 ,,	,,	75
2 *blancas*	= 1 ,,	,,	82
3 *maravedis*	= 1 REAL PLATA	,,	116
21 ,,	= FLORIN OF ARAGON	,,	129
32 ,,	= DUCAT	,,	153
35 ,,	= DOUBLOON or MOUTON	,,	208-225

But even these statutory values were liable to constant change. By a *Cedula Real* of 19th March, 1483, the *Excelente* was fixed at 970 maravedis; the *Castellano* at 485, and so on, while in another ordinance only five years later (1488) we find that the *gold* coins current were *Excelentes* and *half-Excelentes* of 123 reals vellon; *Castellanos* of 61½ reals vellon; *Cruzados*, *Ducados*, or *Excelentes de Granada* at 47 reals vellon; *Doblas de la banda* at 52; *Doblas* at 56; *Florines de Aragon* at 33; *Florins* of Florence and *Salutes* at 47; *Justos* at 72; *Coronas* at 39; *Enriques* and *Aquilas* at 61.

It may interest students of the bimetallic question to know that the relative value of gold and silver in Spain in 1475 was 1 to 11, or more accurately 1-10·985; in 1480 it was 1-11½; in 1483 it was 1-11¾; and in 1489 it was 1-10¾.

To lay down anything like a general standard of value of the coins of such complicated and such strangely uncertain systems, is obviously impossible; but the ordinary English reader will not be very far astray, if in considering the financial operations of the days of Ferdinand and Isabella, he treats the *Excelente* as about equal to the modern French twenty franc piece; the *Medio excelente*, *Castellano*, *Dobla Morisca* and *Enrique* at about half that sum; the *Ducat*, *Cruzado*, *Dobla de la banda*, *Excelente de Granada*, *Florin of Florence*, and *Salute*, as worth about six shillings; the *Crown* or *Corona*, about five shillings and sixpence; the *Florin of Aragon*, about four shillings and twopence; and the *Silver Real*, at five English pence.[1]

[1] As some knowledge of Spanish coinage and values in the early part of the present century may be interesting for the purpose of comparison—the coinage of the present day having been Frenchified out of recognition—it may be added that in 1810-70—

COPPER.

		£	s.	d.
2 Maravedis make 1	*Ochavo.*			
4 ,, ,,	*Cuarto.*			

SILVER.

34 Maravedis make 1	*Real Vellon* (RV)	0	0	2½
4 Reals ,, 1	*Peseta*	0	0	10
10 ,, ,, 1	*Escudo*	0	2	1
20 ,, ,, 1	*Doble escudo*, *Duro*, *Peso fuerte*, or *Ducado* ...	0	4	2

GOLD.

40 ,, ,, 1	*Escudo de oro*	0	8	4
80 ,, ,, 1	*Doblon de á* 2, or quarter-*onza*	0	16	8
160 ,, ,, 1	*Doblon de á* 4, or half-*onza*	1	13	4
320 ,, ,,	*Doblon de á* 8 ["Piece of Eight"] or *onza* ...	3	6	8

The decimal system of *Pesetas* (about equal to the French franc) and *Centimos* was adopted on the 1st of January, 1870.

II.—*Commercial Treaties.*

(1308—1508.)

Between two such business-like sovereigns as Ferdinand the Catholic and Henry VII. of England, it is not likely that commercial relations should have been neglected. The letters of both Ferdinand and Isabella to the envoys at the court of London are filled with suggestions for the reform and modification of existing methods and practices, with remonstrances at the delays and the bad faith of the English court, and with the constant expression of an urgent desire for the promotion of a healthy commerce between Spain and England.

The first commercial treaty between England and any Spanish power is said to have been concluded by Edward II. with Alfonso XI. of Leon and Castile, in 1318.[1] Notwithstanding the troubles of the kingdom, the Castilians were already powerful at sea; and "very potent in shipbuilding".[2] We read that in 1350, the Spaniards had not only taken and destroyed many English merchant ships and much merchandise, "but were now arrived at so high a pitch of pride, that they threatened nothing less than the destruction of the entire English Navy, the invasion of the country and the subjugation of the people of England".[3] But as time went on, the intercourse between the nations became of a more peaceful character, and we hear of a treaty or agreement in 1464, between Edward IV. and Henry IV., for the export to Spain of twenty ewes and five rams from the Cotswolds in Gloucestershire. This peaceful invasion was actually accomplished, and the emigrants are said to have flourished and multiplied exceedingly in their new home.[4]

As to the nature of the commerce between England and the Peninsula in the middle of the fifteenth century, the following verses from Hakluyt may be of interest:—[5]

> Knowe well all men that profits in certaine
> Commodities called comming out of Spaine,
> And merchandie, who so will weete what it is
> Bene *figs*, *Raisins*, *Wine Bastard*, *and Datis*,

[1] Rymer, *Fœdera*, etc., iv., p. 118; Anderson, *Hist. of Commerce*, i., 381, 382.

[2] Rymer, *Fœdera*, v., 679; Anderson, *op. cit.*, ed. 1790, i., 433.

[3] On pp. 717, 720, of vol. v. of Rymer's *Fœdera*, we find mention of a treaty or truce, by which the fishers of Castile and Biscay may freely and safely *fish in the havens* of England; a very remarkable provision.

[4] Anderson, i., 340, 369, 433.

[5] Hakluyt, *Voyages and Travels*, vol. i., p. 118 (ed. 1600), and p. 189.

And *Licoris*, *Sivilloyle* and *Graine*
White Pastill Sope and *Waxe* is not bayne
Yron, *Wooll*, *Wadmolle*, *Gotefell*, *Kidfell* also,
For *poynt-makers* full needful bene they tweyn,
Saffron, *Quicksilver* which owne Spaine Marchandy,
Is into Flandes shipped full craftily.
As to Portugal . . . .
Her land hath *Wine*, *Osey*, *Waxe* and *Graine*.[1]

"From Flanders," says Hakluyt in the same place, "the Spanish ships lade homewards fine cloth of Ypres and of Courtray of all colours, much fustian, and also linen cloth. Thus," says he, "if we be masters at sea, both Spain and Flanders, which have such a mutual dependence on each other, must necessarily keep measures with us; and if England should think fit to deny to Flanders her wool and tin, and should also prevent the Spanish wool, which they work up with English wool, from getting to Flanders, the last named small country will soon be starved."

From a rescript of Henry IV. of England, of the year 1420,[2] it appears that Alfonso V. of Aragon, had granted letters of safe conduct and protection to all English merchants freely to resort to his dominions with their ships and merchandise, and that Henry V. of England granted the same privilege to the subjects of the King of Aragon.[3] But the rights of commerce, more especially of international commerce, were hardly recognised in western Europe as early as the fifteenth century. There were merchant princes, indeed, in Venice and Genoa; and Barcelona, as we have seen,[4] had already given a code of mercantile law to the civilised world;[5] yet peaceful diplomacy, of what may be called a practical kind, was still in its infancy. The Spanish sailors were amongst the most adventurous in Christendom. The Spanish merchants were amongst the most renowned in the waters of the West. But the age of rapine had not yet given place to an age of business. The merchant was not yet recognised as the true knight-errant of civilisation; and his movements were

[1] *Wine bastard* is sweet wine; *Sivilloyle* is Seville or olive oil; *Graine* is cochineal (Sp. *grana*); *Pastill Sope* is Castile soap; *Wax* was no doubt largely imported from Spain; the word is sometimes misspelt *ware*; *Wadmol* was coarse woollen cloth; *Gotefell* and *Kidfell* are of course goat or kid-skin or leather; *poynt-makers* were the workmen who made points or mediæval braces for trunk hose; and, finally, *Osey* was a kind of wine.

[2] Rymer, *Fœdera*, ix., 633.

[3] Anderson, i., 566, speaks of English merchants already, at this time, trading with Barcelona.

[4] *Ante*, vol. i., chap. xxiv.

[5] *Calendar*, etc., i., p. 133.

neither helped nor hindered by any rules of international law. The theory of maritime blockade, for instance, was not understood nor developed even amongst the most civilised nations of Europe; and merchants of neutral states were at liberty to enter the ports of any belligerent, and export goods thence to any other port they chose.

But this theoretical liberty was limited in practice by the number of pirates of all nations and countries which then infested the seas, and by the readiness of the authorities of all nations to lay violent hands upon the ships and goods of foreign merchants, that might happen, at a critical moment, to be found within their dominions. In the early days of the sixteenth century, the Moslem sea-rovers of the Mediterranean, and especially of the Straits of Gibraltar, had already acquired a dreadful celebrity. But although the banishment of the Moors of Granada added to the numbers and increased the fury of these desperadoes, the practice of piracy was not by any means restricted to Moors and Infidels. When a ship of one Christian nation fell in with a strange vessel on the high seas, a fight generally ensued; the cargo became the spoil of the victor; and the only difference between Infidels and Christians was found in the treatment of the vanquished crew. The Infidels made slaves of them, and sold them into bondage. The Christians, having no ready market for such commodities, regarded them as useless and costly incumbrances, and threw them overboard.

But Ferdinand was early aware of the importance of a well-regulated and a well-trained commerce. Both the theoretical freedom and the practical restrictions of the fifteenth century were equally distasteful to him, and were by him attacked with the greatest vigour, and even with some success. During his second war with France, seeking, among other things, to compel the English to assist him by an active alliance, he took the bold and original step of prohibiting the transport of Spanish goods in neutral bottoms to any port in France;[1] and by an ordinance

[1] "As the English shipmasters derived great advantage by the carriage of merchandise between France and Spain, from whose ports both the Spaniards and the French were excluded during the war, Ferdinand feared that Henry VII. would be the more disinclined to participate in the contest if the source of national gain was to be jeopardised by joining one of the combatants. He consequently prohibited neutrals from transporting Spanish goods to France." *Calendar*, etc., i., Introduction, p. 113.

Pragmatica of 3rd September, 1500 (Granada); *Prag. del Reyno*, fol. 135. The Spanish merchant navy at this time is said to have amounted to no less than 1000 vessels. Campomanes, *apud* Robertson, *Hist. of America*, vol. iii., p. 305.

of 1500, all persons, whether natives or foreigners, were further prohibited from shipping goods in foreign bottoms from any port in Spain where a Spanish ship could be obtained.[1] With regard to piracy, he further proposed, as a general measure of international security, which was promptly accepted by most of the nations of Europe, that the master of every vessel on leaving port should give security for good behaviour at sea towards any vessel belonging to a friendly nation that he might happen to meet.[2]

Having succeeded so far, Ferdinand, more enlightened in such respects than any other European sovereign, attempted to put a stop to another serious hindrance to commerce. He declared that the obligation imposed on merchants to answer with their private property for the acts of their governments was dishonest and useless, and he urged its general abolition. But not even Henry VII. could be prevailed upon to accept this most practical suggestion; and the old custom of making the merchant's goods lying in foreign ports responsible for the fulfilment of treaties, continued to be enforced by the European Powers for many years after the death of the Catholic king.[3]

[1] Rymer, xii., 417; Anderson, i., 699, 700.

[2] *Calendar*, etc., i,, Introd., p. 113.

[3] As to the trade between Spain and England at this time, see Turner, *Hist. of Eng.*, iv., p. 90; and *Pragmaticas del Reyno*, ffs. 146-8. An English consulate was established at Burgos, 21st July, 1494. The *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain, 1485-1509, ed. 1862), so often referred to, is full of records of the great political interest taken both by Ferdinand and Henry VII. in the smallest details as well as in the largest principles of commerce.

CHAPTER LXIV.

THE BULL FIGHT.

The reign of John II. was an age of pageantry and of shows. If fighting was not yet out of fashion, it was accompanied by an amount of display that was new to the warriors of Castile. Gilded armour and nodding plumes became as necessary to the ideal cavalier as the sharp sword and the strong lance of his grandfathers. John, who was incapable of command on the field of battle, took some pleasure in military parade. Nor was the influence of Alvaro de Luna in any way more marked than in his encouragement of that personal magnificence and extravagant display which characterised the knightly shows and tournaments so congenial to the court of John II. of Castile.[1]

But Alvaro was no carpet knight, nor content with the evolutions of his train of gilded followers. He was himself the best lance in Spain, and specially distinguished in a rude and dangerous sport that was daily increasing in favour, not only with the court, but with the people in Spain, and which has endured to the present day as one of the most characteristic of the national amusements of the world.

Bull fights or, more correctly, *Corridas* or *Fiestas de Toros*, Courses, or Feasts of Bulls, are not, as might be supposed, a direct survival of those Roman games of the amphitheatre which in many ways they so closely resemble. We have, indeed, negative evidence of the most convincing kind that no bull fight, or bull feast, or bull combat of any kind was known in Spain until after the coming of the Moors. Suetonius and Silius Italicus,[2] in their detailed description of the Spanish games in the arena, make no mention of bulls, nor is anything in the nature of a public combat between men and bulls referred to by Polybius, or Strabo, or Appian, or Pliny in their various accounts of the *Cosas*

[1] Such, for instance, as the *Paso honroso*, as to which see *ante*, chap. xxxiv.

[2] Suetonius, *Julius Cæsar*, 39, and *Claudius*, 21 ; Silius Italicus, xvi., 285.

de España of their time.[1] The Romans were acquainted, indeed, with a form of bull fight—not an Hispanian, but a Thessalian sport; and one first exhibited by Julius Cæsar during his dictatorship in B.C. 45. Bruncke has preserved an epigram of Philip of Thessalonica, the poet laureate of bulls, which describes the process: "The well-mounted troops of unarmed bull-drivers, spurring their horses up to the bounding bulls, throw the noose over their horns, and bring to the ground the powerful beast".[2] Richard Ford is inclined to trace the origin of the bull fight of Spain to the African and Moorish hunting of the wild boar.[3] There is certainly frequent mention in the early Spanish Chronicles of the public baiting of the *Cerdos*, and on the advance of agricultural civilisation, the bull presented no doubt a more ready and more formidable antagonist.

Yet if bulls were never slain or baited by men in any of the ancient combats in the arena, and if the *Corrida*, now so essentially Roman in its character, is yet of Moorish and not of Latin origin, there can be no doubt that in Spain—for 600 years the most Roman of the provinces of the empire—there is still sufficient of Roman sentiment, if not of Roman tradition, to connect the modern bull feast in the ring at Seville with the gladiatorial shows in the arena at Italica. The bulls may have come from Africa; the cavaliers may have had their origin at Damascus; but the savage solemnity, the orderly excitement, the whole form and feeling of the modern spectacle, are the heritage of Imperial Rome.

Whatever may have been its origin, the great national sport would seem to have been fairly established in Spain as early as the eleventh century, though the first specific mention of

[1] In a recent work by Dr. Schuchhardt, *Schliemanns's Exploration* (1891), some drawings may be found of still more ancient bulls. On a coin of Catana, a bull is being attacked by a man in a way that recalls the celebrated feat of *El Tato* at Madrid; and on a gold cup found at Vapheio, near Sparta, a most spirited group of four wild bulls just caught in a net, shows an early appreciation of a *Corrida de Toros* by the Aryans of some 3000 years ago. There are many designs in which the bull is introduced upon the wall paintings found at Tiryns. See Schuchhardt, pp. 119-22, 249, 350-1, and illustrations. Martial, a true Spaniard, makes frequent mention of the fighting qualities of the contemporary *Tauri* in his epigrams, more especially in his *De Spectaculis*, *Ep.*, 16, 17, 19, 27. (Livy also tells us, "*per eos dies, quibus hæc ex Hispania nunciata sunt, ludi taurilia per Viduum facti, religionis causâ*".—H.)

[2] Bruncke, *Analecta*, tom. ii., Phil. Ep., 62. This "*modo de enlazar los toros desde el caballo*," is the precise method of the *gauchos* in the Pampas, and is shown in the ninth plate of Pepe Illo's *Tauromaquia*, edited by Gomez (1804). (There is, however, no doubt that bull fights similar to the Spanish combats were known in Rome, and that the bulls were killed. See Festus' account of the origin of these fights in the reign of Tarquin the Proud.—H.)

[3] *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxii.

a bull feast is of that which took place at Avila, in 1107, on the occasion of the marriage of Blasco Muñoz, where Moors and Christians vied with one another in their prowess in the bull ring ;[1] and at the royal wedding of Alfonso VII. with Berengaria, daughter of Ramon Berenguer III., Count of Barcelona, in 1128, we read of a *Fiesta de Toros* as one of the great events in the festivities.[2]

From an ordinance in the *Fueros* of Zamora, referred to by Montes, it seems certain that in the thirteenth century there was already a Plaza de Toros in that city.[3] There can scarcely be a stronger testimony to the attractions of the bull fight in the earliest times than the fact that, in one of the laws of the *Siete Partidas*,[4] it is ordained that no bishop should be a spectator of such games.

Peter the Cruel inherited his father's love for the bull fight. And it may be remembered that at a *Fiesta* given in his honour in 1351 at Burgos, the body of Garcilaso de la Vega, whom he had just killed, was thrown out of the window of his palace, which overlooked the great square of the city, and trampled upon by the bulls. The feasts were continued by the king's brother and successor, Henry of Trastamara ; and we hear that the Count Pero el Niño—the Spanish Sydney—distinguished himself greatly at a *Corrida* which was held at Seville in 1395. To come nearer home, the Lady Constance, daughter of King Peter the Cruel and wife of John of Gaunt, established a "bull running" or *Corrida de toros,* at her English country seat near Tutbury, in Staffordshire, which took place every year on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, until it was discontinued, little over a hundred years ago, in 1778, in consequence of some men having been killed in the course of the rough festivities.[5]

[1] *Hist. de Avila*, ii., 37.

[2] The first of national bull fighters is said by Moratin, *Origen de las Fiestas de Toros* (1777), p. 8, to have been the great national hero, Ruy Diaz de Bivar (the Cid), who died in 1099. Pigs or boars, too, seem also to have been exposed to the lances of the knights in public combat on this as on many former occasions. Francisco de Cepeda, *Resumpta de la historia de España ;* Montes, *Tauromaquia Completa* (ed. 1836), p. 3 ; Manuel Garcia, *Epitome de las Recreaciones Publicas*, 226.

[3] According to *Las Siete Partidas*, ii., ley 57. "*Los Prelados no deven ver a los lidios de toros.*" *Cf.* Montes, pp. 6, 7.

[4] Bull fighting is said to have also existed in early days in Italy, but to have been prohibited in consequence of a series of fatal accidents in 1332.

[5] See Stebbing Shaw, *History of Staffordshire*, vol. i., pp. 52-56 ; Plot, *Natural History of Staffordshire*, 436-440 ; *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxii., p. 392 ; Dugdale, *Monastic Angl.*, ii., 355 ; Blount, *Antient Tenures*, p. 168-175.

In Spain the bull feasts received a new impetus in the patronage of King John II., or rather of his accomplished master, Alvaro de Luna, the best lance in Spain. The combatants became more skilful. The shows became more costly. A permanent bull ring was established at Madrid. At the marriage festivities of King John with Mary of Aragon in 1418, the bull fights at Medina del Campo were of peculiar interest and splendour. In these still early days of the sport, the combatants were not salaried *matadores* and *picadores*, but the flower of Castilian chivalry. Under Henry IV. the shows were increasingly patronised. Christians, moreover, vied with Moorish horsemen in their boldness and skill in the arena, and *torear à cavallo* was accounted as an indispensable accomplishment of a perfect knight.[1] Montes gives three reasons for the great development of the *corrida* in the time of John II.: (1) the spirit of bravery animating the Spanish knights; (2) the personal interest, not merely as spectators, but frequently as combatants, taken by the kings;[2] (3) the emulation between the Christian and the Moorish nobles of Granada, not only in war but in the arena.

Isabella the Catholic took no pleasure in the sport; and she was only induced to abandon her first intention of prohibiting the *Fiestas* altogether, by a promise on the part of the noble bull fighters at her court that the horns of the bulls should be blunted or rendered harmless by being enveloped in leathern sheaths.[3] But this mitigation of the severity of the encounter seems to have been adopted but for a very short time; and in a letter to her confessor, Fray Hernando de Talavera, written from Aragon in 1493, the queen speaks of her determination never to see a bull fight in all her life, *ni ser en que se corran.* Charles V. inherited none of the scruples of his grandmother; and he is said to have killed a bull with his own Imperial hands[4] in the Plaza

An account of contemporary bull fights in Spain, as judged by English writers, will be found in Clarendon's *Life*, i., 176; and Townsend's *Travels in Spain*, ii., 349.

[1] "*Empleo de la premiera nobleza.*" Moratin, *Origen de las Fiestas de Toros* (1777). (This was the case for centuries after the time in question. In the royal bull fights (*fiestas reales*) even to this day the *Caballeros en plaza* attack the bull with rejones (short spears) and the great nobles fight—usually by proxy—in the ring.—H.)

[2] The Plaza de Toros at *Vivarambla*, near Granada, was the scene of many of these *international corridas.*

[3] Montes, p. 8, quoting Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo.

[4] Pizarro, the conqueror of Peru, is said to have been a distinguished bull fighter.

de Toros at Valladolid, in honour of the birth of his eldest son, who succeeded him as Philip II.

Philip III. built a new bull ring at Madrid, in 1619;[1] and Philip IV. was not only a patron of the sport, but took part on horseback, lance in hand, on more than one occasion, in the arena; and a number of works on the art of Tauromachy were published with his royal approbation and authority. The bull fight given by Philip IV. on the occasion of the visit of Charles, Prince of Wales, in 1623, was even more remarkable than that offered by his father, Philip III., to Lord Nottingham, in 1604; and a celebrated matador, disguised as a lady,[2] astonished the strangers by his unfeminine vigour in the arena.

Gaspar Bonifaz, Luis de Trejo, and Juan de Valencia, all of them knights of the most illustrious Order of Santiago, published treatises on Tauromachy in Madrid in the early part of the seventeenth century. In 1643, Gregorio de Tapia y Salcedo, also a knight of Santiago, published a large work on the same subject, with plates, entitled *Reglas de Torear*.[3] But no book on what may be called *modern* Tauromachy (*los de á pié*) was written until 1750, when Eugenio Garcia de Baragaña published his *Tauromaquia* at Madrid.

A long list of grandees, distinguished by their personal prowess in the arena under the later sovereigns of the House of Austria, is given in 1777 by Moratin, whose own maternal grandfather is said to have been "*muy diestro y aficionado*," and to have fought many times in the company of the Marquis de Mondejar, the Count de Tendilla, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and other grandees of the bluest blood in Spain. These bold noblemen, says Moratin, "cared little how their saddles were girthed, as the true girth of a true cavalier should be the legs of the rider!"

The reign of Philip IV. was the time of the greatest perfection and glory of the old knightly sport. His feeble son Charles II. found more pleasure in the spectacle of the *auto de fé*, although he by no means despised the gentler sport of the bull ring; and at a special *corrida* in honour of his marriage in 1680, the Duke of Medina Sidonia killed in the royal presence

[1] There was at this time no special bull ring. The Plaza Mayor it was—the great square of Madrid where the feasts took place three times a year—that was rebuilt by Philip III. at the date mentioned.—H.

[2] See *An Impartial and Brief Description of the Plaza at Madrid and the Bull Baiting there*, by James Salgado (London, 1683). Martial (*de Spect.*, vi.) saw a real Roman lady kill a real lion in the arena.

[3] D. Diego de Torres published about this time a work on Tauromachy, of which no copy is known to exist, a possible prize for a lucky book-hunter.

two bulls, each one at a single blow.[1] But with the arrival of the Bourbon Philip V., French fashions and French tastes took possession of Spanish society; and the bull fight, the national sport of the old Spanish chivalry, was abandoned by a Frenchified *noblesse* to the common people. And it was then and there that the art of fighting on foot began to be studied in the place of the braver sport of knightly skill and noble horsemanship. Yet we read of a particularly magnificent *Fiesta de Toros* held at Madrid on 30th July, 1725, at which both the king and queen were present; and of another equally magnificent display on the public entry of Charles III. into Madrid in 1760. But as far as the popular and everyday *Fiestas* were concerned, the solemnity and good order of the ancient combats gave place for a time to a rough-and-tumble exhibition of untutored popular bull baiting.[2]

The first *professional* matadors of renown were the brothers Juan and Pedro Palomo and Francisco de Romero, in the early part of the eighteenth century, after the accession of the Bourbons had caused the sport to be abandoned by the aristocracy. But the master hand who reorganised the sport on popular lines, and rendered the *Fiesta de Toros* more than ever the national pastime of Spain, was José Delgado Candido, better known and ever celebrated as *Pepe Illo*, who died in the Plaza at Port St. Mary on the 24th of June, 1771, after having established the rules and fixed the code of Tauromachian honour and etiquette, and the discipline and refinement of the ring, which prevail to this day.[3]

But it was reserved for Ferdinand VII. (or his wretched minister Calomarde.—H.), not generally renowned as a patron of education, to restore and regenerate the national sport, not by inducing the degenerate nobles of his palace to take their places in the arena, but by the establishment of a Tauromachian University at Seville. The identical courier, who brought the decree from Ferdinand to close the regular university at Seville, in 1830, conveyed the royal charter of the new *Tauromaquian* Academy, which Spain, in the words of Moratin, "owes to the tender solicitude and paternal care of our lord the king—a school where the art is taught on principle, and where we have

[1] In this famous feast the celebrated Swede, Count Koningsmark, the lover of George I.'s wife, was seriously wounded.—H.

[2] Spoken of as *desjarretar por la plebe*, by Montes, p. 15.

[3] Chapman and Buck, *Wild Spain*, p. 59.

seen with delight the progress made by the first disciples".[1] This tender solicitude bore good fruit; and at a state exhibition on the 22nd of June, 1833, the king witnessed a combat of bulls and nobles, differing only from the Tauromachian tourneys of more ancient days, in that the dukes and counts who descended into the arena were *assisted* by professional matadores in the guise of squires, upon whom naturally fell the brunt of the fray.[2]

Bull fighting is now a science as well as an art. It has its rules, its traditions, its professors, its literature, and even its language. Its practice demands the highest qualities of skill, dexterity and courage. As a spectacle it is the most exciting; as a show it is the most characteristic; as a pastime it is the most seductive in the modern world. It is less cruel than a battue of pheasants. It is more respectable than an *auto de fé* of heretics. It is less demoralising than a ring of bookmakers. It is essentially and incidentally a thing of Spain. To defend it in a foreign language is useless. To import it into a foreign country would be wicked. A description of the show itself would be out of place in a historical work. An examination of its language would need a special treatise. A comparison of both action and vocabulary with the records of the gladiatorial shows of ancient Rome would be a work of special, but not, perhaps, of general interest.[3] But a history of Spain without reference to the bull fight would be like a salad without oil, or an olla without garlic.[4]

[1] Moratin, *op. cit.*, p. 28; *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxii., p. 286. The inscription over the doorway was, FERDINANDO VII., PIO FELIZ RESTAURADOR; PARA LA ENSENANZA PRESERVADORA DE LA ESCUELA DE TAUROMACHIA, 1830.

[2] The grandees were the Dukes of Frias, Alva, Infantado, and the Count of Florida Blanca. (The nobles had been attended by experts in the ring for at least 150 years before this date. Count Koningsmark's life had been saved by his assistant.—H.)

[3] As late as the year 1726 it was customary to plant the banderillas in the bull's neck—these single banderillas were called harpones—not in pairs as at the present day, but one by one; a very inferior display of skill on the part of the *Banderillero*. The first *torero* who used the little red handkerchief on the crutch of the present day (*la muleta*) and awaited the attack of the bull, on foot, and face to face, was Francisco Romero of Ronda. See D. Manuel Martinez Rueda, *Elogia de las Corridas de Toros* (1831).

[4] For an interesting account of a branch of the bull feast hitherto almost unnoticed—*viz.*, the breeding of the bulls, their selection and preparation for the combat; for every bull has his name like a race-horse, and his pedigree is as well known to the fancy—see *Wild Spain*, by Chapman and Buck (London, 1893), pp. 54-70. See also *Las Corridas de Toros en el Reinado de Felipe IV.*, printed in tom. ii. of the *Curiosidades de la Historia de España*, by Antonio Rodriquez Villa (Madrid, 1886), pp. 275 *ad fin*, and two recent works by Don Pascual Millan, *La Escuela de Tauromaquia* (1888), and *Los Toros en Madrid* (1890), with a preface by the renowned Lagartijo.

CHAPTER LXV.

SPANISH MUSIC.

I.

The Spaniards of the Roman world, as we learn from Juvenal, from Statius, from Pliny, from Martial and from Arrian,[1] were distinguished among all other provincials by their skill in the art of music. Yet this relative excellence is all that we may certainly know upon the subject; for owing to the absence of any system of writing down or noting the musical sounds[2] they may have produced, we are necessarily ignorant of the character of the melodies, or the development of vocal or instrumental harmony among the early *virtuosi* of the Peninsula.

The history of music in Spain may be said to begin with St.

[1] And see Teixidor, *Hist. de la Musica;* and Aulus Gellius, *apud* Soriano Fuertes, *Historia de la Musica en España*, pp. 46-51.

[2] The origin of musical notation is a question of general interest far beyond the limits of this chapter. See *post*, pp. 340, 341. The credit of its invention is claimed by the Jews of the Peninsula (Soriano Fuertes, *op. cit.*, p. 66). It is at least probable that a system more or less complete existed in Spain in the seventh century, which was known as the Rabbinical or Hebrew. Cassiodorus, in 540, preparing a manual of sacred music for his monks, only mentions the fifteen tonal scales (*échelles tonales*) of the neo-Aristoxenians. Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica*, lib. i., chap. v., p. 15. Eighty years later, St. Isidore is content to adopt the theory of Cassiodorus, while actually denying the possibility of any graphic record or representation of fleeting sounds.

See as to early musical notation (1) Gerbert, *De cantû et musica sacra a primâ ecclesiæ ætate usque ad præsens tempus*, 1774, tom. ii., tab. 10, No. 2; (2) *Breviarium Gothicum secundum regulam Beatissimi Isidori: ad usum Sacelli Mosarabum* (Madrid, 1775), Introd. par D. J. Romero; (3) Fétis, *Hist. de la Musique*, i., 505-513.

Señor Soriano Fuertes somewhat strains one of the canons of the Eleventh Council of Toledo (A.D. 675) by interpreting it to mean that no man should be admitted to Holy Orders who could not read music. But that the mass and psaltery were sung from written music of some sort would seem to be fairly proved; although I do not think that so early an origin is usually admitted by musical students. See Berganza, *Antiguedades de España*, ii., and Martini, *Hist. de la Musica*, ii., 3.

Isidore of Seville.[1] His chapters on the art, nine in number, are to be found in the third book of his *Etymologies*, where he treats not only of the theory and scientific attributes of music, but mentions certain instruments by name, as being those in use at the time he wrote: *Organum*, organ; *Tuba*, straight trumpet; *Tibia*, flute or pipe; *Fistula*, shepherd's pipe; *Sambuca*, a triangular stringed instrument of a high pitch; *Pandura*, a three-stringed instrument, supposed to have been invented by Pan; *Cithara*, a stringed instrument played with a plectrum; *Psalterius*, a psaltery or lute; *Lyra*, a lyre; *Tympanum*, drum; *Cymbala*, cymbal; *Sistrum*, a metallic rattle; *Tintinnabulum*, bell; *Symphonia*, a species of hurdy-gurdy or *organistrum*, such perhaps as is figured on the carved portico of the Cathedral of Santiago.[2]

St. Isidore is usually considered to be the author of the ancient tunes adapted to the Ritual or Service Book in Spanish churches, which were afterwards modified by St. Eugenius, who succeeded Isidore, after an interval of only ten years, as Metropolitan Bishop of Toledo (646-657); and this early sacred music is thus variously known as Isidorian, Eugenian, Visigothic, *Melodico* and Mozarabic.[3]

II.

But the characteristic features of Spanish music, as far as they are to be distinguished from those of the national music of other countries, are certainly not Roman; and they are but to a very limited extent patriotic. They are the result, as far as it is possible to judge, of southern and eastern influences. The Basques, an essentially musical people, have, no doubt, exercised some influence upon the music as they have upon the

[1] *Musica*, says Isidore, *est peritia modulationis sono cantuque consistens. Etym.*, lib. iii., chap. xv. (He also defines it in his second book of the same work thus: *Musica est disciplina quæ de numeris loquitur qui ad aliquid sunt his qui inveniuntur in sonis.*—H.)

[2] St. Isidore, *Etymol.*; Riaño, *Early Spanish Music*, p. 144; C. Engel, *The Violin Family*, pp. 129-132; and *Musical News*, 6th March, 1891.

[3] Melodico is said to be as in contradistinction to Gregoriano. Riaño, pp. 5, 6.

The supplanting of the Gothic Ritual and Service Book by the Roman in Aragon in 1071, and in Castile in 1085, has been already spoken of, *ante*, vol. i., chap. xxiii.

There is a *Tractatus historico-chronologicus* prefixed to vol. vi. of JULY in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, upon the *Liturgia antiqua Hispanica, Gothica Isidoriana, Mosarabica, Toletana*, of great interest, pp. 1-112.

general character of the Spaniards. But Spanish music[1] is not Basque, and the inhabitants of the Castilian provinces that border upon Biscay are among the least musical people of the Peninsula. The influence of the troubadours of Provence and Catalonia was, no doubt, considerable during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, not only as regards poetry, but as regards music; but in neither case was the effect more than temporary; and the popularity of the *Jongleurs* and their compositions had died away, even in the north-eastern provinces, before the accession of Ferdinand of Aragon.

It is to Andalusia that we must look for the home and birthplace of the national music of Spain. Long before the Roman Conquest, the music and the musicians of that pleasure-loving province were celebrated in Italy as well as in Spain; and a company of Gaditanian singers and dancers was a necessary feature at the entertainments of every wealthy Roman host in the critical days of the empire. It was in Andalusia, moreover, in the eighth century, that the conquering Arabs found a sympathetic population—even then the most refined in the Peninsula. Music was cultivated with conspicuous success at the court of Cordova; while from the landing of the first Moslem in 711 to the fall of Granada in 1492 the influence that was exercised by the Arab upon the musical development of Spain was continuous and considerable. And although at the end of the fifteenth century the Moor was banished, and every Moorish sentiment uprooted and destroyed, this Arab influence still survives in the music of southern Spain, more lasting, it may be, than the exquisite colours of the Alhambra at Granada,

[1] Of modern works on Spanish music the most important are: 1. Mariano Soriano Fuertes, *Historia de la musica española desde la venida de los Fenicios hasta el año de* 1850 (Madrid, 1888). 2. Marcelino Menendez Pelayo, *Historia de las ideas esteticas en España* (Madrid, 1883). 3. J. F. Riaño, *Notes on Early Spanish Music* (London, 1887).

See also a very rare work, of which a copy is to be found in the library of the British Museum, by Pedro Cerone, published in Spanish at Naples, with an analysis of the works of many Spanish and Italian composers. See also Villoteau *Recherches sur l'analogie de la Musique avec les arts*, etc., etc. (Paris, 2 vols.' 1807). *Encyclopédie pittoresque de la Musique* (Paris, vol. i., pp. 88-97). Laborde, Cte A. De, *Itinéraire de l'Espagne* (Paris, 1834, vi., p. 390). Luca Ruiz y Riboyaz *Lus y Norte para gaminer por las cifras de la Guitarra Española* (Madrid, 1672). For Basque Music: F. Michel, *Traité de la Musique* (1857), pp. 435-440.

In the *Curiosités Historiques de la Musique* of M. Fétis (Paris, 1830) there is absolutely not a word about Spain or Spanish music of any kind. But in the same author's excellent *Histoire de la Musique* (5 vols., Paris, 1872), much that is useful will of course be found, though the amount of space devoted specially to Spain is infinitesimal.

no less characteristic than the thousand columns of the mosque at Cordova.[1]

For not only, says Mr. Engel,[2] do we still meet with certain forms and expressions in the popular songs of Spain which forcibly remind us of Arabic music; but also several of the Spanish musical instruments are of Arabic origin. The laud or lute is *al-oud* of the Arabs. The guitar, which has so long been not only the favourite but the characteristic instrument of Spain, is the Arab *Kintara*,[3] which is still played by the Moslems of Tunis.

The development of Spanish national music, indeed, has been greatly affected by the guitar. Modes and phrases that lent themselves to easy expression on the national instrument were most naturally and most easily repeated; and the Arab turns of musical phrase that came in with the guitar, have

[1] Mr. Engel (*National Music*, 349), seems to say that this influence was continued down to the banishment of the Moriscos by Philip III. But as a matter of fact, the influence of the Arabs, after the fall of Granada, upon the surrounding Christian population was almost *nil*. As an instance of this, it is strange to read that in 1532 there was no professor of Arabic at Salamanca (see *Quarterly Review*, No. 351, p. 151), and that Clenardus was urged to abandon his intention of even studying so barbarous and wicked a language. *Ibid.*, p. 154. He repaired, however, to Granada; but even there, thirty-eight years after the expulsion of the Moors, he could not find one single person to teach him the Arabic language; and after two months' search was enabled to purchase an African slave for thrice his market value, as being the only man in Granada capable of teaching him the language of Boabdil (*Id.*, 160, 161). Nor was he able to obtain any Arabic MSS., in spite of the assistance of the Emperor Charles V. himself, although it was urged that his object in studying the language was the conversion of Moslems and the overthrow of their theology. (The reason of Clenardus' failure to obtain Arabic tuition was not that no one in Granada spoke the language, for at the time in question, and long afterwards, it was spoken secretly in the privacy of their homes by thousands of Mudejares and Moriscos. But the fanatic Churchmen had already prohibited the speech, and bigotry was busy persecuting all Moriscos who dared to preserve any memory of their race. I agree with Mr. Engel that the Morisco influence on music in Spain continued till the expulsion.—H.)

The inquisitors did not desire such conversions. They desired only that the writings and the speech, of the Arab should remain unknown in Christian Spain. And it must at least be admitted that their endeavours were crowned with the most complete success. But it is idle for modern writers to pretend to suggest, as some have done, that learning was in *no way impeded or discouraged* by the Holy Office. A sixteenth century Dominican would have scorned the base apology.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 350.

[3] In *Spanish and Italian Folk-Songs*, by Alma Strettell (London, 1887), there are a few Flamenco, Gipsy or popular songs, given in musical score. The songs are for the most part *bailable*, *i.e.*, their music is appropriate for dancing as well as singing. Few are humorous or merry; nearly all grave and sad. Of the varieties mentioned in the introduction are (1) The ordinary Flamenco or Gipsy—the use of the word Flamenco for Gipsy is a puzzle—Martinetes, Carceleras, Soledades or Soleos, Malagueñas, Polos, Seguidillas, Estrivillos, Peteneras, Serranas, Doblas.

survived the decay of the Arab. If the guitar most aptly expresses the national musical feelings of the Spaniard, his national airs have grown under the hand that plucked and stopped his national instrument.[1] If the Church music of the Mozarabic mode was replaced by the graver measures of the Gregorian of general European Christianity, the popular airs of Spain were at all times lively, and, as far as can be judged at the present time, appropriate for dancing. Even down to the present day the popular songs of Spain are invariably sung to the music of popular dances.

Of Spanish dances the most interesting are the (1) Jota, (2) Fandango, (3) Seguidilla, (4) Bolero, (5) Tirana, (6) Polo, (7) Cachucha.[2]

[1] As to the origin of the Spanish *guitar* see Appendix ; and article "Guitar," by Mr. A. J. Hipkins, in Grove's *Dictionary of Music*, vol. i., p. 641.

[2] (1) *Jotas*. Each northern province has its own Jota. The *Jota Aragonesa* is well exemplified in Glinke's piece of that name. Of the *Jota Navarra* there is a specimen in Sarasate's *Spanish Dances*, op. 22. *Cf.* Grove's *Dictionary of Music*, vol. ii., p. 43.

(2) The *Fandango*, an Andalusian dance, described as a variety of *Seguidilla*, originally a slow measure in six-eight, has of late assumed the characteristic Spanish rhythm, and is written in three-four time. See Grove, vol. iii., p. 502, where there is an amusing anecdote of the dancing of the Fandango before the Consistory.

(3) *Seguidilla*. Whether indigenous or of Moorish origin is unknown. It is written in three-four or three-eight time. From La Mancha it spread over Spain. Three divisions are described :—

Seg. Manchegas, of lively character.

Seg. Boleras (nothing to do with Bolero), of graver style.

Seg. Gitanas, very slow and sentimental.

The Seguidilla introduces the *Pasacalle* or popular street song, and the vocal refrain is an essential characteristic. See Grove's *Dict. Mus.*, vol. iii., p. 457, where references are given to examples.

(4) *Bolero*. Brisk dance in three-four time, with the characteristic castagnet rhythm. For examples see :—

Mehul's *Les deux Aveugles*.

The Gipsy ballet in Weber's *Preciosa ;* and Auber's *Masaniello*.

(5) *Tirana*. Is a graceful Andalusian dance and song, allied to a strongly rhythmed air in six-eight time. See Grove, p. 457, vol. iii., and p. 128, vol. iv., *op. cit.*, concerning *copla* and *estrevillo*.

(6) *Polo* or *Ole* is an Andalusian song and dance of the Spanish Gipsies, of semi-oriental character. For examples see J. Gansino, *La Joya de Andalucia*. Madrid, Romero, p. 9.

(7) *Cachucha*. An Andalusian dance in three-four time, somewhat resembling the Bolero. Grove, p. 290, vol. i., *op. cit.*

There are some good pages on the nature and origin of Spanish dancing in Soriano Fuertes, *op. cit.*, i., chap. vi.

It is interesting to note that Spohr wrote a violin concerto, or rather part three (Rondo) of a concerto, in G Minor (op. 28), while at Gotha, founded on Spanish melodies which he happened to hear from a Spanish soldier who was quartered (1808-9), in his house. Ludwig Spohr, *Selbstbiographie* (1860), i., 133.

And Weber similarly introduces several Spanish airs into his incidental music

III.

The Spanish popular melodies, says Mr. Engel, mainly derived from the Arabs, are generally founded upon a series of intervals, partaking of the character of the Phrygian and Mixolydian modes, formerly used in our Church music; and these have been preserved chiefly in Andalusia, where the influence of the Moors upon the musical taste of the people was naturally more powerful than in any other district of Spain.[1] As to the music of the Arabs in Spain, indeed, we have abundant evidence that the art was assiduously cultivated and magnificently patronised by the court at Cordova. The extraordinary position of Ziriab[2] has already been referred to; and although sacred or religious music is unknown in the Mohammedan form of worship, martial music, dance music, and, above all, vocal music, played an important part in the life of the Spanish Arabs.[3] As far as we can now understand their system, it would seem that instead of dividing the scale of the octave, as we do, into twelve semi-tones, the Arabs divided it into seventeen more delicate intervals, as may be heard, if not apprehended, by any modern traveller in Egypt or the further East at the present day.[4]

to *Preciosa*, also picked up from Spanish soldiers at Gotha. *Life of C. M. von Weber* (1864), i., 200 and 382, and ii., 238.

The most recent and most remarkable example is the *Habanera* in Bizet's *Carmen;* but modern opera teems with allusions to old Spanish dance tunes. See for instance Massenet's *Le Cid*.

The musical notation of the various cries of the night watchmen in Andalusia, and also in parts of Spanish America, are figured by Mr. Engel in his *Nat. Music*, 298-9.

[1] As to the Arab origin of the characteristic florid embellishments or turns, so often met with in Spanish music, both vocal and instrumental, see Engel, *National Music*, p. 103, where examples are given in score.

[2] See *ante*, vol. i., chap. xiii.

[3] La musique, l'art subjectif par excellence, est le seul que les Sémites aient connu. La peinture et la sculpture ont toujours été frappées chez eux d'une interdiction réligieuse. Renan, *Hist. Gen. des langues Sémitiques*, p. 12.

In the first part of Abulfaragi's work on the sciences, there is a treatise on music, containing 150 airs, and a notice of the lives of fourteen celebrated musicians and four singers. Al Farabi also wrote a work on music. See Viardot, *Essai*, i., 135.

There is a learned and most interesting disquisition on Arab music, its modes, notation and characteristics, in *Villoteau de l'Etat actuel de l'Art Musical en Egypte* (Paris, 1812), part iv., folio, pp. 1-240. There is a good account of Arab musical instruments in part i., cap. xiii.

[4] See J. P. N. Land, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la gamme arabe*, citing a manuscript history of Arab music, by Al Farabi, who died A.D. 950.

A most curious and ingenious form of musical notation, moreover, seems to have been at one time adopted by the Spanish Moslems, in which, while the notes were known by the names of certain letters of the alphabet, as in modern England, their duration was indicated by colours; thus green was the longest note, and may be taken to have represented the breve; pink indicated the lesser duration of the semibreve; dark blue the minim; yellow the crotchet; black the quaver; pale blue the semiquaver.

Of the musical instruments of the Arabs in Spain we can speak with greater confidence. Many of the forms have been handed down to modern times in the north of Africa, and not a few, modified and developed in the course of ages, still survive in modern Europe.[1] A list of no less than fifty-four instruments, whose names are given on reasonable authority, and most of which have, I trust, been fairly identified, will be found in the Appendix to this chapter.

IV.

How far the various Christian systems of musical notation that are found in Spain in the Middle Ages were suggested by that of the Arabs is uncertain. But while St. Isidore, in the seventh century, speaks of the impossibility of "writing down those fleeting sounds that escape the memory of man,"[2] we have Christian MSS. from the tenth century onwards, with musical signs of the character that are generally known as *neums* or numes.[3] The origin of these *neums* is profoundly uncertain, but Señor Riaño has discovered or suggested that they are based upon a form of the Visigothic alphabet,[4] consisting

[1] See for some account of Arab instruments generally, Daniel, *La Musique arabe* (Alger, 1865); F. Christianowitz, *Histoire de la Musique arabe* (Cologne, 1863), and particularly Delphin et Guin, *Notes sur la Poésie et la Musique arabes*, Paris, 1886. And see Appendix to this chapter.

[2] Sonus quia sensibilis res est præterfluit in preteritum tempus imprimitur que memoriæ . . . nisi enim ab homine memoria teneantur soni, pereunt, *quia scribi non possunt.* S. Isidore, *Etymol.*, lib. iii., cap. xv.[8]

[3] πνεύμα = breathing, or more probably νεῦμα = a sign. See an excellent article by Mr. Rockstro *ad hoc* in Grove's *Dictionary of Music.*

[4] An alphabet of the cursive handwriting or Visigothic cypher, from which the early *neums* are supposed to have been taken, is given by Mr. Riaño at pp. 103-108, with many interesting illustrations. As to the *Libro de las Cantigas*, one of the most ancient, and certainly one of the most interesting of the early mediæval poems of Spain, see *ante*, vol. i., chapter xxv.

As to the system of Boethius, who died in 521, the reforms of Gregory, and

of cursive characters, rarely used, but found in the signatures to documents of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries.[1] This interesting theory it developed with much learning and acuteness by Señor Riaño in his work on early Spanish music. He is of opinion that this system of *neums* was in use in Spain even previous to the tenth century, and that it may have been adopted in other European countries, where its origin has been long forgotten; and he finds a close resemblance to the Spanish *neums* in the system of notation employed in those celebrated musical MSS., the Gradual of St. Gall, sometimes called the *Antiphonarium de St. Gregorio*, and the *Antiphonaire de Montpellier*.[2] Square notes placed on lines take the place of the *neums* written over the words to be sung, in the thirteenth century; and one of the most beautiful and most interesting MSS. in the world is an example of this changing notation.

The *Libro de las Cantigas*, compiled by Alfonso X. of Castile, and otherwise known as *Los Loores y Milagros de Nuestra Señora*,[3] as a collection of 401 sacred poems or hymns set to music, traditionally ascribed to the king himself. The cali graphy and illumination of the MS. is of the highest artistic perfection; and on staves of five lines, square notes of various values are beautifully inscribed. The lines are some black, some red, the number of red lines varying from time to time, according to the rules, no doubt, of some system that has perished. The series of vignettes or drawings in the MS. itself, represents fifty-one musicians of the thirteenth century, each

more particularly as to the origin and early use of *neums*, see Fétis, *op. cit.*, iv., pp. 175-271. As to early Christian church music generally, and more particularly that of the Roman and Gallican liturgies, *ibid.*, 272-335.

One of the most valuable works on the early Spanish notation comes, strange to say, from Mexico, and is written by Lorenzana, Archbishop of Mexico, and Fabian y Tuero, Bishop of Puebla de los Angeles (Angelopolis), where the book was published in 1770. Both the reverend authors came originally from Toledo. Some very interesting extracts and illustrations are given by Mr. Riaño, p. 138.

[1] C'est aussi dans l'onzième siècle qu'on voit apparaître un nouveau système régulier de notation pour la musique mesurée. Fétis, *Hist.*, i., 169.

[2] Riaño, pp. 10-20. And as to the *Cantigas*, 47-49 and 108-122. See Pothier, *Les mélodies grégoriennes*; Hugo Riemann, *Studien zur Geschichte der Notenschrift*; David et Lussy, *Histoire de la notation*, pp. 27, 43, 67; Félix Clément, *Histoire de la Musique*, p. 256; Señor Don F. Aznara, *Indumentaria Española* (1880); Fétis, *Histoire de la Musique*, iv., 175-271.

[3] A most superb edition of the *Cantigas* was published at Madrid in 1889 by the Royal Academy of Spain; the editor-in-chief being the Marques de Valmar. It is in two volumes, large 4to, pp. (228) 128 and (36) 796, superbly printed, with an admirable introduction and notes, and critical disquisition upon the various MSS., and what is still more rare in works of the kind, an excellent index.

one playing a different instrument,[1] whose name and characteristics—as far as I have, after much *assisted* study, been able to identify them—will be found, like those of their Arab congeners, in the Appendix.[2]

V.

The invasion of Spain during the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the monks of Cluny, for whom were reserved, owing chiefly to the ignorance of the native Spanish clergy, many of the highest ecclesiastical posts in the Peninsula, gave a French tone not only to Spanish ecclesiasticism but to Spanish art of every kind. Of their jealousy of the Mozarabic Ritual and Service Book I have already spoken. And it is not surprising that, after the great *Ritualistic* victory of the Cluniacs in the days of Alfonso VI., they should have supplanted not only the Missal but the music of Isidore. Thus, from the end of the eleventh century, the Gregorian chant was the only ecclesiastical music recognised by the Church in Spain;[3] and thus, although the sacred music of Spain is not without a certain distinctive character of its own, its individuality has suffered, just as the independence of Spanish religion and the originality of Spanish architecture have also suffered, from the tremendous influence of Cluny in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Yet the Mozarabic ritual was still observed in some churches; and there is even now a chapel in the Cathedral of Toledo where, with the independent approbation of Cardinal Ximenez, the ancient Mozarabic Service Book was formally restored and publicly followed, and where, to the present day, a special company of priests and choristers is engaged exclusively upon the performance of the ancient Ritual.

[1] After much study and examination, not only of books but of ancient instruments in the admirable collection in the South Kensington Museum, where I spent a very pleasant day in the company of a kind and valued critic, Mr. James Crosse Johnston, I have sought to identify them, as will be seen in the Appendix.

[2] The Archpriest of Hita, a well-known Castilian writer who flourished in 1300-1360, has left us the names of some thirty of the principal musical instruments used in his time. His list, with such notes as suggest themselves, is printed, together with other lists of instruments, in the Appendix to this chapter. *Vide* Riaño, pp. 128-130; Saez, *Demostracion Historica* (1796), pp. 340-342.

[3] As to the origin of the Gregorian chant, see Gevaert, *ubi sup.*, p. 20; and Fétis, *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*, tom. iv., sub-tit., "Grégoire".

VI.

There was a great development of popular music in north-east Spain, and indeed throughout the Peninsula, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the art was cultivated and held in honour, not only at the courts and castles of Aragon, but among the pleasure-loving people of Provence, of Catalonia, and of Valencia.[1]

The *Gaya Ciencia* included music as well as poetry ; and the troubadour was not only a verse-maker, but a musical composer, a singer, and usually, if not always, skilled on some instrument. The *Jongleurs* especially were accomplished performers, and their music was quite as popular as their poetry.[2] Yet the study of sacred music was not entirely neglected in the Peninsula, and at Barcelona the celebrated Raymond Lull was a student and a professor of music of every kind.[3] The first Spanish writer of any importance after the time of Isidore who has treated of music in any form is this marvellous Majorcan, whose *Ars Magna* was given to the world in the year 1308. Of the profound learning and the extraordinary versatility of this wonder of the Middle Ages I have already spoken, and although the chapter on *Music* (chap. li.) in his great work may seem trivial, if not impertinent, to modern musicians, it may be studied with advantage by those who are concerned with the development of art in Spain.

Music, says he, is divided into natural and artificial ; the latter including the Harmonic, the Rhythmic, and the Metric.[4] To the Enharmonic corresponds natural and moral science ; to the Diatonic, divine and civil law ; to the Chromatic, the mathematics and economic sciences.[5]

The most ancient record of profane music in Spain that is known to exist is a romance entitled *Versos fechos en loor del Condestable*, set to music for four voices, and copied in the

[1] Barbieri, p. 11.

[2] As to the origin and signification of Joglar, Yoglar, Juglar, whence Juggler or Buffoon, Fr. Truhan, see Saez, *Demostracion*, etc. (1796). The first meaning would seem to be, players upon musical instruments, thence singers, and thence versifiers.

[3] See Bastero, *Crusca Provençal*, and *ante* vol. i., chap. xxvii.

[4] *Ars Magna*, li.

[5] See upon Lull and his musical theories, Menendez Pelayo, *Hist. de las Ideas Esteticas en España*, i., 262, 363.

See Riaño, 8 ; Soriana Fuertes, i., 134-139. In the *Ars Magna* (1308), Lull speaks of the art as *inventa ad ordinandum multas voces concordantes in unum cantum, sicut multa principia ad unam finem ;* and devotes an entire chapter of the *Ars Magna* to the subject.

Chronicle of the Constable, by Manuel Lucas de Franzo, about the year 1466; and MSS., with musical notes of the fourteenth century, are still in existence in Spain. We find also in the *Leges Palatinas* of King James II. of Aragon, in 1317, that musicians were employed in the king's service at least as early as that year.

In Castile, music was perhaps rather more of an aristocratic or courtly pastime than it was in Aragon.[1] Alfonso X. was a great patron of music, both sacred and profane; and his son, Don Sancho, in this respect at least, followed in his father's footsteps.[2] Many grandees of the fifteenth century kept salaried musicians in their households; and Isabella the Catholic was so great an amateur and patroness of the art that no less than forty singers, to say nothing of a large number of performers on various instruments, organs, clavichords and lauds, were constantly maintained in her service. The greater number of these private musicians would seem to have been attached to her chapel, and engaged in the performance of sacred music; but there is little doubt that music, both vocal and instrumental, of a secular character, was heard at court; and it is certain that the queen was too good a soldier not to cultivate military music in the camp and on the field of battle. At the siege of Baza, in 1489, especially, we are told that the Moors were astonished at the excellence of the military music, and at the serpents (*Bastardos*), the clarions (*clarines*), the trumpets (*trompetas*), the pipes (*chirimias*), the sacbuts (*sacabuches*), the dulcimers (*dulzainas*), and the kettle-drums (*atabales*), of which special mention is made by Bernaldez in his history.

In the inventory of the effects of Isabella the Catholic in the Alcazar at Segovia in 1503, preserved in the archives at Simancas, we find mention of a *ducemal*, *arpa*, three *chirimias* or boxwood pipes, a great number of lauds of different characters, carefully distinguished, fiddles, flutes, organs, and two old (viejos) *clavecimbalos mayores*.[3] Among the queen's books were large numbers of musical compositions, of which a list is given by Barbieri.[4] Alfonso X. established a Chair of Music in the University of Salamanca; and Cardinal Ximenez, on the foundation of his newer university

[1] The Basques had songs, dances and popular airs peculiar to themselves, and quite uninfluenced by any Provençal, French or Arab art.

[2] See Soriano Fuertes, i., 104-5.

[3] A predecessor of the hautboy. See Hipkins, 8.

[4] Barbieri, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 15.

at Alcalá de Henares, in 1498, endowed a Chair of Music, to which the Aragonese Pedro Ciruelo was afterwards appointed.

One of the first acts of Don John, Prince of Asturias, the only son of Ferdinand and Isabella, on obtaining a separate establishment, was to engage professors and performers, as well of instrumental as of vocal music, at liberal salaries, and to provide his palace with claviorgans and organs (*clavicimbalos* and *clavicords*) guitars (*vihuelas de mano*), and fiddles (*vihuelas de arco*), tambourines, psalteries, dulcimers, harps, and a *rebelico muy precioso*.[1] Don John had also a large band of military musicians, whose instruments were apparently similar to those in use at the siege of Baza.[2]

VII.

The golden age of Spanish music is undoubtedly the last decade of the fifteenth century, during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, when numerous works of importance on the art were written and published by natives of Spain, more especially Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja, *De Musica practica*, in 1482; Domingo Marcos Duran, *Lux Bella*, dedicated to Cardinal Ximenez, in 1492; and Guillermo Podio, *Ars Musicorum*, in 1495.[3]

[1] Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, *Libro de la Camara*, Barbieri, pp. 12. 13.

[2] See for a very brief sketch of the development of Spanish music in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Francisco Barbieri, *Cancionero Musical de los siglos XV. y XVI.* (Madrid, 1890), where there is also a list of Spanish composers and a great deal of popular music arranged for a number of voices; sm. music folio, p. 633.

[3] The following most interesting and valuable books of old Spanish music have been recently acquired by the British Museum, at the Heredia sale, and have been shown to me —an unsolicited favour—by Dr. Garnett, with the kindness that ever distinguishes those who rule and serve in that Palace of Letters :—

1. Ennriquez de Valderravano, *El excelente musico, Libro de Musica para Vihuela* (Valladolid, 1547). The music is written on six-line staves, with lozenge-shaped notes, some open, some full, and with numerals as well as notes, some red, some black, on the stave. The words set to music are in some cases Latin, but more frequently Castilian.

2. Diego Pisador, a book with a similar title and of similar character (1552).

3. *Libro de Musica para Vihuela intitulado Orphenica Lyra*, por Miguel de Fuenllana (Sevilla, 1554). A work of the same character as the preceding.

4. F. Joannis Navarro, *Gaditanis ordinis minorum regularis observantiæ, Liber*, etc. (Mexici, 1604). Various religious offices, all set to music in square notes on five-line staves.

5. Francisci Salinæ, Burgensis abbati, etc., etc., *De Musica libri septem* (Salmanticæ, 1592). A critical treatise on music in Latin, with illustrations in musical score, lozenge-shaped open notes on three-line staves.

6. *Libro Llamado arte de tañer Fantasia, assi para Tecla como para Vihuela . . . compuesto por . . .* Padre Fray Thomas de Sancta Maria (Valladolid, 1565).

A treatise on the theory and art of music, in which the elements of singing are presented with great minuteness, by one Alfonso Spañon, was printed by Pedro Brun at Seville in 1492. The *Sumula de Canto del organo, Contrapunto, y composicion vocal y instrumental, practica y speculativa* was printed at Salamanca at the end of the fifteenth century, and was dedicated to Archbishop Fonseca.[1] But many other books of music were published in Spain during the sixteenth century, including compositions for various instruments, notably the vihuela; and songs set to music for four, five, six, eight and even twelve voices.

Spanish music during the Renaissance possessed the same amount of development, and the same facilities for expression, that were to be found in Italy and France. But Italy rather than Spain attracted, during the *Cinquecento*, the greatest composers and performers of the Peninsula. Among these Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja, who was professor of music at the University of Salamanca, went to Italy and became a professor at the University of Bologna, where in 1482, he published the great work in which he developed his new theory of *temperamento*, which is said to have revolutionised the art of music. And no less than thirty-one more or less distinguished Spanish composers are said to have flourished in Italy during the sixteenth century.[2] The Spaniard Cristobal or Cristoforo Morales[3] was chapel

A *practical* treatise or method of instrumental music, full of illustrations; five-line staves, with lozenge-shaped notes, some open, some full, apparently breves, semibreves, minims, crotchets, quavers; some notes dotted.

The most remarkable contribution to our connected knowledge of Spanish music is the compilation of Miguel Hilarion Eslava (himself a composer of considerable fertility), *Lira sacro-hispana*, in ten vols., giving specimens in full score of the productions of the church composers from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. It is a curious circumstance that this work, published at Madrid as recently as 1869, should now be a book of considerable rarity.

For this note, among many others, and for his constant help in the revision of this chapter, a printed line of thanks is very far from expressing my sense of obligation to my good friend Cecil Bendall.

[1] A great number of other Spanish works on the theory and practice of music, both vocal and instrumental, are given by Mr. Riaño, pp. 70-83. A very large number of missals and service books containing music, and existing only in MS. in the various libraries in Spain, some of them as old as the tenth century, have been discovered and catalogued by Mr. Riaño in his most interesting work, and are well worthy of attention, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-69. A number of early printed missals and service books are added, pp. 82-95. A quantity of very early printed instrumental music is, perhaps, even more interesting. Of these the *Libro de musica practica*, by Mos. Francisco Touar (Barcelona, 1510), is the earliest in date.

[2] For their names, see Riaño, 3, 4.

[3] The *Hispaniæ Schola Musicæ Sacræ* is now in process of publication at Leipsic. There are some of the works of Morales in vol. i.

master of the Sistine Chapel at Rome in the early part of the same century, and was perhaps the most celebrated composer in Italy before the time of Palestrina. No less than thirteen editions of his works were published in Italy in the sixteenth century. His most celebrated work is the *motet,* known as *The Lament of Jacob,* which is still performed and admired in England, and has been published in a popular form by Novello.[1] Nor is his less celebrated compatriot Vittoria—Tomas Luis de Victoria—another musician of the Sistine Chapel, less appreciated in modern times. He is known and loved, as I am told by an accomplished musical friend, almost as much as Palestrina, at least in the few circles where the motet is still practically cultivated. The Bach choir have performed many of his motets within recent years, and his works are to be found in modern as well as in ancient editions.

It was a Spaniard, moreover, Don Juan de Tapia, who founded and endowed at Naples, in 1537, the *Conservatorio della Madonna di Loretto,* the first school of music in Italy, and the model of all similar institutions that have since been created in Europe.

The compositions and performances of all these Spanish *virtuosi* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, would seem to have been exclusively of a sacred character. Of the popular music and musicians of 400 years ago, we have, as may be supposed, no record whatsoever.

[1] Edward Taylor, Gresham Professor of Music, in the introduction to his *Vocal Schools of Italy in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1839), p. 6, speaks of the motet of Morales, Lamentabatur Jacob, quoting a letter of an Italian musician of 1684, as *una delle piu belle melodie che noi habbiamo nella Capella Pontificale.*

APPENDICES.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

JUDICIAL TORTURE.

Unknown among the barbarians who founded the commonwealths of the modern world, judical torture had no existence in western Europe during the whole of the period that is scornfully characterised as the Dark Ages.

"In antient Greece," says Mr. Lecky (*Rationalism*, i., 328-9), "torture was never employed, except in cases of treason. In the best days of antient Rome, notwithstanding the notorious inhumanity of the people, it was exclusively confined to the slaves. The extraordinary ingenuity of mediæval ecclesiastical tortures, and the extent to which they were elaborated by the clergy . . . possesses a great but painful interest."

Judicial torture was revived in Christendom only in the middle of the thirteenth century, when Innocent IV. in his Bull *ad extirpanda*, in 1252, prescribed its use for the discovery and suppression of heresy.

A certain respect for ancient prejudices, indeed, constrained the Pope to forbid its actual administration by the inquisitors themselves, or even by the Familiars of the Holy Office, but this restraint was of very short duration. Four years only after the Bull of Innocent IV., Alexander IV. in 1256 removed the difficulty in a most characteristic fashion by authorising inquisitors and their associates to *absolve one another*, and mutually grant dispensation for irregularities of practice or procedure; a permission which was more than once repeated, and which was held to remove all canonical impediments to the use of torture under the direct supervision of the inquisitor himself.[1]

Although the extension of torture in secular judicial procedure

[1] Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, i., 421-2, and Appendix, xii., p. 575, where the Bull of Alexander IV. is given in the original Latin.

was remarkably slow, it grew rapidly in favour with the Church, and was found in general use, by the beginning of the fourteenth century, not only in the tribunals of the Inquisition, but in the ordinary ecclesiastical courts.[1]

Torture, it was cynically asserted, possessed many practical advantages. It saved the trouble and expense of prolonged imprisonment. It was a speedy and effective method of obtaining such revelations as might be desired.[2]

The torture of the accused, according to orthodox ecclesiastical procedure, might be *continued*, but not *repeated*. *Direct.*, iii., 313, 314. As a matter of practice, accordingly, at the end of each day's torment, the application was pronounced *adjourned ;* and the law ecclesiastical was thus obeyed.

A full and authoritative account of the tortures that were inflicted by the ecclesiastical tribunals will be found set out in cold-blooded and dreadful detail in the treatise *De Catholicis institutionibus Liber*, by Simancas, Bishop of Beja, printed at Rome in 1575 for the use of ecclesiastical judges, tit. lxv., *De Tormentis*, pp. 491 *ad fin.* The matter is disposed in 84 sections; and amid all the refinements of torture for the accused of all possible conditions, it is satisfactory to read (p. 49) that *clerici et monachi* rarius *et* mitius *torquendi sunt.*

Torture was inflicted by special inquisitors on *English* witnesses, in spite of English laws and free institutions, by the mandate of Clement V. in 1311 ; and the poor-spirited Edward II. did not dare to prohibit the Papal inquisitors from introducing it—as an ecclesiastical method—in the proceedings of the Holy Office in London, York and Lincoln, when Clement and Philip of France had determined to plunder and destroy the Knights Templars. See *ante*, vol. i., chapter xvi.

[1] Certainly in 1317. Lea, *op. cit.*, i., 556-8.

[2] *C'est assurément une coutume louable d'appliquer les criminels à la question*, says Eymeric, cap. v. (trans. Morellet, ed. 1762). (It may be added that judicial torture was expressly prohibited by the constitution of Aragon.—H.)

APPENDIX II.

CLUNY.

The world-renowned Abbey of the Benedictines at Cluny, near Mâcon, in Burgundy, was founded in 910 by William the Pious, the reigning Duke of Aquitaine; and in less than two centuries it had reached a position second only to Rome as a centre of religious or ecclesiastical life.[1] The Abbot of Cluny ranked above all other abbots, and was more powerful than any bishop in Christendom, under the nominal supremacy of the Pope at Rome. Consulted by kings and princes upon all the great political questions of the day, gratified by appreciative Popes with the title of *Abbé souverain* in 1091 and *Abbas abbatum* (in 1116), this greatest of abbots coined his own money, made his own laws, and was a temporal as well as a spiritual potentate, extending his influence, through subordinate religious houses, whose number is said at one time to have reached 2000, over every country in Europe.

The great Basilica, or Abbey Church at Cluny, was commenced by Hugh, the eighth abbot, in 1089, and finally completed in 1131, when it was consecrated by Innocent II., being at that time the largest church in Christendom, and one of the wonders of the mediæval world.[2] The conventual buildings were not only numerous, but they were designed on the grandest scale, and in the sixteenth century they covered a space of over twenty-five English acres. The refectory, the infirmary, the guest-house, or *hôtelerie*, were all of vast dimensions, and the façade of the stables alone was 280 feet in length.[3]

[1] It was the training school of four Popes—Gregory VII., Urban II., Paschal II. and Urban V.; and it was long the home of Peter the Venerable, the translator of the Coran.

[2] Duckett, p. 3. It was fifty feet longer than the modern St. Paul's, and only ten feet less than St. Peter's. Henry I. of England and Mathilda contributed very largely to the expenses of the work.

[3] Duckett (pp. 21-25) gives a list of the abbots of Cluny for 900 years—from Bernon, in 910, to Dominique de la Rochefoucauld, who died in exile in 1800.

After a long and splendid history, the abbey was sacked by the Huguenots in 1562; and the library was burned by the Jacobins in 1793, after the Order had been formally suppressed in 1790. Yet a large number of charters and MSS., which happily survived that destruction, were accidentally discovered—stowed away in the Town Hall of Cluny—in 1829, and purchased by the French Government.[1]

Of the great church at Cluny, one tower and part of the transept alone remain. But the ancient town residence or palace of the abbot in Paris, has survived the general wreck. Purchased by the French nation in 1833, and converted into a museum of antiquities, it is known to every visitor in modern Paris as the Hôtel Cluny.[2]

[1] The modern town of Cluny contains some 4000 inhabitants. See *Inventaire des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale: Fonds de Cluni*, par Léopold Delisle (1884).

The standard English works on the subject are: (1) *Record Evidences of the Ancient Abbey of Cluni*, by Sir George Duckett, Bart. (1886), one vol., p. 64; (2) *Charters and Records of the Ancient Abbey of Cluni*, from 1077 to 1534, by Sir George Duckett, Bart. (1888), two vols., pp. 262-325, including extracts, indexes and lists of various kinds, printed from the original MSS., with an excellent historical introduction, i., pp. 1-40, giving the best available account of the rise and progress of the great abbey and its dependencies.

[2] A few of the books and MSS. had previously found their way into the *Bibliothèque nationale*, and even into the British Museum. There are some drawings of the interior of the old Abbey of Cluny in Sir John Hawkin's *History of Gothic Architecture* (1813).

APPENDIX III.

EARLY SPANISH MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

I.—*Spanish Arab Instruments of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries.*

(See p. 76.)

The following list of musical instruments used by the Spanish Arabs is taken from a MS. in the Escurial by Mahmud Ibrahim Axalehi—No. 69—*apud* Soriano-Fuertes, *Historia de la Musica Española*, pp. 89-92. I am indebted to my friend Mr. A. G. Ellis of the Oriental Department of the British Museum for most kindly and with much pains revising this note, of which the entire value, as regards the Arabic etymologies, is due to his scholarship and research :—

1. Adufe—*ad-Duff ;* Tambourine, said by Axalehi to be the oldest of Arab musical instruments.
2. Alguirbal—*al-Ghirbâl ;* a sieve, hence a Tambourine, synonymous with the preceding.
3. Almasafeh—*al-Masâfih*, plural of *Masfah ;* clapping of hands.
4. Alkimar—*al-Qimâr ;* dice, possibly a rattle of some kind.
5. Alazaf—*al-Azf ;* the generic name for all pulsatile instruments of music, such as Lutes and Mandolines.
6. Almizar ; possibly an error for *al-Mizân*, not a classic name for any musical instrument. MM. Delphin and Guin, *Notes sur la poésie et la musique arabes dans le Maghreb algérien*, p. 42, say that the Tambourine is called in Morocco *Mizân*.

At the present day in Tunis, Algiers and Egypt, the Tambourine is called *Tar*.

7. Alaud—*al'oud*, a Laud or Lute. See Fétis, *Hist. de la Musique*, vol. ii., pp. 107-110 ; *al-rêd*, was anciently made with four strings, now with seven double strings.

Note.—Before Ziriab's time the lute was, according to the old fashion, composed of four strings only, which answered, it was supposed, to the four elementary principles of the body, and expressed the four natural sounds. Ziriab, however, added to it another red string, which he placed in the middle, by which addition the instrument was considerably improved, and a more harmonious sound than before produced.

This was not the only improvement devised by Ziriab in this department of music. He also introduced the use of eagles' talons instead of the wooden plectra which were formerly in use, and this he did on account of the soft down which covers the claw of that bird. El Makkari, *apud* Gayangos, ii. 118, 119.

8. Arrabil—*ar-Rabâb;* Rebel or Rebeck, a Fiddle with two strings.
9. Alkirren—*al-Qarn;* Horn. The ordinary word for Horn in any sense.
10. Asanga—*as-Sanj*, Persian *chang*, a species of Lute mentioned by el-Fârâbi in his treatise on music.
11. Alkitrara—Guitar. The word used at the present day for a Guitar in northern Africa is *Kouitra* (Delphin and Guin, p. 46), probably the vulgar pronunciation for *Kuweïtira*, which would be the diminutive of some such word as *Kîtâra*.
12. Almiazaf—*al-Mizaf;* a synonym of *al-Azf*, and derived from the same root. *See* No. 5.
13. Almizmar—*al-Mizmâr;* a musical Reed or Pipe; now-a-days usually a Flute. Delphin and Guin (p. 41) explain it by "Flûte de Pan".
14. Almeya—*al-Mâya?* Salvador Daniel, *La Musique arabe*, p. 41, says that *Mêïa* is the name of an instrument as well as of a mode; but I have not been able to find out what kind of an instrument it was.
15. Alcuceba—*al-Quçêïba*, diminutive of *Qaçab*, a Reed. *See* No. 23.
16. Albuque—*al-Bûq;* a Trumpet, properly a War Trumpet.
17. Altabal—*al-Tabl;* a Drum, or? Tambourine.
18. Alcozo?
19. Alcuba?
20. Alayre?
21. Atambur; "a kind of Lute" (Engel); "a Drum" (Dozy and Engelmann); *al-Tambûr*, a kind of Mandolin with cords of brass wire, played with a plectrum, said to be a Persian word. The name appears to be also applied now-a-days by the Arabs to a military Drum.
22. Albarbet—a kind of Fiddle; probably *βαρβιτόν*. Avicenna, in his work on music, calls the Lute *al-Barbût*.
23. Alcasib—*al-Qaçab;* Reed or Pipe. *See* No. 15.

24. Axahika—*ash-Shahîqa ; Shahîq*, signifies the final note of the braying of an ass ; also any high sounding, moaning note. X in mediæval Spanish always transliterated the Arab sh. The J sound is comparatively modern.
25. Asafilz ?
26. Axiron ?
27. Alkitraret. *See* No. 11.
28. Alantaba ?
29. Alcudiba ?
30. Kabar ?
31. Xahin ?
32. Mizamir—plural of *Mizmâr ;* perhaps a double Flute or Pipes. *See* No. 13.
33. Tambor de Cufa. *See* No. 21. Doubtless the special form of instrument called the *Tambûr* of Bagdad, which is described by el-Fârâbi.
34. Camretes ?
35. Xabeba—*ash-Shabbâba ;* a species of Flute.
36. Sofar—*Saffâra ;* a Whistle or Fife, apparently of metal, according to Fétis, a Flute.
37. Alataran ?
38. Juf-taf. Drum. (Fétis.)
39. Sofar-array—*Saffârat ar Râi*, Shepherd's Pipe. *Sofar* is not a classical but a popular form. The instrument is called by Señor Soriano-Fuertes, *Chiflo de pastor.*
40. Casib-array—*Qaçabat ar-Rai*, Shepherd's Reed. *Qaçaba* would be the noun of unity of *Qaçab*, which is a general term. The instrument is called by Senor Soriano-Fuertes *Zampoña de pastor.* See *Don Quixote*, part ii., chap. lxxiii. *Está ya duro el alcacer para Zampoñas.*
41. Xakikar ?
42. Mizmar is No. 13, without the article—a Flute.
43. Neyo—*Nay ;* a Reed, a Persian word, *qaçab* being the corresponding Arabic, a Flute. (Fétis.)

In other Catalogues I have also found the following :—

44. Añafil—*an-Nafîr ;* a metal Trumpet.
45. Rebel. *See* No. 8.
46. Rebab do.
47. Zambra—a band of musicians. Plural of *Zâmir*, a musician.
48. Tambur—a mandolin. (Fétis, ii., 145.) *See* Nos. 21 and 33.
49. Canon—*Qânun ;* a trapezoid Zither, or Tables, Gr. κανὼν.

There is a specimen in the British Museum.

50. Santir—a Dulcimer, not unlike the above. Gr. ψαλτήριον. *Instrument monté avec des cordes de fil de laiton, et qu'on touche avec de petites baguettes de bois, composé d'une seule caisse plate, en bois, de forme trapézoide, de même que le qânon arabe.* Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires arabes.*
51. Kissar—*Kisar, qîsâr,* or *qîtâr,* a word used in modern Arabic —doubtless the Greek κιθάρα, a Guitar. *See* No. 11.
52. Kemanyeh—*Kamanja;* Viol. An instrument known throughout all western Asia and north Africa.
53. Tabal—*Tabl;* Drum. The diminutive *Tubeïla* (vulgar *T'bîla*) is used for Tambourine.
54. Nakara—*Naqqarâh;* Kettle Drum.

II.—*Musical Instruments in use in Christian Spain in the Thirteenth Century, from the Illuminated MS. of the* Cantigas *of Alfonso X., circa* 1275.

(See page 78.)

1. Pair of small Drums or unknown instrument of percussion, one in each hand.
2. Large curved Horn (cornetto curvo).
3. Large straight Horn.
4. Tambour or tom-tom.
5. Double-pipe—Recorder.
6. Cymbals (round).
7. Lute (3 strings).
8. Bells (7 Bells hung on a frame).
9. Flageolet, Arabic *soufárá.* *Cf.* Fétis, ii., 153.
10. Flute; in Arabic *chababu* = No. 35 of List I.
11. Castanets (one pair in each hand).
12. Double Flageolet.
13. Large *cornetto curvo,* or Horn pierced with holes.
14. Tambour (larger than No. 4).
15. Pipe and Tabor.
16. Apparently a variety of the Lute, with no neck, large sounding box or caisse, and three strings plucked with the fingers of the right hand.
17, 18. Dulcimers, or Santirs. This instrument is correctly styled in English, Hackbut, *sive* Hackbrett—a butcher's chopping block.

19. 20. Straight metal Trumpets.
21-25. Five Lutes; Arabic *Tambûr* (the strings plucked with the hand); three with five strings; two with three strings. *See* No. 48 of List I., and Fétis, *Hist. de la Musique*, ii., 137.
26-28. Two Viols or Vihuelas, or Fiddles (the strings to be rubbed with a bow), one with four strings, one with three strings. The Arab *Kamanyeh*. *See* No. 52 of List I.
29, 30. Two Rebecs or Viols of two strings, with bow.
31, 32. Two Lutes of eight strings.
33, 34. Two Lutes of three strings.
35. Threefold or Triple Pipe.
36. Four-stringed Kitra, kitâra, or guitar. *See* Fétis, *Hist. de la Musique*, ii., 127.
37. Five-stringed ditto.
38. Cymbals (round).
39, 40. Two Vielles, *organistro*, or hurdy-gurdies. *Cf.* Engel, *The Violin Family*, p. 74. These are specimens of the greater Vielle or *organistrum* for two performers. The common or single Vielle was known in the thirteenth century as a *Symphonium*.[1]
41. Two-stringed Viol or Rebec.
42. Large ten-stringed Lute or Theorbo (single-headed). The Archilute was met with even in the seventeenth century. Our friend Pepys certainly played upon one.
43, 44. Two rectangular Harps.
45. Bells; three large bells hung from beam set in masonry.
46. Dulcimer or *santîr?* Arab, *qânun? Cf.* Fétis, *Hist. de la Musique*, ii., 128.
47. Flute (*flauto traverso*).
48. Three-stringed Viol, with bow.
49. Portable Organ, with nine pipes and bellows, blown with the left hand.
50. Large Flageolet.
51, 52. Horns, *cornetti curvi*, apparently of horn.
53. Bagpipes.

[1] The old Latin name for the Viella, or hurdy-gurdy, is *organistrum*. In the large form it took two persons to play the instrument, as it was so long as to lie across the knees of both. The *artist* touched the keys, the *handle turner* was no more important than the modern organ bellows blower. The summit of the arch of the Gate of Glory of Santiago de Compostella, a cast of which is at South Kensington, is occupied by two figures playing an organistrum. The date of this great Spanish work is 1188. And see Hipkin's, in Grove's *Dictionary of Music*, i., 641.

54, 55. Two-stringed Lute, the strings plucked with the finger.
56. Flageolet.
57, 58. Two varieties of Bagpipe.
59. Horn, large and very much curved, with globular wind chamber, and apparently pierced.
60. Large Dulcimer or Hackbut.

III.—*List of Musical Instruments in common or popular use in Spain, according to Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita, in the middle of the Fourteenth Century.*

1. Atambor—a kind of Arab Lute; No. 21 of List I. *Cf.* Engel, *The Violin*, 107, 108, 116; and Soriano-Fuertes, i., 105, iv., 208, and Hilarion Eslava, *apud* Engel, *ubi supra*.
2. Guitarra Morisca—Guitar with four or five strings; the origin of the modern Guitar.
3. Guitarra Latina (not *ladino*, as sometimes quoted)—the origin of the modern Fiddle.
4. Laud—Lute; Arab, *a'loud*.
5. Rabe (Rebec)—Violin with two strings.
6. Garabi (*Gaita de pellejo*)—perhaps a Fiddle bow; Sanskrit, *gáriba*.
7. Mota—?
8. Salterio—Psaltery.
9. Vihuela de Penola—metal-strung Guitar, struck with a quill. See Engel, *The Violin Family*, 121, 122.

The word *vihuela* itself is said to be derived from Lat. *vitula, vitella*, according to Diez, from *vitulari*, to skip like a calf; the violin (*vitula jocosa*) being the usual instrument of merriment. From such a root is derived, no doubt, the French *vielle*, and all kindred words.

10. Medio Cano—a small Flute.
11. Rabe Morisco—Violin of three strings.
12. Galipe Francisco (Dulzaina)—a wind instrument.
13. Rota—hurdy-gurdy.
14. Tamborete—Double bass.
15. Vihuela de Arco—Fiddle and bow.
16. Caño Entero—Flute.
17. Panderete—perhaps a small Pandura or Lute of three strings.
18. Azofar. Azofar = As-Sofar. No. 36 of List I.
19. Organos—Organ; Fr., *Les orgues*.

20. Citola Albordada—large Fiddle. The ordinary *citola* was a small Dulcimer played as it rested on the lap of the performer. Engel, *The Violin*, 62.
21. Gayta—Arab. *Ghaito*, "*musette à anche*". (Delphin and Guin.)
22. Exabeba—No. 35 of List I. and No. 10 of List II.
23. Albogon—Oboe.
24. Cinfonia—Jew's Harp?
25. Baldosa—Double Drum.
26. Odrecillo—a little wine skin, perhaps the *belly* of some stringed instrument.
27. Bandurria—Mandolin.
28. Trompas—Trumpets, or Horns.
29. Anafiles—metal Trumpets. No. 44 of List I.
30. Atabales—Cymbals. No. 53 of List I.

I have derived much information from Emil de Travers, *Histoire des Instruments de Musique du XIV. Siècle* (Paris, 1882); but I have in every instance, when possible, *seen* a specimen of the instrument I have described, in many cases in very good company, as suggested at p. 78, *note* 1.

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Brigantium
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U Legionis
Asturica Aug.
GALLAECIA
AQUITANIA S. NARBONENSIS
Rhodas
Emporium
Numantia
Cæsaraugusta
TARRACONENSIS
Portus Cale
Bracara Aug.
Durius
Salmantica
Iberus
Tarraco
Dertosa
MINOR
MAJOR
INSULÆ
BALEARES
Toletum
Tagus
Saguntum
Emerita Aug.
CARTHAGINENSIS
LUSITANIA
BÆTICA
Corduba
HISPALIS
Carthago Nova
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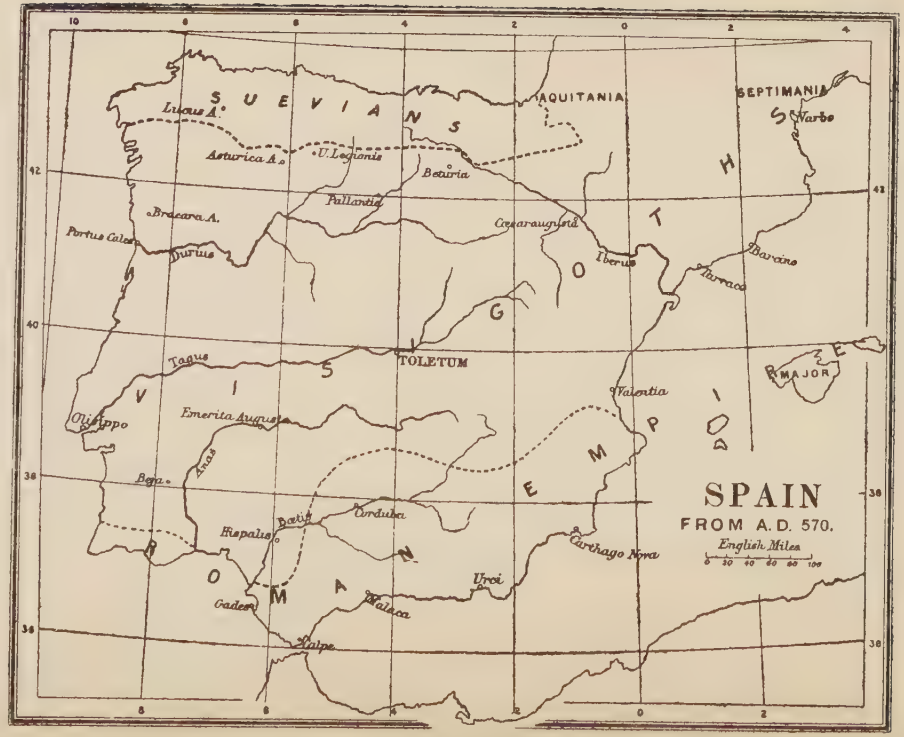
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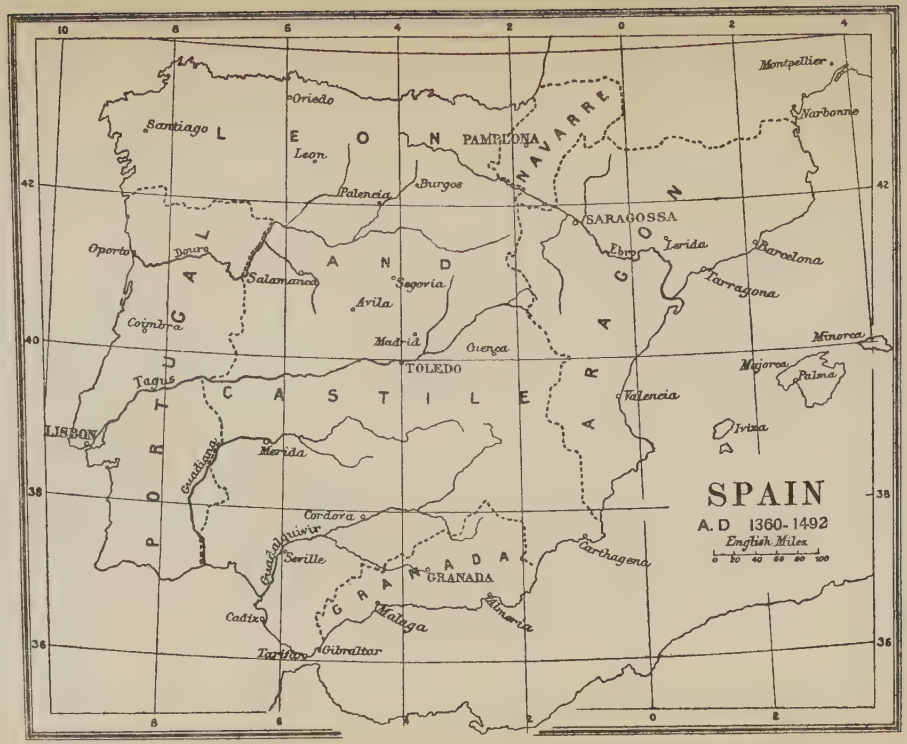
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Bayonne
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Laurenti
San Sebastian
Navarrenx
Mauléon
Oloron
St. Jean
Pied de Port
Pyrenees
PAMPLONA
Estella
Viana
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Calahorra
Huesca
Tudela
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R. Ebro
Saragossa
Epila
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